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AKBAR THE GREAT MOGUL

1542—1605

VINCENT A. SMITH, C.I.E.

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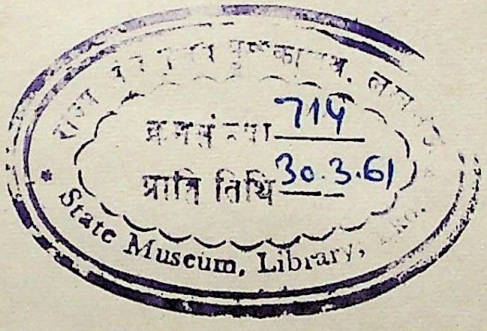

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AKBAR
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1542-1605

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The Frontispiece

AKBAR as a boy, about A. D. 1557 (*Tashbih Khurdsal Akbar Padshah*; Johnson Collection, India Office; album xviii, fol. 4; artist not known. The earliest Indo-Persian painting).

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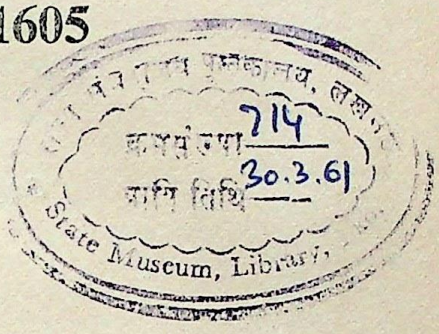

BY

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'A HISTORY OF FINE ART IN INDIA AND CEYLON', ETC.

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PREFACE

Twenty-Four years ago, when I was editing the Rambles and Recollections of Sir William Sleeman and was under the influence of that author's enthusiastic comment that 'Akbar has always appeared to me among sovereigns what Shakespeare was among poets', I recorded the opinion that 'the competent scholar who will undertake the exhaustive treatment of the life and reign of Akbar will be in possession of perhaps the finest great historical subject as yet unappropriated'. Since those words were printed in 1893 nobody has essayed to appropriate the subject. The hope that some day I might be able to take it up was always present to my mind, but other more urgent tasks prevented me from seriously attempting to realize my old half-formed project until January 1915, when I resolved to undertake a life of Akbar on a scale rather smaller than that at first contemplated. The result of my researches during two years is now submitted to the judgement of the public.

The long delay in coming to close quarters with the subject has proved to be of the greatest advantage, both to myself and to my readers. The publication of sound, critical versions of Abu-I Fazl's Akbarnama, Jahangir's authentic Memoirs, Gulbadan Begam's Memoirs, and certain minor works has rendered accessible in a convenient form all the principal Persian authorities for the reign. The discovery in a Calcutta library of the long-lost manuscript of the Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius, by Father A. Monserrate, S.J., and the publication of a good edition of the text of that manuscript by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., have placed at the disposal of the historian a practically new contemporary document of the highest value. The claims of the Jesuit writings to credit and attention having been amply set forth in the Introduction and Bibliography need not be further emphasized here. The free use made of those writings is a special feature of this work.

The few authors who have touched the subject of Akbar at all have not only neglected the Jesuit authorities, but have also failed to subject the chronicles written in Persian, and now available in good versions, to rigorous critical study. The minor fountains of knowledge, too, have not been tapped. The immense mass of accurate archaeological and numismatic facts accumulated by modern experts has not been utilized. The literature of the reign has been treated so lightly that no historian, except Mr. R. W. Frazer, even mentions the fact that Tulsi Das, the greatest, perhaps, of Indian poets, lived and wrote in the reign of Akbar. Many matters of moment, such as the Jain influence on the policy of the emperor, his malicious persecution of Islam, and the great famine of 1595—8, have been altogether omitted from the current books. The course of my investigation has disclosed numberless cases of the omission or misrepresentation of material facts. The necessity for a thorough scrutiny of the authorities for

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Akbar's life is thus apparent, and the importance of his reign needs no exposition.

This book being designed as a biography rather than as a formal history, it has been possible to dispense with the discussion of many details which would require notice in an exhaustive chronicle.[1] The Greek motto on the title-page, to the effect that 'the half is more than the whole', neatly expresses my view that a comparatively brief biography enjoys many advantages over a voluminous history crowded with names and details. Long Indian names, whether Muhammadan or Hindu, offer such difficulty to most European readers by reason of their unfamiliar forms, that I have done my best to confine the number of such names to the lowest possible limit, and to reduce the indispensable ones to their simplest dimensions.

The spelling of names follows the principle observed in *The Early History of India*, except that popular literary forms such as 'Mogul' and 'Parsee' have been used more freely. In the text long vowels are marked so as to indicate the pronunciation, but no other diacritical marks are used. In the notes, index, and appendices the transliteration is more formal and substantially that of the *Indian Antiquary*. Consonants are to be pronounced as in English. *Ch*, in particular, is sounded as in the word 'church'; I decline to use the spelling unfortunately adopted by the Asiatic Societies which would transmute 'church' into 'curc' and actually produces unlimited confusion in the minds of ordinary readers. Vowels are pronounced as in Italian, so that *Pul*, *Mir*, *Mul*, *nau* are respectively pronounced as the English 'pull', 'Meer', 'Mool-', and 'now'. Short *a* with stress on it is pronounced like *u* in 'but', and when without stress is an indistinct vowel. The name *Akbar* consequently is pronounced 'Ukbar' or 'Ukber'. Any system for securing approximate uniformity in the spelling of strange Asiatic names must cause some worry. The plan adopted in this book gives as little as possible. We cannot revert to seventeenth or eighteenth-century practice and perpetrate the unrecognizable barbarisms which disfigure old books.

The most interesting of the illustrations is the coloured frontispiece—a perfect facsimile of the original in the India Office Library—prepared by Messrs. Stone & Co., of Banbury. No other portrait of Akbar as a boy of fifteen or thereabouts is known to exist. The

1. In order to avoid overcrowding this volume with appendices many special studies have been published separately, as given in the list appended : (1) 'De Laet, On Shahjahan, &c.' (*Ind., Ant.*, vol. xliii, Nov. 1914, pp. 239—44) ; (2) 'The date of Akbar's Birth' (ibid., vol. xliv, Nov. 1915, pp. 233—44). This paper was disfigured by many misprints owing to the non-receipt of a proof, but a list of Errata is bound with the volume ; (3) 'The Treasure of Akbar' (*J. R. A. S.*, Nov. 1915. pp. 235—43) ; (4) 'The Credit due to the book entitled *The Voyages and Travels of J. Albert de Mandelslo into the East Indies*' (ibid., pp. 245—54 ; (5) 'Akbar the Great Mogul, &c.' (*The Asiatic Review*, July 1915, pp. 136—69) ; (6) 'Reply' to discussion on above (ibid., August 1915) ; (7) 'The Death of Hemu' (*J. R. A. S.*, 1916, pp. 527—35) ; (8) 'The Confusion between two consorts of Humayun, &c.' (ibid., 1917 ; and (9) 'The Site and Design of the *Ibadat-Khana* or House of Worship' (ibid.).

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picture seems to be contemporary, not a copy, and must have been executed about 1557 or 1558. It is not signed, but may be the work of Abdu-s samad, who was Akbar's drawing-master at about that date, and long afterwards was appointed his Master of the Mint. The portrait possesses additional interest as being the earliest known example of Indo-Persian art, about a dozen years anterior to the Fathpur-Sikri frescoes. Several other illustrations are now published for the first time. The plans of Fathpur-Sikri, in Chapter XV, are from E. W. Smith's excellent book, but have been redrawn with some slight correction.

Mr. Henry Beveridge, I. C. S. Retired, rendered an invaluable service by lending and permitting the use of most of the proof-sheets of the unpublished third volume of his translation of the *Akbarnama*. He has also favoured me with correspondence on various points. I am indebted for kind communications to William Crooke, Esq., I. C. S. Retired; Sir George Grierson, K. C. I. E., I. C. S. Retired; and the Rev. H. Hosten, S. J., of Calcutta.

My special thanks are due to the Library Committee and Dr. F. W. Thomas, Librarian of the India Office, for the facilities which rendered possible the production of the coloured frontispiece. For help in providing or suggesting other illustrations acknowledgements are tendered to the Secretary of State for India in Council; the Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh; the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; the Curators of the Bodleian Library, Oxford; C. A. Oldham, Esq., I. C. S., Commissioner of Patna; Rai Bahadur B. A. Gupte, Curator of the Victoria Memorial Exhibition, Calcutta; and Maulavi A. Hussan, Secretary and Librarian of the Oriental Public (Khuda Baksh) Library, Bankipore. The last-named gentleman furnished me with a detailed account of the magnificent manuscript of the *Tarikh-i Khandan-i Timuriya*, or *History of the Timurid Family*. See *Journal Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. iii (1917), pp. 253-76.

V. A. S.

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CHANGES IN SECOND EDITION

SUNDRY minor amendations need not be specified. The most important additions are the two long notes inserted on pp. 216-17 and 300. The new material indicated in those notes has required considerable changes in chaps. x, xiii, and xiv. Several corrections have been made on p. 7. Akbar's name is now accurately explained on p. 11. The true position of Tabarhindh is stated on p. 34. Beale's error about the mother of Prince Murad, which I had adopted, is put right on p. 73. Mr. J. Abbott I.C.S., has favoured me with corrections about Sultanpur (pp. 123, 124) and Sihwan (p. 177). Lt.-Col. Haig shows why the ruler of Khandesh adopted the title of Raja (p. 178). The same scholar (p. 183, note 2) has brought to light the one specific case as yet noted in which Akbar ordered the destruction of a mosque. The order was not executed.

The interesting discovery of the earliest Muhammadan mention of the 'Jesus saying' (p. 207 note 2) was communicated to me by Professor Margoliouth on October 23, 1917, and since then has been further investigated by Sir C. J. Lyall. A note on the subject probably will be published. I wrongly described Benedict of Goes as 'Father' (pp. 208, &c.) He was a lay coadjutor and never took orders. The designation Karori was used in Bengal as late as A.D. 1770 (p. 269 ; *Press List, Bengal Secretariat*, 1769-74; sec. ii, vol. ii, p. 20). The date of Tansen's death, as recorded in A.N. and by Beale, is now given correctly on page 307.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. H.—Anno Hijrae.
Ahmad Yadgar.—*Tarikh-i Salatin Afaghana* (E. & D., v, 1—66).
Ain.—*Ain-i Akbari*, by Abu-l Fazl, transl. Blochmann and Jarrett.
Alfi.—*Tarikh-i Alfi* (E. & D., v, 167—76).
'Ali Rais.—*Travels and Adventures*, transl. Vambery, 1899.
A. N.—*Akbarnama* of Abu-l Fazl, transl. Beveridge, Chalmers, and E. & D.
Anfa'u.—*Anfa'u-l Akhbar*, by Muhammad Amin (E. & D., vi. 244—50).
A. S.—Archaeological Survey.
Asad Beg.—*Wikaya* or *Halat*, of Asad Beg of Kazwin, in E. & D., vi.
A. S. Annual—*Annual Reports, A. S., India*, from 1902—3.
A. S. B.—Asiatic Society of Bengal.
A. S. R.—*Reports of A. S., India*, by Cunningham, &c., 1871—87.

Badaoni.—*Tarikh-i Badaoni*, or *Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh*, by 'Abdu-l Kadir, transl. Blochmann, E. & D., Lowe (ed. Cowell), Haig, and Ranking.
Bartoli.—*Missione al gran Mogor del Padre Ridolfo Aquaviva*, Roma, Salvioni, 1714.
Bayazid.—*Mukhtasar*, or *Tarikh-i Humayun*, by Bayazid Sultan Biyat ; abstracts by Beveridge (*J. A. S. B.*, part i, vol. lxvii (1898), pp. 296—316), and Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan*.
Beale.—*An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Keene, 1894.
Bernier.—*Travels in the Mogul Empire*, transl. and ed. Constable and V. A. Smith (Oxford University Press, 1914).
B. M.—British Museum.
B. M. Catal.—*The Coins of the Mogul Emperors of Hindustan in the B. M.*, by Stanley Lane-Poole, 1892.

Commentarius.—*Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius*, by Father A. Monserrate, ed. Hosten, *Memoirs*, A. S. B., 1914.

Dabistan.—*Dabistanu-l Mazahib*, transl. Shea and Troyer, 1843.
de Laet.—*De Imperio Magni Mogolis, sive India Vera*, by John de Laet, Elzevir, 1631.
de Sousa—*Oriente Conquistado*, by Father Francisco de Sousa, 1710, as quoted by Goldie and Hosten.
Du Jarric.—*Histoire*, &c. ; Latin version, *Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum*, Cologne, 1614, 1616.

E. & D.—*The History of India as told by its own Historians*, by Sir H. M. Elliot and Professor John Dowson, 8 vols., 1867-77.
E. H. I.—*The Early History of India*, by Vincent A. Smith, 3rd ed. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1914).
Elphinstone.—*History of India*, by Mountstuart Elphinstone, 5th ed., by Cowell, 1866
Ep. Ind.—*Epigraphia Indica*, Calcutta, in progress.

Fergusson.—*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, by James Fergusson, ed. Burgess, 1910.
Firishta.—*Tarikh-i Firishta*, by Muhammad Kasim Hindu Shah, Firishta, transl. Briggs, reprint by Cambray, Calcutta, 4 vols., 1908.
Fitch.—*Ralph Fitch, England's Pioneer to India*, ed. Riley (Unwin, 1899).

Gladwin.—*The History of Hindostan*, Calcutta, 1788.
Goldie.—*The First Christian Mission to be Great Mogul*, by Father Francis Goldie, S. J (Gill, Dublin, 1897).
Gulbadan.—*The History of Humayun* (*Humayun-Nama*), by Gulbadan Begam, transl. A. S. Beveridge, R. A. S., 1902.

H.—Hijri.
Herbert.—*Some Years Travels*. &c., by Sir Thomas Herbert, 4th ed., 1677.

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H. F. A.—*A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, by Vincent A. Smith (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1911).
Horowitz.—*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, Calcutta, 1910.

I. G.—*Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1907, 1908).
I. M.—Indian Museum, Calcutta.
I. M. Catal.—*Catalogue of the Coins in the I. M., Calcutta*, by H. N. Wright, vol. iii, Oxford, 1908.
Ind. Ant.—*Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, 1872 to date.
I. O.—India Office, London.
Irvine, *Army* ; or Irvine.—*The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, by William Irvine, 1903.

J. A. S. B.—*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.
J. & Proc. A. S. B.—*Journal and Proceedings* of the same.
Jahangir, R. B.—*The Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, or *Memoirs of Jahangir*, transl. and ed. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, R. A. S., 1909, 1914.
Jauhar.—*Tazkiratu-l Wakiat*, or *Tarikh-i Humayun*, by Jauhar, transl. under title of *Private Memoirs of the Moghul Emperor of Humayun*, by Stewart, London, 1832. (Or. Transl. Fund).
J. I. A.—*Journal of Indian Art and Industry*.
J. R. A. S.—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London.

Latif.—*Agra, Historical and Descriptive*, by Syad Muhammad Latif, Calcutta, 1896.

Maclagan.—'The Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar' (*J. A. S. B.*, part i. vol. lxv, 1896), by E. D. Maclagan.
Mandelslo.—*Voyages and Travels*, by J. A. de Mandelslo, transl. Davies, London, 1669.
Manrique.—*Itinerario*, by Fray Sebastian Manrique, Roma, 1649, 1653.
Manucci —*Storia do Mogor*, or *Mogul India*, transl. and ed. by W. Irvine, 4 vols., London, 1907, 1908.
Modi.—*The Parsees at the Court of Akbar*, &c., by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Bombay, 1903.

N. S.—New style.
Nuru-l Hakk.—*Zubdatu-t Tawarikh*, by Shaikh Nuru-l Hakk, in E. & D., vi. pp. 189—94.

O. S.—Old style.

Peruschi.—*Informatione del Regno e stato del gran Re di Mogor*, Roma, 1597, by Giovanni Battista Peruschi.
P. M. Catal.—*Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. ii. Oxford, 1914, by R. B. Whitehead.
Purchas.—*Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625), ed. Wheeler, *Early Travels in India*, Calcutta, 1864 ; or ed. MacLehose, Glasgow, 1905—7.

R. A. S.—Royal Asiatic Society. London.
Raverty.—*Notes on Afghanistan*, London, 1888, by H. G. Raverty.
Relacam.—*Relacam do Equebar*, by Father A. Monserrate, transl. Hosten, in *J. & Proc. A. S. B.*, 1912.
Roe.—*The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, &c.*, ed. Foster, Hakluyt Society, 1899.

Shaikh Faizi.—*Wakiat*, by Shaikh Faizi, in E. & D., vi.
Sirhindi.—*Akbarnama*, by Shaikh Illahdad Faizi Sirhindi, in E. & D., vi.
Smith, *Akbar's Tomb.*—*Akbar's Tomb, Sikandarah*, by E. W. Smith, Allahabad. 1909.
Smith, *Colour Decoration.*—*Moghul Colour Decoration of Agra*, by the same, Allahabad, 1901.
Smith, *Fathpur-Sikri* —*The Moghul Architecture of Fathpur-Sikri*, by the same, quarto, in 4 parts, Allahabad, 1894—8.
Stewart.—*History of Bengal*, by Charles Stewart, quarto, 1813.

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Tabakat.—*Tabakat-i Akbari*, by Khwaja Nizamu-d din Ahmad, transl. in E. & D., v.

Takmil.—*Takmil-i Akbarnama*, by 'Inayatu-llah, transl. by E. & D., vol. vi ; by von Noer ; and by Chalmers, MS. in R. A. S. Library.

Terry.—*A Voyage to East India*, by Rev. Edward Terry, ed. 1677.

Thomas.—*The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, and *The Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*, by E. Thomas, London, 1871.

Tod.—*The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, popular ed., Routledge, 1914.

U. P.—United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

von Noer.—*The Emperor Akbar*, by Count von Noer, transl. A. S. Beveridge, Calcutta, 1890.

Yule and Burnell.—*Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words* (*Hobson-Jobson*), 1st ed., 1886, by H. Yule and A. C. Burnell.

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INTRODUCTION

GENERAL VIEW OF THE AUTHORITIES

PAUCITY OF STATE PAPERS

THE historian who undertakes to deal with the life, character, and reign of Queen Elizabeth of England, King Henry IV of France, or any other notable European sovereign of the sixteenth century, is confronted by a gigantic mass of State Papers and other contemporary documents of various kinds, manuscript and printed, so voluminous that the lifetime of a diligent student hardly suffices to master the whole. The biographer of Akbar or any other Asiatic prince of the same period, with possible Chinese exceptions, is in a position very different. The contents of even one record room have not survived. Copies of a few letters and other official papers, with occasional specimens of land-grants or other semi-private documents, often embedded in the text of books, have been preserved, and private individuals here and there hold original documents of interest to their families. But no great collection of public documents exists to which reference can be made, nor is there material for the preparation of a calendar of State Papers. The surviving documents of Akbar's reign, whether originals or copies, although not negligible as a source for the biography and history of the emperor, are not sufficient in number or importance to justify the compilation of a separate catalogue.

Perhaps the most interesting of the contemporary documents is the 'infallibility decree' of 1579 preserved in textual copies by two historians. Some, if not all, of the letters sent by Akbar to various civil and ecclesiastical authorities at Goa are included in the printed collection of Abu-l Fazl's correspondence. The translations in various languages by sundry authors agree substantially and undoubtedly reproduce correctly the substance of those communications, which throw much welcome light on the character and opinions of Akbar.

The collection of letters in Persian by Abu-l Fazl, Akbar's Secretary of State, above referred to, has been often printed but not translated. It is believed that the documents do not contain much matter of historical importance inaccessible elsewhere. The opinion of a competent scholar on their merits is given in the note.[1]

1. 'As a finished diplomatist, his letters to recalcitrant generals and rebellious viceroys are Eastern models of astute persuasion, veiling threats with compliments, and insinuating rewards and promises without committing his master to their fulfilment.

'But these epistles which form one of his monuments to fame, consist of interminable sentences involved in frequent parentheses difficult to unravel, and paralleled in the West only by the decadence of taste, soaring in prose, as Gibbon justly remarks, to the vicious affectation of poetry, and in poetry sinking below the flatness and insipidity of prose, which characterizes Byzantine eloquence in the tenth century' (Jarrett, *Ain*, vol. ii, p. v).

I have not felt bound to undertake the labour of examining the text of those difficult compositions. See also Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, p. xxx.

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A volume of letters by Abu-l Fazl's elder brother also exists. One specimen has been translated. The collection, as a whole, is said to be of slight value for the purposes of the historian.[1]

Examples of land-grants will be found in Modi's book on the relations of the Parsees with Akbar.[2]

RECORDS KEPT BY AKBAR

The lack of State Papers dealing with the reign of Akbar is not due to any failure of his to keep a record of his sayings and doings. Each day while he was giving public audience watchful scribes standing below him committed to paper every word uttered by his august lips, and recorded with painstaking minuteness the most ordinary and trivial actions of his life. The public service was divided into many departments, each well organized and provided with an elaborate system for the transaction and record of business. When the emperor was travelling a camp record office always accompanied him. Record rooms, built for the purpose, existed at the capital and at each head-quarters town in the provinces. Father Manrique, while staying at Rajmahal in or about 1640, when that town was the capital of Bengal, was allowed partial access to the governor's record room, and was permitted to copy from an official document the complete inventory of the treasure left by Akbar in 1605.

Several European writers affirm, and no doubt with perfect truth, that there were no secrets in the Mogul administration. A copy of any document, however confidential, could be obtained without difficulty by means of a moderate payment to the custodians. The works of the early European authors contain many particulars which certainly were derived from official records.

RECORDS PERISHED BY NEGLECT AND DESTRUCTION

The scarcity of State Papers is due simply to their destruction, whch has been almost absolutely complete. A large part of the destruction of writings in India, which is always going on, must be ascribed to the peculiarities of the climate, and the ravages of various pests, especially white ants. The action of those causes can be checked only by unremitting care, sedulous vigilance, and considerable expense, conditions never easy of attainment under Asiatic administration, and wholly unattainable in times when documents have been deprived of immediate value by political changes. The rapid decay of the Mogul empire after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 and the consequent growth of independent mushroom powers quickly deprived the documents in the imperial and viceregal secretariats of their value for practical, material purposes. In the whole country there was not a man who cared to preserve them for the sake of their historical

1. E. & D., vi, 147. Dowson says:
'The letters are of a gossiping, familiar character, and are embellished with plenty of verses; but they contain nothing of importance, and throw little light upon the political relations of the time. All these letters were translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by Lieutenant Prichard, and it is to be regretted that they were not more worthy of the labour bestowed upon them.' I do not know where the manuscript translation is now. Faizi died in 1595.

2. Modi; see Bibliography.

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interest. Mere neglect by itself is sufficient to account for the disappearance of nearly all the State Papers of Akbar's time. Active destruction completed the work of passive neglect. The imperial capitals of Agra, Delhi and Lahore, as well as every important provincial city, suffered from repeated violence of every kind. If by good fortune anything had escaped during the innumerable wars of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, it perished utterly during the disturbances of the mutiny period from 1857 to 1859.

OFFICIAL MATTER IN THE *AIN-I-AKBARI*

The destruction of Akbar's well-kept official records has been practically neutralized by Abu-l Fazl's unique compilation entitled *Ain-i Akbari*, or 'Institutes of Akbar', the result of seven years' hard labour by the author, with the assistance of a numerous staff.[1] That book gives summaries of many official regulations, besides much descriptive matter and copious statistics extracted or compiled from the records of the government. It is, in short, a descriptive and statistical survey of the empire, combined with a detailed account of the court and of the administrative system. Nothing at all resembling such a work was ever compiled in Asia, unless, perhaps, in China. Even in Europe it would be difficult to find an authoritative compilation of a like kind until quite recent times, when the preparation of statistical tables and gazetteers began to be fashionable.

Abu-l Fazl's book, happily, has been made fully accessible to European students by the scholarly versions of Blochmann and Jarrett, which are as serviceable as the original Persian for most purposes.[2] The annotations of the translators, especially those of Blochmann in volume i, add immensely to the value of the text.

The third volume (Books IV and V), which is mostly devoted to a careful account of Hindu religion, philosophy, science, and customs, is not as good as its model, the great treatise written by Alberuni more than five centuries earlier. The same volume includes a collection of Akbar's 'Happy Sayings', which give authoritative expression to his opinions on many subjects and have much importance as biographical material.

The historian, however, is concerned chiefly with the first and second volumes (Books I—III), which describe the court and administration, and present a statistical survey of the empire from official sources.

SIX OTHER CLASSES OF AUTHORITIES

The other authorities for the reign of Akbar are surprisingly numerous and copious, a large number being contemporary. The subject is of so much interest from many points of view that it is astonishing that nobody in any country has yet thought it worthy of serious critical treatment. The one German attempt at such treatment is so defective that its existence does not invalidate the statement that

1. *Ain*, vol. iii, p. 402.
2. Colonel Jarrett's lack of knowledge of revenue technicalities impairs the value of his translation of volume ii.

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no tolerably adequate critical biography or history of Akbar is to be found in any language.

The authorities comprise (1) a considerable number of histories and memoirs in Persian, mostly contemporary; (2) a long series of writings by observant Jesuit missionaries who resided at the court of Akbar; (3) the notes of early European travellers and authors, other than Jesuits, and contemporary to some extent; (4) later European books, which contain various traditions and certain facts based on earlier documents; (5) the archaeological evidence, comprising the testimony of monuments, inscriptions, and coins; and (6) contemporary portraits, drawings, and paintings.

Details of all these six classes of authorities will be found in the Bibliography, Appendix D.

In this place my observations will be confined to pointing out in general terms the evidential value of each class of authorities.

MUHAMMADAN HISTORIES IN GENERAL

Muhammadans, as is well known, differ from Hindus in being fond of historical composition as a branch of literature. Every Muslim dynasty in India has had its chronicler or chroniclers, who ordinarily wrote in Persian. India never has produced an historian justly deserving the name of great, or at all worthy to be ranked with the famous historians of Europe, ancient or modern. Most of the writers are mere annalists, content to give a jejune summary of external facts concerning kings, courts, and wars, sometimes relieved by anecdotes and stories, usually of a trivial kind. A sense of artistic proportion is rarely indicated, and we must not look for the philosophy of history, for explanations of the inner causes of events, or for notices of the common people and economic development. Nevertheless, the Muhammadan histories in Persian are invaluable, and must always be the foundation of the history of India from the time of the Muhammadan conquest to the beginning of the British period. All other sources of information are merely subsidiary. Chronicles written by contemporaries, which are numerous, are, of course, the most important.

PERSIAN HISTORIES OF AKBAR

Akbar's reign has received its full share of attention from the Muslim chroniclers. By good fortune the three principal works have been translated in full by competent scholars, and the more important parts of the minor works also are accessible in English. Translations into other European languages are few and unimportant. The leading authority for the narrative of events in Akbar's reign is the *Akbarnama*, written by Abu-l Fazl in obedience to an imperial order and partly revised by Akbar himself.[1] The chronology is more accurate than that of other books.

The next two long histories of high value are the works by Nizamu-d din and Badaoni, both of whom were in Akbar's service. The former is a straightforward chronicle of the usual type, good so far as it goes, except that the chronology is erroneous. The latter

1. *Ain*, vol. iii, p. 414.

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is a peculiar composition written from the point of view of a Musalman bigot bitterly opposed to Akbar's heresies and innovations. The book, in spite of defects of form, is of surpassing interest.

The numerous minor historians add considerably to our knowledge. Full details concerning all the books will be found in the Bibliography.

THE JESUITS

The next source of authentic information concerning Akbar is to be found in the writings of the Jesuit Fathers who visited and resided at his court from 1580. The chief merit of von Noer's book is that he made considerable use of the works of the Jesuit authors, which had become rare and were almost forgotten. In the seventeenth century they were highly popular and were printed repeatedly in most of the languages of Europe. During the eighteenth century and the greater part of the nineteenth they were overlooked by nearly all authors writing in English, and appear to have been wholly unknown to Elphinstone and Malleson. Failure to read the Jesuits has resulted in the currency of much false history. The Fathers were highly educated men, trained for accurate observation and scholarly writing. They made excellent use of their opportunities at the imperial court, and any book which professes to treat of Akbar while ignoring the indispensable Jesuit testimony must necessarily be misleading. The long-lost and recently recovered work by Father Monserrate, entitled *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius* (1582), is an authority of the highest credit and importance, practically new. The historian Du Jarric, who condensed the original letters of the missionaries into narrative form, is an extremely accurate and conscientious writer, entitled to high rank among the historians of the world. Unfortunately, his great book is extremely rare and little known.

OTHER EARLY EUROPEAN AUTHORITIES

The fundamental authorities for the story of Akbar's life and reign must always be the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the works of the historians written in Persian, and the accounts recorded by the Jesuit missionaries. But the sidelights to be derived from minor luminaries are not to be despised. Two English pioneer merchants who visited Akbar's court, Ralph Fitch in 1585, and John Mildenhall, twenty years later, have left a few brief notes. The *Fragmentum Historiae Indicae* by van den Broecke, published by de Laet in 1631, written about two years earlier, and based on an Indian chronicle, contains much matter deserving of consideration.

LATER EUROPEAN WORKS

When we come to later times the most important European book is Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, 1829-32, which preserves many traditions not available elsewhere, and gives an estimate of Akbar's character and deeds as seen from the Rajput point of view. It is a book to be used with critical caution. Modi's book on the Parsees at the court of Akbar is excellent. Other works will be found mentioned in the Bibliography.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Little need be said about the value of expert study of the archaeological evidence, comprising monuments, inscriptions, and coins, which is essential for a right understanding of the history of art during the reign, while incidentally helping to clear up and illustrate sundry matters of chronology and historical detail. The published material for the study, although not absolutely complete, is fairly adequate. The art and literature of the reign are discussed in the concluding chapter of this work.

PORTRAITS, DRAWINGS, AND PAINTINGS

The cognate evidence obtained from portraits, drawings, and paintings is of special interest as helping the student to visualize the leading personages of the story exactly as they lived. Only a moderate exercise of imagination is required to call up the vision of Akbar surrounded by his courtiers and friends at Fathpur-Sikri, where the buildings which he used are still standing for the most part.

THE SOURCES NUMEROUS AND VARIOUS

It is thus apparent that the sources for the biography of Akbar, the estimation of his genius, and the history of his reign are extraordinarily abundant and various. All the kinds of evidence enumerated above have been utilized freely in the composition of this work, but the attempt to exhaust the recorded particulars has not been made. The treatment of the material has been selective, not exhaustive. The author has aimed at the object of drawing a just picture of Akbar, supporting his presentation of the emperor by so much historical detail as is indispensable for the correct framing of the portrait, and by no more. The details of campaigns and court intrigues which do not directly concern the personality of Akbar will not be found in this volume, but events in which he took an active part are narrated with considerable minuteness. The attentive reader will not fail to observe that authors, even when contemporary, often contradict one another. It would be too much to expect that my efforts to ascertain the exact truth can have been successful in every case. The evidence on each doubtful point has been weighed with care and impartiality. If any reader feels inclined to dissent from any of the conclusions embodied in the text, the references given should be sufficient to enable him to form an independent opinion.

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CHAPTER I

AKBAR'S ANCESTRY AND LIFE BEFORE HIS ACCESSION; INDIA IN 1556; AKBAR'S TASK

AKBAR A FOREIGNER IN INDIA

AKBAR was a foreigner in India. He had not a drop of Indian blood in his veins.[1] On the father's side he was a direct descendant in the seventh generation from Marlowe's Tamerlane, the great Amir Timur, a Central Asian Turk.[2] He was descended through Babur's mother, the daughter of Yunus Khan, Grand Khan of the Mongols, from Chagatai, the second son of Chingiz Khan, the Mongol 'scourge of Asia' in the thirteenth century.[3] The particular branch of the Turks to which Akbar's ancestors belonged was known by the name of Chagatai or Jagatai, because they dwelt in the regions beyond the Oxus which had formed part of the heritage of Chagatai or Jagatai, the second son of Chingiz.[4] The blood of the Turki tribes in Central Asia was much blended with that of the Mongols. Jahangir, Akbar's son, recognized the relationship by priding himself on observing the customs of Chingiz as well as the regulations of Timur.[5] 'Mogul', the designation by which European writers usually indicate the Timurid dynasty of India, is merely another form of 'Mongol'. Akbar was much more a Turk than a Mongol or Mogul, and his mother was a Persian.

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1. Nevertheless, Mr. Havell boldly asserts that Akbar was 'an Indian of the Indians' (*Indian Architecture*, 1913, p. 162).

2. The names in the pedigree are Timur : (1) Miran Shah; (2) Muhammad Sultan; (3) Abu S'aid; (4) 'Umar Shaikh; (5) Babur; (6) Humayun; (7) Akbar. For full genealogy see end of *Ain*, vol. i, or Elphinstone, ed. 5. The Turki name Babur, not Babar, meaning 'lion' or 'tiger', is distinct from the Arabic *babr* (P. *babar*) with the same meaning (Ross, *J. & Proc. A.S.B.*, 1910, extra no., p. iv). Monserrate correctly writes 'Baburus'.

3. 'Porro autem Zelaldinus [Jalalu-d din] maternum genus a Cinguiscano ducit, quod Rex ipse Sacerdotibus significavit.....Ac Zelaldini mater nec regium genus nec dignitatem Cinguiscani in Zelaldinum transfudit : fuit enim privati cujusdam tribuni filia. Vocabatur Txoelij [Chuli] Beygum et antequam Emaumo [Humayun] nuberet data fuerat a parentibus Cayacano [? Kiya Khan] uxor. Quare in Cingiscani genus vel ab avia vel ab alia Cingiscani stirpis heroide quasi insitione adjunctus est, quam pridem autem ab oe non accepimus. Vera tamen narrare cum sibi ab illo muliebre genus esse affirmaret credidimus' (*Commentarius*, pp. 652, 656). I understand the author's suggestion to be that the unnamed female who transmitted the blood of Chingiz Khan was in the ancestry of Akbar's father, not in that of his Persian mother, who was called Chuli' because of her wanderings in the desert (*chul*). The statement that she had been previously married or betrothed to another man before her union with Humayun is not found elsewhere. She was distantly related to Humayun, although not of royal descent. The name of Chingiz is variously spelt. The *Encycl. Brit.*, ed. 11, retains the old-fashioned 'Jenghiz'. In quotations from Monserrate I distinguish *u* and *v*, *i* and *j*, as usual in modern books. Kiya may be either no. 33 or 184 of Blochmann.

4. Sir Ch. Elliot in *Encycl. Brit.*, ed. 11, s. v. 'Turks'.

5. Jahangir, R.B., i, 68, 76.

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The character of Akbar, so far as it depended upon heredity, was thus based on three distinct non-Indian strains of blood existing in his proximate ancestors, namely, the Turk or Turki, the Mongol or Mogul, and the Persian or Iranian strains. The manners and customs of his court exhibited features which were derived from all the three sources, Turki, Mongol, and Iranian. During the early years of his reign Indian influences counted for little, the officers and courtiers surrounding him being divided into two parties, the Turks—Mongol or Chagatai and Uzbeg—on the one side,[1] and the Persians on the other. But after Akbar had attained maturity the pressure exercised by his Indian environment rapidly increased, so that in sentiment he became less and less of a foreigner, until in the later years of his life he had become more than half an Hindu. His personal conduct was then guided mainly by Hindu *dharma*,[2] or rules of duty, modified considerably by the precepts of Iranian Zoroastrianism. The Turki and Mongol elements in his nature were kept so much in the background that he was reputed by Hindus to be a reincarnation of a Brahman sage. Both Turki and Persian were spoken at his court, but the former tongue in the course of time dropped out of use, while the latter became the recognized official and literary language. The highly Persianized form of Hindi known by the name of Urdu, or the camp language, which developed gradually as a convenient instrument of communication between natives and foreigners, was often almost identical in vocabulary with Persian as spoken in India, while retaining the grammatical structure of an Indian tongue.

BABUR, PADSHAH

Akbar's grandfather, 'Babur', as Stanley Lane-Poole justly remarks, 'is the link between Central Asia and India, between predatory hordes and imperial government, between Tamerlane and Akbar'. The wonderful story of his early life and romantic adventures, told by himself in the inimitable autobiography, originally written in Turki and in Akbar's time translated into Persian, may be read with pleasure and profit in the English version by Leydon and Erskine, or more compactly in Stanley Lane-Poole's artistic little volume.[3] That fascinating tale cannot find a place in these pages, although the study of it in detail helps to explain the adventur-

1. 'The Timurids [of Samarkand] were overthrown and succeeded by the Shaibani dynasty, a branch of the house of Juji, Jenghiz Khan's eldest son, to whom his father had assigned dominions in the region north of the kingdom of Jagatai. About 1465 a number of this clan migrated into the Jagatai Khanate. They were given territory on the Chu River and were known as Uzbegs. About 1,500 their chief, Mahommed Shaibani or Shahi Beg, made himself master of Transoxiana and founded the Uzbeg power. The chief opponent of the Uzbegs in their early days was Baber' (*Encycl. Brit.*, ed. 11, s. v. 'Turks', vol. 27, p. 472). The hostility between the Chagatais and the Uzbegs continued in Akbar's time until the death of Abdullah Khan Uzbeg in 1598. In India Chagatai and Uzbeg chiefs concurred in opposition to Persians.

2. The term 'Hindu' includes Jain.

3. *Babar*, Oxford, 1899; the best of the Rulers of India series. See also Mrs. Beveridge's new annotated version of the Turki text, and *An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century*, by Rushworth Williams (Longmans, 1918).

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ous spirit so conspicuous in Akbar. Babur's contact with India began in 1504, when, at the age of twenty-two, he established himself as the lord of Kabul, which was then generally regarded as a part of India, and was at all times closely connected with that country. Babur himself tells us that he 'had always been bent on subduing Hindustan'. He had made several tentative efforts to gratify his desire before he effected his successful invasion early in 1526. On April 21 of that year he defeated and slew Ibrahim Lodi, the Afghan Sultan of Hindostan, at Panipat, to the north of Delhi, and quickly made himself master of Agra and other districts. Nearly a year later, on March 16, 1527, at Khanua,[1] a few miles from Sikri, where his grandson subsequently built his palace-city of Fathpur, Babur scattered the huge Rajput host commanded by the gallant Rana Sanga or Sangram Singh of Chitor, and so crushed the springs of Hindu resistance.

One more big battle, fought near the confluence of the Ganges with the Ghaghra (Gogra) in Bihar, confirmed the bold adventurer's sway over north-western India as far eastward as the frontier of Bengal. At the close of 1530, when he was only in the forty-eighth year of his age, his stormy life, which he had enjoyed with so much zest, came peaceably to an end in his garden-palace at Agra. His remains were carried thence to his beloved Kabul, where they repose under a plain slab in a little garden below a hill set in 'the sweetest spot in the neighbourhood', which he had chosen for his last resting-place. The body of his favourite consort lies beside him, and the place is hallowed by a graceful little mosque of white marble, erected in 1646 by his descendant, the Emperor Shahjahan.[2]

HUMAYUN, PADSHAH

Babur left four sons. Humayun, the eldest, then twenty-two years of age, was allowed to ascend the throne of Delhi without opposition, but was obliged to concede the government of the Panjab and the Afghan country of Kabul, Kandahar, and Ghazni to his next brother, Kamran, in practical independence. Humayun, although not without considerable merits, was a shiftless person, a slave to the opium habit. A bold Afghan governor of Bihar, named Sher Khan, resolved to fight him for the prize of India. In 1539 Humayun was badly defeated at Chausa on the Ganges by his far abler rival, and in the following year was again routed at Kanauj. He was driven from his kingdom, and the victor assumed royalty as Sher Shah. He lived until 1545, and instituted many administrative reforms, especially in the revenue department, which were subsequently copied and extended by Akbar. Neither Babur nor Humayun did anything to improve civil government. They were merely the leaders of a small body of foreign adventurers. Babur fought at Panipat, it is said, with only 12,000 men all told, including camp-followers, or, perhaps, 8,000 effectives.

Humayun, the discrowned king, fled westwards and became

1. Variously spelt as Kanwaha, Kanwa, or Khanwah. The text follows the *I.G.* spelling. The village is in the Bharatpur (Bhurtpore) State, in 27° 2′ N. and 77° 3′ E.

2. Havelock, *Narrative of the War in Affghanistan* (1840), vol. ii., p. 147, App. 24. Masson, *Narrative* (1842), vol. ii, pp. 238-42.

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a homeless wanderer. Failing to obtain succour either from his brother Kamran, who had abandoned the Panjab to Sher Shah, or from the chiefs of Jodhpur or Marwar and Sind, he was forced to roam about aimlessly in the waterless western deserts with an ever-dwindling body of distressed followers. While thus roaming in Sind he had been captivated by the charms of Hamida Bano Begam, a young lady, daughter of Shaikh Ali Akbar Jami, who had been preceptor to Humayun's youngest brother, Hindal.[1] Although she could not be considered as of royal lineage, there seems to have been a distant relationship between her family and that of Humayun. She had been already betrothed to another suitor, and was unwilling to link her fortunes with those of a king, even a king without a crown. After some weeks' discussion the proposal of Humayun was accepted, and he married Hamida at Pat in western Sind, towards the close of 1541 or the beginning of 1542. The bride was only fourteen years of age.

HUMAYUN TAKES REFUGE IN UMARKOT

In August 1542 Humayun, accompanied by his young consort, her followers, and only seven armed horsemen, entered the small fortress town of Umarkot, situated on the main route between Hindostan and Sind, at the edge of the sandhills forming the eastern section of the Sind desert.[2] The local Hindu chief, Rana Parshad, received the starving and thirsty fugitives with generous hospitality, providing them with all necessaries. He arranged to supply Humayun with 2,000 horsemen of his own tribe and 5,000 under the command of friendly chiefs, advising that the force should be employed on an expedition against the districts of Thathah (Tatta and Bhakkar (Bukkur). Humayun took the advice and started with 2,000 or 3,000 horsemen about November 20.[3] Hamida Bano Begam was then expecting her confinement.

BIRTH OF AKBAR

In due course the days were accomplished, and Hamida Bano Begam, who was then only fifteen years of age, and herself little more

1. The Shaikh was also known as Mir Baba Dost. See Mr. Beveridge's discussion in Gulbadan's *Memoirs*. There is no substantial reason for doubting the parentage of Hamida and her brother Khwaja Muazzam.

2. 'Umarkot,' the fort of 'Umar or Omar, a chief of the Sumra tribe. The place, situated in 25° 21' N. and 69° 46' E., is now a town with about 5,000 inhabitants, the head-quarters of the Thar and Parkar District, Sind. Many Persian and English authors write the name erroneously as Amarkot, with various corruptions, as if derived from the Hindi word *amar*, meaning 'immortal', a frequent element in Hindu names. The often-repeated assertion that Akbar revisited Umarkot in 1591, which has been admitted into the *I. G.*, is false. He never was in Sind after his infancy (see Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan*, p. 607 *n.*). Akbar apparently was born in the fort, which is said to be half a mile from the town (Thornton's *Gazetteer*, s. v. Omercote).* A modern inscription purporting to mark Akbar's birthplace is wrongly located and wrongly dated.

A. N., i, 375, speaks of the 'bounty-encompassed fort' (*hisar-i faiz-inhisar*).

3. *A. N.* (i, 376) gives the date as October 11 (Rajab 1), to suit the official birthday. Humayun moved three days before the birth.

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than a child, gave birth to a boy, destined to become the most famous of Indian monarchs. Humayun was encamped on the margin of a large pond, more than twenty miles distant from the Rana's town, when Tardi Beg Khan, with some other horsemen, rode up, bringing from Umarkot the joyful news that Providence had blessed his Majesty with a son and heir. Humayun, who was a pious man, prostrated himself and returned thanks to the Almighty Disposer of all events. When the news spread, all the chiefs came and offered their congratulations. The child having been born on the night of the full moon (Shaban 14, A.H. 949), equivalent to Thursday, November 23, 1542, the happy father conferred on his son the name or title Badru-d din, meaning 'the Full Moon of Religion', coupled with Muhammad Akbar. The adjective Akbar, meaning 'very great' or 'senior', is to be used as qualifying Muhammad. The son of Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, was known as Muhammad al Akbar, or the Senior, to distinguish him from certain other Muhammads.

CELEBRATION OF THE EVENT

The discrowned king, being in extreme poverty, was puzzled how to celebrate an occasion which in happier circumstances would have been proclaimed with costly ceremonial and lavish largess. The dignified composure with which Humayun faced the embarrassing difficulty is best related in the simple words of Jauhar, his faithful ewer-bearer, who was present, and luckily preserved notes of the incident. Jauhar says :

'The King then ordered the author of this memoir to bring him the articles he had given in trust to him; on which I went and brought two hundred *shahrukhis* (silver coin), a silver bracelet, and a pod of musk; the two former he ordered me to give back to the owners from whom they had been taken, as formerly mentioned; he then called for a china plate, and having broken the pod of musk, distributed it among all the principal persons, saying : "This is all the present I can afford to make you on the birth of my son, whose fame will, I trust, be one day expanded all over the world, as the perfume of the musk now fills this apartment." '

The beating of drums and the blare of trumpets announced the event to the camp.

AKBAR BROUGHT TO HIS FATHER

After that interesting little ceremony Humayun proceeded on his march, and arrived at Jun, a small town in Sind, now ruined, and distant about seventy-five miles from Umarkot. He took possession of the town, established his personal tents in a large garden, and fortified his camp to guard against surprise. Meantime, the fast of Ramazan had begun. When it was deemed that Hamida Bano Begam would be fit to travel, a messenger was dispatched to fetch her and the child from Umarkot. She, travelling, it may be presumed, by easy stages, arrived safely on the 20th of Ramazan, the 35th day of Akbar's age, equivalent to December 28. Humayun then had the happiness of embracing his boy for the first time. He stayed in his quarters in the Jun garden until July 11, 1543,

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when he resumed his quest for his lost crown.[1] I do not propose to relate his adventures in detail, except in so far as they concern the personal story of Akbar, which includes many exciting incidents and hairbreadth escapes.

FLIGHT OF HUMAYUN; AKBAR LEFT BEHIND

Humayun, having been deserted by many of his followers, perceived that nothing was to be gained by remaining in Sind. He resolved, therefore, to march for Kandahar, so that he might be in a position to implore help from the Shah of Persia, or, if the worst came to the worst, to retire from conflict by making the pilgrimage to Mecca. He secured with difficulty, the means of crossing the Indus near Sehwan, and proceeded on his long journey northwards through Balochistan, until he arrived at Shal-Mastan or Mastang, south of Quetta, and on the frontier of the Kandahar province, then held by his younger brother, Askari Mirza, on behalf of Kamran, the ruler of Kabul. News having been brought in that Askari was prepared to attack the camp, Humayun, who was incapable of resistance with the small escort at his command, was forced to run away. He was short of horses, and when he tried to borrow one from Tardi Beg that officer churlishly refused. Humayun was obliged to take up Hamida Bano Begam on his own horse, and to make his way with all possible speed to the mountains. He was barely in time to escape capture by his brother who rode up with two thousand horsemen. Little Akbar, then about a year old, necessarily was left behind, as it was impossible for him to bear the journey in his mother's arms on horseback, passing through extremes of heat and cold. Although snow lay deep on the heights, the weather was very hot in the plain. The child was kindly treated by his uncle, who sent him to Kandahar in charge of the trusty Jauhar and other attendants. At Kandahar he was well looked after by Sultan or Sultanam Begam, wife of Askari.[2]

HUMAYUN IN PERSIA; AKBAR IN KANDAHAR

Humayun's party, consisting of forty men and two ladies, one of whom was Akbar's mother, crossed the mountains after much privation, and marched towards the Hilmand, with the intention of entering Persian territory. All thought of going to Kandahar had to be abandoned. When they reached Sistan notice of their arrival was sent in due form to the Shah, who responded with many hospitable civilities. Jauhar, it may be mentioned, deserted from Kandahar after leaving Akbar in safety there, and rejoined Humayun at Herat. His narrative, therefore, of the subsequent proceedings in Persia is that of a person who took part in the adventures. Humayun was received at Kazvin, north-west of Teheran, by the Shah, who entertained him royally. But the Persian monarch insisted that his guest must profess the faith of the Shia sect. One day he even

1. This date is given in *A. N.* i, 389, and may be accepted. The Ramazan date is from Jauhar, and must be correct, but is, of course, inconsistent with the official birthday and Abu-l Fazl's account.

2. The text follows the *Tabakat* and Jauhar. According to Gulbadan (p. 165) the child was left behind because there was not time to take him.

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went so far as to send a message that unless Humayun complied he and all his adherents would be burned alive with a supply of firewood which had been sent to the camp. Humayun held out as long as he dared, but at last was forced to sign a paper submitted to him by the Shah's orders. The Shah then sent him to view the ruins of Persepolis, and, being extremely anxious to get rid of his troublesome and only half-converted guest, gave him his dismissal at some time late in 1544, on the understanding that Humayun should take Kandahar with the aid of Persian troops.

OCCUPATION OF KANDAHAR

Humayun then made his way back to Sistan, and on arrival in that province was agreeably surprised to find that the horsemen assembled for review numbered 14,000 instead of the 12,000 promised. Kandahar was held by Askari Mirza, who, after a siege, surrendered and was pardoned by his brother, early in September 1545. The fortress was occupied by the Persians, who sent the treasure to their master. A little later, Humayun, who had been encamped not far off, returned suddenly, surprised the Persians, and occupied Kandahar himself. He decided to advance against Kamran and recover Kabul.

OCCUPATION OF KABUL

Kamran, having been deserted by many of his adherents and defeated in the field, abandoned his capital and moved in the direction of India. On November 15, 1545, Humayun, without opposition, entered Kabul, where he settled himself comfortably. Little Akbar, accompanied by his half-sister, Bakhshi Bano, a slightly older child, had been sent across country from Kandahar to Kabul, during the winter of 1544-5, while the ground was heavily covered with snow. The children had had the good fortune to arrive in safety, and were well cared for by their good grand-aunt, Khanzada Begam, a sister of Babur. She was very fond of the boy, and was pleased to think that his wee hands and feet were the very hands and feet of her brother, whom he resembled altogether. When Humayun marched against Kamran he had left Hamida Bano Begam in Kandahar. Towards the close of 1545, when he had become established in Kabul, he sent for his wife, and her arrival completed the reunion of the much-tried family. Everybody was willing to believe that the boy recognized his mother at once, without assistance.

CIRCUMCISION OF AKBAR; CHANGE OF NAME AND BIRTHDAY

The opportunity naturally was taken to perform the ceremony of circumcision obligatory for all Muhammadan male children. The authorities differ about the exact date, as they do so often, but it may be fixed with tolerable certainty as March 1546. All the chiefs and nobles brought gifts, and festivities of every kind were brilliantly celebrated. We have seen that the name or title originally conferred on Akbar by his father at Umarkot was Badru-d din, the 'Full Moon of Religion', because the child had been born at the time of the full moon (*badr*) of the month Shaban. Since that memorable night many things had happened, and the precious boy had been exposed to dangers of

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various kinds. His relatives, who believed firmly in all the superstitions of their time, sought to protect him against the perils of malignant sorcery by concealing the true date of his nativity and so frustrating the calculations of hostile astrologers. The circumstances of his birth in the desert ensured the advantage that very few people in Kabul knew exactly on what day he had first seen the light. Consequently, there was no difficulty in adopting a new official birthday. The date chosen was Sunday, Rajab 5, in substitution for Thursday, Shaban 14. Sunday was preferable on astrological grounds to Thursday, and Rajab 5 had the merit of being the reputed day of the conception of the Prophet. So Akbar's birthday was moved back from November 23 to October 15, and the official chroniclers accommodated other dates to suit so far as necessary. The change of date involved the abandonment of the name or title Badru-d din, the 'Full Moon of Religion', which had been chosen by Humayun to commemorate the fact that the moon had been full on Shaban 14 when the prince was born. Jalalu-d din, the 'Splendour of Religion', a title similar in form and not too remote in meaning, was selected as the substitute. History knows Akbar only as Jalalu-d din Muhammad Akbar. The true story of the real date of birth and of the original naming is preserved in the artless and transparently truthful narrative of Humayun's personal attendant Jauhar, who was present when the name Badru-d din was conferred for the reason stated. He put his recollections together some forty-five years later, probably by the direction and for the use of Abu-l Fazl, who deliberately rejected the truth and gave currency to the fictitious official version, which has been universally accepted, save by one Hindu scholar and the author of this book. Akbar's first public appearance as Prince was made on the occasion of his circumcision, and it is reasonable to assume that then his name was announced as being Jalalu-d din, and the official birthday was fixed by the reunited family.[1]

NURSES AND FOSTER-RELATIVES

At this point in the story it will be well to notice the subject of Akbar's numerous nurses and their progeny who ranked as foster-brothers or sisters of the sovereign and in several cases rose to influential positions. In India and other Asiatic countries it is customary to continue the suckling of children to an age much more advanced than in Europe. Sometimes, especially in Bengal and

1. All the evidence on the subject has been discussed fully in the author's article entitled 'The Date of Akbar's Birth', published in *Ind. Ant.*, Nov. 1915, vol. xliv, pp. 233-44. 'Barbers [in Persia] circumcise their children when they think meet, when the Parents give them the Name, joining to that of his Father's his own, as *Mahomed Hosseen*, i.e., *Mahomet the Son of Hosseen* (Fryer, *A New Account*, &c., vol. iii, p. 80) An anecdote in the *Akbarnamah* of Abu-l Fazl (vol. i, p. 43), which describes Akbar as the 'Full Moon (*badr*) of the Heaven', seems to preserve a reminiscence of his original name. It would be meaningless otherwise. Abu-l Fazl must have read Jauhar's tract, which is supposed to have been written to his order. There is no reason to believe that Jauhar was suffering from senile decay when he faired out his memoir, or 'old and silly', as Mr. Beveridge puts it. Probably he was not more than sixty-three or sixty-five years of age. It is quite impossible that his statements should be the result of forgetfulness or mistake, and nobody ever suspected him of deliberate lying. Consequently his statements must be true.

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Gujarat, children are kept at the breast till the age of five, and even that limit has been exceeded. We do not know exactly when Akbar was weaned, but it is probable that he was more or less dependent on his wet-nurses up to the time of his circumcision in March 1546, when he was more than three years old. Abu-l Fazl names ten of his nurses, and states that there were many others. His mother herself nursed him for a time. The most influential of the women who actually suckled Akbar was Jiji Anaga, who took charge of the infant at an early stage in his life. Her husband was Shamsu-d din Muhammad, the lucky soldier who had rescued Humayun from drowning at the battle of Kanauj in 1540. After Humayun's restoration in 1555, he received the title of Atgah or Atka (*scil.* 'foster-father') Khan, and subsequently held high office. He was murdered in 1564 by Adham Khan, who also ranked as a foster-brother of Akbar, and was the son of Maham Anaga, the head nurse. Maham, apparently, did not actually suckle Akbar. The foster-brothers (*Kokah* or *Kukaltash*) of Akbar enjoyed more influence than was good for the State during the early years of the reign, after the dismissal of Bairam Khan. The family of Shamsu-d din and Jiji Anaga is often referred to in histories as the *Atgah Khail* or, 'foster-father battalion'.[1] Akbar took drastic steps to break the influence of his foster-relatives, as soon as he felt strong enough to venture on the undertaking.

ANECDOTES OF INFANCY

Inventive courtiers loved to surround Akbar's birth and infancy with a halo of miracle, concerning which many stories were current. Jiji Anaga, one of the principal nurses, had the audacity to assure Abu-l Fazl that Akbar at the age of seven months comforted his nurse when she was in trouble, with this speech :

"Be of good cheer, for the celestial light of the *khilafat* (sovereignty) shall abide in thy bosom and shall bestow on the night of thy sorrow the effulgence of joy. But see that thou reveal this our secret to no one, and that thou dost not proclaim untimely this mystery of God's power, for hidden designs and great previsions are infolded therein.' .

Abu-l Fazl refrains from saying expressly that he believed that monstrous lie, but is careful to state that he had heard the story from a person of veracity and also from Jiji Anaga herself.[2]

Another anecdote, not incredible, although surprising, rests on the personal authority of Akbar, and must be accepted as true.

'I have heard', Abu-l Fazl writes, 'from the sacred lips of his

1. On prolonged lactation see Crooke, *Things Indian* (Murray, 1906), p. 99, s. v. 'Children'. The list of nurses is in *A. N.*, i. 130. The Turki word *anaga* means 'nurse', and specially 'wet-nurse' (Beveridge's note, ibid., p. 134). For the biographies of the various foster-relatives see *Ain*, vol. i, tr. Blochmann, especially Nos. 15 and 19. Blochmann was mistaken in supposing Adham Khan (No. 19) to be 'a royal bastard'. His father, the husband of Maham Anaga, was Nadim Khan Kukaltash, a faithful servant of Humayun, who shared with Shamsu-d din and Khwaja Muazzam the honour of escorting Hamida Bano Begam and her infant son from Umarkot to Jun (*A. N.*, i. 135 : Introd. to Gulbadan's *Memoirs*, p. 59).

2. *A. N.*, i. 385.

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Majesty, the King of Kings, as follows :—"I perfectly remember what happened when I was one year old, and especially the time when his Majesty Jahanbani (Humayun) proceeded towards 'Iraq and I was brought to Qandahar. I was then one year and three months old.[1] One day Maham Anaga, the mother of Adham Khan (who was always in charge of that nursling of fortune), represented to M. 'Askari, 'It is a Turki [*v.l.* "ancestral"] custom that when a child begins to walk, the father or grandfather or whoever represents them, takes off his turban and strikes the child with it, as he is going along, so that the nursling of hope may come to the ground. At present his Majesty Jahanbani is not here; you are in his room, and it is fitting you should perform this spell which is like *sipand* [a herb] against the evil eye.' The Mirza immediately took off his turban and flung it at me, and I fell down. This striking and falling", his Majesty deigned to observe, "are visibly before me. Also at the same time they took me for good luck to have my head shaved at the shrine of Baba Hasan Abdal [probably the one near Kandahar]. That journey and the taking off my hair are present before me as in a mirror".'[2]

The exceptionally powerful memory which Akbar is known to have possessed in mature life evidently began to develop at an extraordinarily early age.

TUTORS AND TRUANCY

In this connexion it is proper to note, slightly out of chronological order, the fact that in November 1547, when Akbar was about five years of age, arrangements were made for his education and a tutor was selected. The person appointed proved to be inefficient, being more inclined to teach his pupil the art of pigeon-flying than the rudiments of letters.[3] His successor, a more conscientious man, remained in office for several years and did his best. He was followed by a third, and a fourth. But their efforts bore little fruit. Akbar was a thoroughly idle boy from the schoolmaster's point of view, and resisted all attempts to give him book-learning so successfully that he never mastered the alphabet, and to the end of his days was unable even to read or sign his own name. In his boyhood he showed great fondness for animals, and devoted much time to camels, horses, dogs, and pigeons. Of course he became by degrees an expert in all martial exercises, riding, sword-play, and so forth. Although he would not learn to read books for himself, he enjoyed hearing them read by others, and willingly learned by heart the mystic verses of the Sufi poets, Hafiz and Jalalu-d din Rumi. Those boyish studies laid

1. In reality something less, about a year and one month. The date of the incident is stated as being December 16, 1543.

2. *A. N.*, i, 396. Abu-l Fazl, when explaining in his Introduction the pains taken to secure accuracy in his narrative, makes the interesting statement that 'I begged the correction of what I had heard from His Majesty, who, by virtue of his perfect memory, recollects every occurrence in gross and in detail from the time he was one year old—when the material reason came into action—till the present day, when he is, by his wisdom, the cynosure of penetrating truth-seekers' (ibid., i, 32).

3. Akbar was fond of the sport while very young, gave it up for a time, and resumed it later. More than 20,000 pigeons, divided into ten classes, were kept at court. Full details in *Ain*, vol. i, pp. 298-301.

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an intellectual foundation for the unorthodox eclecticism in religious matters of Akbar's later years.

When the young prince was about ten years of age some of the royal servants ventured to complain about the boy's idleness to the Padshah.

Humayun, a lover of books, and a man of no small learning, wrote to his unruly son a dignified letter of remonstrance, quoting a couplet to the effect :

'Sit not idle, 'tis not the time for play,
'Tis the time for arts and for work.'

The letter is said to have contained much judicious and affectionate advice. But the young truant paid no more heed to the paternal admonitions than he had paid to the schooling of his tutors, and went on his own way, amusing himself with his dogs, horses, and the rest, and enjoying keenly the pleasures of sport in various forms. Abu-l Fazl's grandiloquent excuses are amusing. For instance, he explains the boy's horsey tastes by saying :

'He also applied his thoughts to the delight in an Arab horse which is a grand subject of dominion and exaltation, and carried off the ball of excellencies and love of science with the polo-stick of the Divine help and of sempiternal instruction.'

And again :

'His holy heart and his sacred soul never turned towards external teaching. And his possession of the most excellent sciences together with his disinclination for the learning of letters were a method of showing to mankind, at the time of the manifestation of the lights of hidden abundancies, that the lofty comprehension of this Lord of the Age was not learnt or acquired, but was the gift of God in which human effort had no part.' [1]

LOSS AND RECOVERY OF KABUL; AKBAR EXPOSED

After the conclusion of the circumcision ceremonies, Humayun resolved to undertake the establishment of his authority in Badakhshan, the mountainous province, lying beyond the Hindu Kush range, to the north of Kafiristan. He accordingly marched into the province and made the administrative arrangements which seemed proper. When moving to the place where he intended to winter he fell ill near Kishm. The severity of his disorder was so great that he remained unconscious for four days. His condition naturally gave rise to anxiety concerning the succession, and his brother Hindal began to take measures to secure it for himself. Askari, the youngest brother, was at that time confined in the citadel of Kabul, and little Akbar had been left in that city under the care of the ladies. Meantime, Kamran, whose wanderings had extended as far as Sind, managed to surprise Kabul, owing to the gross negligence of Humayun's officers, and to establish himself there again as ruler. He disgraced himself by inflicting on his opponents the most fiendish tortures, not sparing even women and children. Humayun besieged Kabul,

1. *A. N.*, i, 589.

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and reduced Kamran to impotence. That prince, not content with his other cruelties, was base enough to expose the child Akbar on the ramparts to the fire of his father's guns, which were, of course, put out of action as soon as the prince was recognized.[1] Even that disgraceful act did not help the garrison. On April 27, 1547, Kamran slipped away secretly and retired to Badakhshan.

HUMAYUN WOUNDED; KABUL AGAIN TAKEN BY KAMRAN; AND RETAKEN BY HUMAYUN

Akbar was restored to his father. In the following year, 1548, in June, Humayun again marched into Badakhshan, supported by his brother Hindal. Akbar and his mother were left in Kabul. Ultimately, in August, Kamran made his submission, and the two brothers were reconciled with tears and other effusive demonstrations of affection. The chains were taken off Mirza Askari's legs. At the beginning of winter Humayun returned to Kabul, and began preparations for an expedition to Balkh. That expedition, which took place in 1549, was a disastrous failure. Kamran seized the opportunity to renew his unceasing intrigues, and to prove the insincerity of his professions of brotherly love. His people engaged in conflicts with the forces of Humayun, who was badly wounded at a place called Kibchak. In fact, for some three months he was believed to have been killed. Kamran then once more (1550) regained Kabul, and with it possession of Prince Akbar. Later in the year Humayun defeated Kamran, seized Mirza Askari, and again recovered Kabul with his son, about whose safety he had felt great and reasonable anxiety.

The young prince was now granted a village for his expenses. Askari was sent to Mecca, and died while on his way, aged about thirty-eight.[2]

AKBAR APPOINTED TO HINDAL'S FIEF

Kamran continued to wander about among the mountains, plundering and ravaging. During an obscure skirmish at night in November 1551 Prince Hindal was killed, at the age of thirty-two. His body was brought to Kabul and interred there. He seems to have been the best of Humayun's brothers.[3] The fief of Ghazni, with its dependencies, which had been held by Hindal, was conferred on Prince Akbar to whom Hindal's daughter Rukaiya Begam was given in

1. *A. N.*, i, 511; Gulbadan, p. 183. The fact of the exposure of the child, which is also deposed to by the author of the *Tabakat*, is well established. Jauhar, however, says : 'Kamran having threatened to expose the young Prince Akbar to the fire of the cannon, his Majesty forbade their being used, but directed the troops to preserve a strict blockade' (tr. Stewart, p. 87). The *Tabakat* is the sole authority for the statement that Maham Anaga, the head nurse, took the child in her arms, and held him up in view of the garrison (E. & D., v. 226). I see no reason to doubt that statement.

2. Askari was the younger full brother of Kamran, to whom he always remained attached. His real name does not seem to be recorded. He was born in 1516 and died in 1558, according to Mr. Beveridge (Gulbadan, p. 49). Beale gives the date of his death as 1554, which seems to be nearer the truth.

3. The real name of Prince Hindal was Muhammad Nasir or Abu-n Nasir Muhammad (Gulbadan, pp. 3, 92 *n*). Hindal 'is perhaps to be read as meaning "of the dynasty of Hi·d" ' (ibid., p. 10).

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marriage.[1] At the close of 1551 the prince was sent to Ghazni in order to serve his apprenticeship as a provincial governor, under the supervision of competent persons. He remained there for six months, until he was recalled as a precaution, Humayun having hurt himself by a fall from his horse. The accident, however, did not result in any serious consequences.

CAPTURE OF KAMRAN

In the autumn (September) of 1553 (A.H. 960) Sultan Adam Khan, chief of the Gakhar clan in the Salt Range, succeeded in securing the fugitive Kamran, who had been pressed so hard that he had been obliged to disguise himself as a woman. The Gakhar chieftain surrendered Kamran to Humayun and was duly rewarded for the service. The prisoner was treated at first with civility. Humayun's councillors were unanimously in favour of inflicting the capital penalty, but Humayun was unwilling to take his brother's life, and decided that it would suffice to blind him and so render him incapable of succession to the throne. The authorities, as usual, differ concerning the minute particulars of the manner in which the punishment was inflicted. The best and most detailed account is that recorded by Jauhar, who was concerned in the business. His narrative leaves the impression that Humayun felt little concern for his brother's sufferings, which indeed were deserved, inasmuch as he had inflicted worse pains even upon women. It is worth while to quote the story in full as an illustration of the manners of the time and the character of Akbar's father.

KAMRAN BLINDED

'Early in the morning the King marched towards Hindustan, but before his departure determined that the Prince should be blinded, and gave orders accordingly; but the attendants on the Prince disputed among themselves who was to perform the cruel act. Sultan Aly, the paymaster, ordered Aly Dust to do it; the other replied, "You will not pay a *shahrukhy* (3*s*. 6*d*.) to any person without the King's directions;[2] therefore, why should I commit this deed without a personal order from his Majesty ? Perhaps to-morrow the King may say, 'Why did you put out the eyes of my brother?' What answer could I give ? Depend upon it I will not do it by *your order*." Thus they continued to quarrel for some time : at length I said, "I will go and inform the King". On which I, with two others, galloped after his Majesty; when we came up with him, Aly Dust said in the *Jagtay* [Chagatai] *Turkey* language, "No one will perform the business". The King replied in the same language, abused him, and said, "Why don't you do it yourself ?"

'After receiving this command, we returned to the Prince, and Ghulam Aly represented to him in a respectful and a condoling manner that he had received positive orders to blind him; the Prince replied,

1. She was childless and survived Akbar. She died in 1626 at the age of eighty-four (Gulbadan, p. 274).

2. Mr. Beveridge states that 'one *shahrukhi* was about ten pence. Four *shahrukhis* made one *misqal*' (Gulbadan, p. 178 *n*.). Shahrukh was the fourth son of Timur, whom he succeeded in 1408, after a short interval.

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"I would rather you would at once *kill me*"; Ghulam Aly said, "We dare not exceed our orders"; he then twisted a handkerchief up as a ball for thrusting into the mouth, and he with the *Ferash*, seizing the Prince by the hands, pulled him out of the tent, laid him down and thrust a lancet (*Neshter*) into his eyes (such was the will of God). This they repeated at least fifty times; but he bore the torture in a manly manner, and did not utter a single groan, except when one of the men who was sitting on his knees pressed him; he then said, "Why do you sit on my knees? What is the use of adding to my pain?" This was all he said, and acted with great courage, till they squeezed some (lemon) juice and salt into the sockets of his eyes; he then could not forbear, and called out, "O Lord, O Lord, my God, whatever sins I may have committed have been amply punished in this world, have compassion on me in the next".

'After some time he was placed on horseback, and we proceeded to a grove planted by the Emperor Firoz Shah, where, it being very hot, we alighted; and after a short period again mounted, and arrived in the camp, when the Prince was lodged in the tent of Myr Cassim.

'The Author of these pages, seeing the Prince in such pain and distress, could no longer remain with him; I therefore went to my own tent, and sat down in a very melancholy mood : the King, having seen me, sent Jan Muhammed, the librarian, to ask me "if the business I had been employed on was finished, and why I had returned without orders?" the humble servant represented "that the business I had been sent on was *quite completed*" : his Majesty then said, "He need not go back, let him get the water ready for me to bathe."

'The next day we marched.' [1]

Kamran was allowed to proceed to Mecca, where he died about three years later. His family was not molested by Humayun, but his only son, a possible pretender to the throne, was privately executed at Gwalior in 1565, at the time of the Uzbeg rebellion, by order of Akbar, who thus set an evil example, imitated on a large scale by his descendants Shahjahan and Aurangzeb.

INVASION OF INDIA

Humayun returned to Kabul, and made arrangements for his long projected invasion of India. At some time in A.D. 1554 (A.H. 961), Sher Shah's son, Islam or Salim Shah Sur, died at Gwalior, and it cannot have been long before Humayun heard of the decease of his able rival. Muhammad Adil or Adali Shah, who seized the throne, was a person much less formidable. In the middle of November 1554 Humayun started to recover his lost crown. From Jalalabad he floated down the Kabul river on a raft to the neighbourhood of Peshawar, where he built a fort. After crossing the river Indus, he sought a blessing on his enterprise by giving his son, then twelve years of age, a solemn audience. Jauhar tells us that the prince, after having bathed, put on a new dress, and accompanied by the narrator, appeared before the king.

1. Jauhar, tr. Stewart, pp. 105-7. Gulbadan Begam also briefly describes the incident. The single incomplete manuscript of her book ends with it.

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'When we arrived, his Majesty was sitting, facing the setting moon; he ordered the Prince to sit down opposite him; he then read some verses of the Koran, and at the end of each verse *breathed* on the Prince, and was so delighted and happy, it might be said that he had then acquired all the good fortune of this world and the blessings of the next. His Majesty then continued his journey.'[1]

About this time Munim Khan was appointed to be guardian (*atalik*) of Prince Akbar. The army was placed under the command of Bairam Khan. In February 1555 Humayun occupied Lahore, and on June 22 the invaders gained a decisive victory at Sihrind over a much more numerous force commanded by Sikandar Sur, a nephew of Sher Shah, and one of the pretenders to the throne of Hindostan. The official record was drawn up so as to credit young Akbar with the victory, and thus to dispose of the rival claims of Bairam Khan and a turbulent noble named Shah Abu-l Maali, each of whom wished to be acknowledged as the victor.[2] On this occasion Akbar was formally declared to be heir apparent.[3] Humayun was obliged to arrest Khwaja Muazzam, Akbar's maternal uncle, who had engaged in treasonable correspondence with the enemy. The occupation of Delhi in July restored Humayun to the throne so gallantly won by his father, and so weakly lost by himself. In November Akbar was formally appointed as governor of the Panjab, being then thirteen years of age, and the office of guardian was conferred upon Bairam Khan in place of Munim Khan.

The young prince did not trouble himself about state affairs, but occupied his time in shooting, an art in which he became rapidy proficient. He also practised the hunting of antelope with the *cheetah* leopard, a pastime to which he continued addicted in later life.

DEATH OF HUMAYUN

Akbar having been sent with Bairam Khan to the Panjab, his father remained at Delhi engaged in the work of organizing a government for his newly regained territories, on which his hold was still precarious. He intended to occupy each of the principal cities in northern India with an adequate garrison, retaining only 12,000 cavalry in attendance on his person. He amused his leisure with sundry fantastic devices and trivial inventions of a rather puerile nature, on which Abu-l Fazl lavishes misdirected praise. He is said to have felt premonitions of the approach of death. Whether he did or not, the angel of death quickly seized him. On Friday, January 24, 1556, at sunset, he was engaged in conversation with astrologers and other people on the roof of the Sher Mandal, a building erected by Sher Shah, and recently fitted up as a library, when suddenly, as Humayun was about to descend the steep staircase opening on the roof, the call to prayers was heard. The Padshah, in order to show respect to the summons,

1. Jauhar, tr. Stewart, p. 110.
2. *A. N.*, i, 633. The spellings Sahrind or Sihrind and Sarhind or Sirhind all occur in the MSS. Raverty considered the first form to be correct.
3. Ahmad Yadgar, E. & D., v. 58.

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tried to sit down on the top step, but his staff slipped, and he tripped over the skirt of his robe. He fell down the stairs, fracturing the base of the skull, and became insensible. Probably he never recovered consciousness, although Abu-l Fazl affirms that he was able to send off a dispatch. Three days later he died. The fatal nature of the accident was concealed as long as possible, a man being dressed up to personate Humayun and make a public appearance. A Turkish admiral, Sidi Ali Rais, who happened to be then with the court, took an active part in the deception, and was sent off to Lahore bearing the false news of the patient's recovery. Time was thus gained to secure the unopposed proclamation of Akbar as successor to the throne.[1]

ENTHRONEMENT OF AKBAR

Bairam Khan and Akbar, who were engaged in operations against Sikandar Sur, Sher Shah's nephew, and the principal rival claimant to the crown, were at Kalanaur in the Gurdaspur District, when they received authentic news of Humayun's death. The formal enthronement of Akbar took place in a garden at Kalanaur. The throne, a plain brick structure, eighteen feet long and three feet high, resting on a masonry platform, still exists. The ornamental gardens and subsidiary buildings subsequently constructed and visited more than once by Akbar have disappeared. The throne platform has been recently enclosed in a plain post and chain fence, and a suitable inscription in English and Urdu has been affixed. The correct date of Akbar's enthronement seems to be Friday, Rabi ii, 2, A.H. 963, equivalent to February 14, 1556.[2] The proclamation of his succession was made at Delhi on February 11, three days before the enthronement at Kalanaur.[3]

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1. The authorities, as usual, differ about the exact dates. Mr. Beveridge (*A. N.*, i, 654 *n.*) shows good reason for accepting Friday, January 24, as the date of Humayun's accident. The statement of Abu-l Fazl that 'some drops of blood issued from his right ear' (ibid., p. 657) indicates that the fatal injury presumably was fracture of the base of the skull. The Sher Mandal tower, near the Kila Kuhna, to the south of modern Delhi, is fully described by Carr Stephen (*The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi*, 1876, pp. 193, 194), and by Beveridge (*A. N.*, i, 656 *n.*). For the admiral see Bibliography, *post*.

2. Kalanaur, now a small town with about 5,000 inhabitants, is fifteen miles west from Gurdaspur town. It was the chief place in the neighbourhood from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century (*I. G.*, 1908, s. v.). The ancient kings of Lahore used to be enthroned there, and the town was then of large size. Its glory had departed when Monserrate was there with Akbar in 1581, but ruins and debris marking its former extent were still visible (*Commentarius*, p. 593). Akbar's throne, the 'Takht-i-Akbari', has been described in the *Annual Progress Report* (*Muhammadan*) *of A. S., N. Circle*, for 1910-11, p. 19; and in *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, for 1907-8, pp. 31, 32, with photograph. Another town named Kalanaur exists in the Rohtak District. The name, being a Hindu one (probably from Kalyanapura), should be spelled with the termination *-aur* (from *-pura*), not with the Persian *-ur*. Dowson observes that the MSS. of the *Tabakat* erroneously give Rabi i as the month of the accession (E. & D., v, 247 *n.*). The student should note that the Ilahi era of Akbar dates from Rabi ii, 27, equivalent to March 11, twenty-five days later than the actual accession. The era was reckoned from the next *nauroz* or Persian New Year's Day, and the interval of twenty-five days was counted as part of the first regnal year. The account of the era in Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras* is incorrect.

3. *A. N.*, i, 658.

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The Protector was obliged to take the strong step of again arresting Shah Abu-l Maali for contumacious refusal to obey promptly a summons to the 'coronation darbar' held on the third day after the enthronement ceremony.[1]

INDIA IN 1556

The India of 1556, when young Akbar preferred his formal claim to the sovereignty of Hindostan, was a distracted and ill-governed land. Its economic condition was even worse than the political, many of its fairest provinces, including Delhi and Agra, being then desolated by an appalling famine caused by widespread failure of the rains combined with the devastation wrought by two years of warfare. The enthronement of the boy Padshah simply registered a claim to sovereignty. When he went through the ceremony at Kalanaur he could not be said to possess any definite kingdom. The small army under the command of Bairam Khan merely had a precarious hold by force on certain districts of the Panjab; and that army itself was not to be trusted implicitly. Before Akbar could become Padshah in reality as well as in name he had to prove himself better than the rival claimants to the throne, and at least to win back his father's lost dominions.

AKBAR'S TASK

The lordship of Hindostan or north-western India was then disputed by two or three members of the Sur family as well as by Hemu, the Hindu general and minister who set up as a sovereign on his own account. The Kabul territory, administered in the name of Akbar's younger brother, was practically independent. Bengal, usually under the rule of Afghan chiefs, had been independent for more than two centuries; the Rajput clans of Rajasthan had recovered from the defeat inflicted by Babur and enjoyed unchallenged possession of their castles; Malwa and Gujarat had thrown off allegiance to Delhi long ago; the wild regions of Gondwana, the modern Central Provinces, obeyed only their local chieftains who recognized no sovereign lord; and Orissa acknowledged no master. Farther south, the Deccan States of Khandesh, Berar, Bidar, Ahmadnagar, Golkonda, and Bijapur were governed by their own Sultans, to whom the name of the Padshah of Delhi was a matter of absolute indifference. The Far South, that is to say, the peninsula from the Krishna (Kistna) and Tungabhadra rivers to Cape Comorin, was held firmly in the grasp of the sovereigns of Vijayanagar, then at the zenith of their power, who ruled a realm so wide as to deserve fairly the name of an empire. Goa and several other ports on the western coast were strongly occupied by the Portuguese whose ships held command of the Arabian Sea.

In the north, the border states of Kashmir, Sind, and Balochistan, with many others, enjoyed perfect freedom from all superior control.

The first necessity for Akbar and his guardian was to establish the authority of the Padshah of Delhi over the capital and the surround-

1. Mr. Beveridge notes that the incident is depicted in one of the pictures by Abdu-s Samad in MS. Ouseley Add. 172, in the Bodleian Library.

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ing districts of Hindostan. Once that vantage-ground had been gained the road to further conquests lay open.

In the succeeding chapters the story will be told of the skill with which Akbar not only recovered the dominions of his father but extended his sovereignty over the whole of northern, western, and central India, as well as over the immense territories now known as Afghanistan and Balochistan, the border states of Kashmir, Sind, and Orissa, besides the minor kingdoms of the Deccan.

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CHAPTER II

THE REGENCY AND THE FALL OF BAIRAM KHAN, 1556-60

ATTEMPT OF SULAIMAN MIRZA TO SEIZE KABUL

Akbar and the Protector appear to have stayed at Kalanaur for some time after the accession ceremony, their forces being engaged in hunting down Sikandar Sur, the principal rival claimant to the throne. Early in June, in consequence of heavy rain, Akbar and Bairam Khan moved southwards to Jalandhar (Jullunder), where they remained for some five months.

Meantime, a cousin of Akbar's, Sulaiman Mirza of Badakhshan, had attempted to seize Kabul, but was induced to retire on receiving the empty compliment of the recitation of his name in the *khutba*, or prayer for the king. Kabul continued thenceforward to be, as arranged by Humayun, under the nominal government of Prince Mohammad Hakim, Akbar's younger brother, and the actual administration of Munim Khan, the minister. The province was not regarded officially as being independent, but was always considered to be subordinate to the Indian Padshah.

SUR CLAIMANTS TO THE THRONE

Three members of the Sur house contested the claim of the descendants of Babur to the throne of Hindostan. In 1554 the young son of Islam Shah had been murdered by his uncle, who occupied Delhi and assumed the title of Muhammad Shah Adil. About a year later the usurper was driven out by a relative named Ibrahim Khan, and compelled to retire eastwards. He fixed his head-quarters at Chunar, near Mirzapur, and had no further direct concern with affairs in the north-west. At some time in 1557 he was killed in a fight with the king of Bengal.[1] Ibrahim Khan, the supplanter of Muhammad Shah Adil, was himself expelled from Delhi by a nephew of Sher Shah, who took the title of Sikandar Sur. That prince suffered defeat by Humayun at Sihrind in 1555, withdrew to the east, and ultimately was killed in Orissa twelve years later. Thus it happened that when Akbar took his seat on the throne at Kalanaur, in January 1556, the only substantial rival belonging to the Sur family with whom

1. The *Tarikh-i-Daudi* (E. & D., iv, 508; v, 66 *n.*) gives the date as A.H. 968 = A.D. 1560-1, and alleges that 'Adali reigned for eight years. Beale (*Or. Biogr. Dict.*) states the year as A.H. 963, or A. D. 1556, which agrees with the statement of the *Tabakat* (E. & D., v, 245) that ' 'Adali reigned for nearly three years'. 'Adali was the nickname or title of Muhammad Shah Adil. Ahmad Yadgar (E. & D., v, 66) gives the date as 964, adding that 'his miserable reign lasted about three years'. Abu-l Fazl places the death in the second year of the reign of Akbar (March 1557—March 1558), and states that 'Mubariz Khan 'Adili had reigned four years and odd' (*A. N.*, ii, 90). Mubariz Khan was the personal name of Muhammad Shah Adil. We may take 1557 as the correct year A.D. The case is a good illustration of the innumerable discrepancies in the Persian histories.

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he had to deal was Sikandar, who continued to wander in the lower hills of the Panjab with an armed force, hoping that fortune might turn in his favour, and enable him to regain the throne which his uncle Sher Shah had occupied with so much distinction. In the matter of legitimate right there was nothing to choose between Akbar, the representative of Babur, and Sikandar, the representative of Sher Shah. The claims of the rivals could be decided only by the sword.

HEMU

King Adali, to give him his short name, had bestowed his special favour on a Hindu named Hemu, a native of Rewari in Mewat, and a member of the Dhusar section of the baniya or mercantile castes, whom he appointed his prime minister. Hemu, in spite of the disadvantages of his Hindu faith, humble origin, and puny physique, justified his sovereign's confidence by proving himself an able general and ruler of men. He won twenty-two victories for his master, and finally defeated the pretender Ibrahim Khan, who had already been worsted by Sikandar Sur. When Humayun returned to India to recover his lost throne, King Adali sent Hemu northwards to oppose him, while he himself retired to Chunar. Humayun, as we know, succeeded in re-establishing himself for a few months. When he met with his fatal accident, in January 1556, Hemu remained in the field on behalf of Adali to prevent Akbar from taking effective possession of his father's kingdom.

When Bairam Khan formally proclaimed Akbar at Kalanaur as Padshah, Tardi Beg, an influential Turkoman officer, who had been long in the service of Humayun, recognized the young prince's accession, and was rewarded by promotion to the rank of commander of 5,000 and appointment as governor of Delhi.

FALL OF DELHI AND AGRA; EXECUTION OF TARDI BEG

Hemu, advancing by way of Gwalior and Agra, encamped near Old Delhi, and inflicted a severe defeat on the Mogul forces, capturing 160 elephants, 1,000 Arab horses, and an immense quantity of valuable booty. He thus gained possession of both Delhi and Agra. The authorities differ as to the exact amount of resistance offered by Tardi Beg, who, according to Ahmad Yadgar, 'did not leave his position to assist either party.' It is certain that his defence, if made at all, was disgracefully feeble, and that he abandoned his charge without adequate reason. He fled to Sihrind, where he met Akbar and Bairam Khan. There is a direct conflict of evidence concerning the responsibility of Akbar for the irregular execution of the fugitive general, which quickly followed on his arrival. According to Badaoni, the Protector produced Khan Zaman and other witnesses to prove the treachery of Tardi Beg, and, having by this means convinced his young sovereign, 'obtained a sort of permission' to put the guilty man to death.[1]

The detailed account given by Abu-l Fazl seems to be more worthy of credit. He explains that although Bairam Khan and Tardi Beg professed to stand in the relation of brothers, they were really

1. Badaoni, ii, 7.

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rivals. Tardi Beg regarded himself as leader of the army and was lying in wait for an opportunity to overthrow Bairam Khan. The Protector resolved to make use of the opening afforded by Tardi Beg's failure to hold Delhi, and to get rid of his rival. He inveigled his victim to his own tent by friendly professions, made an excuse to slip out, and caused his followers to slay Tardi Beg. Akbar, who in those days paid no attention to affairs of state, was out hawking at the time. When he came in the Protector excused himself on the ground of necessity for taking action without permission, which he could not have hoped to obtain. Akbar graciously accepted his guardian's excuses and continued to show him marks of favour and confidence.[1]

Many authors denounce the informal and treacherous execution of Tardi Beg as mere murder. The writers who take that view do not sufficiently appreciate the usage of the times, which sanctioned the removal of inconvenient opponents by irregular methods, nor do they give adequate weight to the consideration of the difficulties and dangers which then beset the Protector and his royal ward. The success of Tardi Beg in his rivalry with Bairam Khan certainly would have involved the destruction of the latter, and in all probability that of Akbar also. Firishta took a sounder view when he wrote :

'The King felt bound to approve of this severe measure. The author of this work has understood, from the best informed men of the times, that had Tardy Beg Khan not been executed by way of example, such was the condition of the Mogul army, and the general feeling of those foreigners, that the old scene of Sheer Shah would have been enacted over again. But in consequence of this prompt though severe measure, the Choghtay [Chagatai] officers, each of whom esteemed himself at least equal to Keikobad and Keikaoos [the legendary Persian heroes], now found it necessary to conform to the orders of Beiram Khan, and to submit quietly to his authority.'[2]

It may be reasonably affirmed that failure to punish the dereliction of Tardi Beg from his duty would have cost Akbar both his throne and his life.[3]

HEMU ASSUMES SOVEREIGN RANK

Hemu, who had won Delhi and Agra in the name of his master Adali, now began to reflect that his sovereign was a long way off, that he himself was in possession of the army and elephants, and that it might be better to gain a kingdom for his own benefit rather than for that of his absent employer. Accordingly, he distributed the spoil, excepting the elephants, among the Afghans who accompanied him, and thus won them over to his side. With their concurrence he entered Delhi, raised the imperial canopy over his own head, and exercised the most cherished privilege of sovereignty by striking coin in his own

1. *A. N.*, ii, 51-3. Abu-l Fazl (ibid., p. 46) hints that treachery on the part of Pir Muhammad Shirwani may have had something to do with the disaster. He desired to bring discredit on Tardi Beg (ibid., p. 49).

2. Firishta, ii, 186.

3. But it should be noted that Bayazid attributes the action of Bairam Khan to private enmity (*J. A. S. B.*, part i, vol. lxvii (1898), p. 300).

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name.[1] He assumed the style of Raja Bikramajit or Vikramaditya, which had been borne by several of the most renowned Hindu monarchs in ancient times, and so entered the field as a competitor for the throne of Hindostan against both Akbar and Sikandar Sur. When writing to his nominal sovereign Adali, he concealed his usurpation, and pretended to be acting in his master's name. For the moment Sikandar Sur was of no account, and the issue had to be fought out between Hemu, acting for himself, and Bairam Khan, acting as Protector and guardian on behalf of Akbar.

FAMINE

The struggle of rival claimants for the throne unfortunately coincided with one of the most awful recorded in the long list of Indian famines. The dearth lasted for two years, 1555 and 1556 (A.H. 962-3), and was especially severe in the Agra and Delhi territory, where armies were assembled, and had long been engaged in the work of devastation. The testimony of Badaoni, an eyewitness of the horrible fact of cannibalism and the utter desolation of the country, agrees with that of Abu-l Fazl, who remembered clearly the horrors of the visitation.

But Hemu cared not. When he was encamped near Bayana, fifty miles to the south-west of Agra, 'the people died with the word "bread" upon their lips, and while he valued the lives of a hundred thousand men at no more than a barley corn, he fed his five hundred elephants upon rice, sugar, and butter. The whole world was astounded and disgusted.'[2]

ACTION OF BAIRAM KHAN

The Protector, rejecting the advice of timid counsellors, who recommended retreat to Kabul, decided that the crown of Hindostan was worth fighting for, and we may feel certain that Akbar heartily agreed with him. Bairam Khan and Akbar advanced to Thanesar, and thence to the historic plain of Panipat, where, thirty years earlier, Akbar's grandfather had won the throne which Humayun had failed to keep. Hemu, whose army was far superior in numbers, encamped to the west of the town of Panipat. Bairam Khan made an inspiring speech to his officers, pointing out that they must conquer or perish, and his brave words were supported by the divination of a soothsayer who deduced favourable omens from his inspection of the shoulder-blade of a sheep.

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1. No coin struck by Hemu is known.

2. Badaoni, in E. &. D., v, 490, 491; and, with verbal variations, in tr. Ranking, vol. i, pp. 549-51. The brutality of Hemu is disclosed by Badaoni alone. The other historians are silent on the subject. Abu-l Fazl, who could be brutal himself, in spite of his philosophy, descants on the merits of Hemu's 'virile spirit' (*A. N.*, ii, 69). For proof of Abu-l Fazl's brutality see his disgusting account of the punishment of certain rebels against Humayun (*A. N.*, i, 315, chap. xxiii). He describes the famine and connected pestilence in his autobiography. The great famine occurred, he says, in the beginning of the year of his Majesty's accession [A.H. 963 began on November 16, 1555]. The capital was devastated and nothing remained but a few houses [the reference must be to Delhi]. An epidemic plague ensued and spread through most of the cities of Hindostan. Multitudes died (*Ain*, vol. iii, p. 426). The same author confirms the fact that men were driven to feed on human flesh, and that parties were formed to seize and eat solitary victims (*A. N.*, ii, 57).

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THE BATTLE OF PANIPAT (Nov. 5, 1556)

Hemu's artillery, which had been sent on in advance, was captured by the vanguard of Akbar's army in a preliminary engagement. But, even after that loss, the Hindu general still possessed an immense superiority of strength. He relied especially on his 1,500 war-elephants, in accordance with ancient Hindu tradition. Each army was drawn up in three divisions. On November 5 Hemu succeeded in throwing both the right and the left wings of his opponents into confusion, and sought to make his victory decisive by bringing all his 'mountain-like elephants' to bear on the centre of the enemy, commanded by Khan Zaman. Probably he would have won but for the accident that he was struck in the eye by an arrow which pierced his brain and rendered him unconscious. An Indian army never could survive the loss of its leader, on whose life its pay depended. Hemu's soldiers at once scattered in various directions and made no further attempt at resistance. Hemu's elephant, which had fled into the jungle, was brought back by Shah Kuli Khan Mahram, and its unconscious rider was placed before the Protector and Akbar, who had ridden up. During the battle the young prince had been kept at a safe distance in the rear, and Bairam Khan had left the conduct of the fight to his lieutenants.

EXECUTION OF HEMU

Bairam Khan desired Akbar to earn the title of Ghazi, or Slayer of the Infidel, by fleshing his sword on the captive. The boy naturally obeyed his guardian and smote Hemu on the neck with his scimitar. The bystanders also plunged their swords into the bleeding corpse. Hemu's head was sent to Kabul to be exposed, and his trunk was gibbeted at one of the gates of Delhi. Akbar, a boy of fourteen, cannot be justly blamed for complying with the instructions of Bairam Khan, who had a right to expect obedience; nor is there any good reason for supposing that at that time the boy was more scrupulous than his officers. The official story, that a magnanimous sentiment of unwillingness to strike a helpless prisoner already half dead compelled him to refuse to obey his guardian's instructions, seems to be the late invention of courtly flatterers, and is opposed to the clear statements of Ahmad Yadgar and the Dutch writer, van den Broecke, as well as to the probabilities of the case. At the time of the battle of Panipat, Akbar was an unregenerate lad, devoted to amusement, and must not be credited with the feelings of his mature manhood.[1]

OCCUPATION OF DELHI AND AGRA

The pursuit of the defeated army being vigorously pressed, the victors next day, without halting, marched straight to Delhi, which opened its gates to Akbar, who made his entry in state. Agra also passed into his possession. In accordance with the ghastly custom of the times, a tower was built with the heads of the slain. Immense

1. The text follows Ahmad Yadgar and van den Broecke. 'The Prince accordingly struck him and divided his head from his unclean body' (E. & D., v, 66). 'Achabar.....dediticio cervices acinace praecidit' (de Laet, pp. 1 4-81). For full discussion of the evidence see 'The Death of Hemu', *J.R.A.S.*, 1916, p. 527.

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treasures were taken with the family of Hemu, whose aged father was executed. The Mewat territory, which had been Tardi Beg's *jagir* or lordship, was conferred on Pir Muhammad, a confidential servant of Bairam Khan.[1]

THE END OF THE SUR DYNASTY

Akbar remained about a month at Delhi, returning early in December to Sihrind, in order to complete the operations directed against his rival Sikandar Sur. From Sihrind, Bairam Khan and his sovereign advanced to Lahore, continuing the pursuit, until at last, in May 1557, Sikandar, after enduring a long siege, surrendered at Mankot, a fort in the lower hills, now called Ramkot, and included in the Jamu territory of the Kashmir State. He was treated without animosity, and was given the Kharid and Bihar Districts as a fief.[2] He died peacefully about two years later.

Muhammad Shah Adil, or Adali, had been killed, as already related, in 1557, and Ibrahim Khan had withdrawn. The stormy career of the Sur dynasty thus came to an end, and Akbar was left free to consolidate his dominion, undisturbed by the claims of rivals to his sovereignty, except in so far as his younger brother, Muhammad Hakim of Kabul, made feeble attempts from time to time to contest the throne of Hindostan.

MARRIAGE OF BAIRAM KHAN WITH SALIMA BEGAM

In the course of the second year of the reign, 1557-8, the ladies of the royal family arrived safely from Kabul and rejoined Akbar at Mankot. Akbar marched out a stage to meet them, and was 'much comforted by the reunion'. From Mankot the army marched to Lahore, halting on the way at Jalandhar, where Bairam Khan married Salima Begam, an accomplished young lady, the daughter of Humayun's sister, and consequently a grand-daughter of Babur and cousin of Akbar. After the fall of Bairam Khan, Akbar married her himself. She lived until 1612, and always ranked as one of the most important ladies of the court.

In October 1558 Akbar and the court, travelling down the Jumna by boat, migrated to Agra, at that time a town of comparatively small importance.

THE EDUCATION OF AKBAR

The Protector did his best to arrange for the further education of his royal ward, and about this time appointed as Akbar's tutor a refugee from Persia, named Abdu-l Latif, who is described by Badaoni as 'a paragon of greatness'.[3] But the paragon was not more successful

1. Mewat is the ill-defined tract lying south of Delhi, largely inhabited by the Meos or Mewatis, and now extending over parts of the British Districts of Mathura (Muttra), most of the Alwar State, and a small portion of Bharatpur. Alwar town was the capital (*A. N.*, i, 266).

2. See *J. Panjab Hist. Soc.* iii, 119-23. Abu-l Fazl's precise chronology (*A. N.* ii. 91) is better than the date given by Raverty, *Notes*, p. 592 *n.*

3. 'He was the first that taught Akbar the principle of *Sulh-i-kul*, "peace with all", the Persian term which Abu-l Fazl so often uses to describe Akbar's policy of toleration. Abu-l Fazl (*Akbarn.*, ii, 23) says that 'Abdullatif was accused in Persia of being a Sunni and in Hindustan of being a Shiah' (*Ain*, tr. Blochmann, vol. i, p. 448, *n.* 2).

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than his predecessors had been. Akbar condescended to practise a little drawing under the tuition of the renowned artists, Mir Saiyid Ali and Khwaja Abdu-l-samad, but no tutors could make him pay attention to books, even so far as to learn the alphabet. While staying at Agra he devoted himself almost exclusively to exciting sport, such as elephant fights and the hunting of deer with the leopard (*cheetah*). Abu-l Fazl never tires of repeating that his sovereign during his early years remained 'behind a veil'. Akbar's intellectual training did not suffer materially by reason of his inattention to the customary apparatus of learning. He constantly employed other persons to read to him, and, being gifted with an exceptionally powerful memory, was able to retain the knowledge gained by hearing, so that he was as well served by the ear as ordinary people are by the eye. Even in modern India much work is done by listening to a reader in preference to reading oneself. An official can get through far more business by having long police reports and the like written in current script, which is practically shorthand, read aloud quickly by an expert reader, than he could do by reading the documents himself.

Illiteracy carries no reproach in India. Reading and writing have never been regarded as fit occupations for men belonging to the fighting races, and many of the most notable Indian sovereigns, as for example, Haidar Ali and Ranjit Singh, have been unable to read or write.

SHAIKH GADAI, SADR-I-SUDUR

In the third year of the reign (1558-9) a person named Shaikh Gadai, son of a Delhi versifier, and a member of the Shia sect, was appointed at the Protector's instance to the exalted office of Sadr-i-Sudur, and thus, as Badaoni remarks, was 'put over the heads of all the magnates of Hindustan and Khurasan'. The dignity of that office had always been rated very high. No English title exactly expresses the nature of the appointment, and the translation as Chief Justice sometimes suggested is far from being satisfactory. The holder ranked as the fourth official in the empire, was the head of all the law officers, and was vested with almost unlimited authority in the conferment of grants of lands devoted to ecclesiastical or benevolent purposes. He also exercised powers which may be fairly described as equivalent to those of the Inquisition, extending even to the infliction of the capital penalty for heresy.

The appointment of a Shia to a position so important naturally gave extreme offence to the orthodox Sunni courtiers, and had much to do with the subsequent fall of Bairam Khan, who was hated as being a Shia. Badaoni makes the elevation of Shaikh Gadai the theme of his most bitter gibes and venomous puns. The Shaikh enjoyed his much envied dignity until the fall of his patron, Bairam Khan, when he shared the minister's disgrace. Akbar, in his later years, after his defection from Islam, reduced the rank of the Sadr-i-Sudur, and appointed adherents of his own eclectic religion to fill the office.

ANNEXATION OF GWALIOR AND JAUNPUR

In the course of the third and fourth regnal years (1558-60) the gradual consolidation of Akbar's dominion in Hindostan was advanced

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by the surrender of the strong fortress of Gwalior in Central India and the annexation of the Jaunpur province in the east. An attempt to take the castle of Ranthambhor in Rajputana failed, and preliminary operations for the reduction of Malwa were interrupted by the intrigues and troubles connected with Akbar's assertion of his personal fitness to rule and the consequent fall of Bairam Khan, the Protector.

CAUSES OF THE FALL OF BAIRAM KHAN

The Persian histories narrate the circumstances of Bairam Khan's fall at immense length and from different points of view. A concise summary may be sufficient to satisfy the curiosity of the modern reader. When Akbar had entered on his eighteenth year (A.D. 1560) and began to feel himself a man, the trammels of the tutelage in which he was held by his guardian became galling, and he desired to be a king in fact as well as in name. Those natural feelings were stimulated and inflamed by the ladies of his household and various courtiers who for one reason or another had grievances against the Protector. His appointment of Shaikh Gadai as Sadr-i-Sudur excited the sectarian animosity of all the Sunnis at court, who complained, and not without reason, that Bairam Khan showed excessive favour to the adherents of his own Shia sect. Many influential people had been offended by the execution of Tardi Beg, and on several occasions Bairam Khan, presuming too much on his position, had behaved with undue arrogance. He was accused, too, of making indiscreet remarks. Moreover, Akbar was annoyed by a special personal grievance, inasmuch as he had no privy purse, and his household was poorly paid, while the servants of the Protector grew rich. Bairam Khan, on his side, was inclined to think that his services were indispensable, and was unwilling to surrender the uncontrolled power which he had exercised so long. Gradually it became apparent that either Akbar or Bairam Khan must yield.

Hamida Bano Bagam, the queen-mother, Maham Anaga, the chief of Akbar's nurses and ranking as a foster-mother, her son, Adham Khan, with her relative, Shihabu-d din, governor of Delhi, were the principal persons concerned in engineering the plot against the Protector. They were obliged to proceed warily, because the man whom they were attacking was in actual control of the army and administration, and it was impossible to be certain how far his loyalty to the son of Humayun would stand the strain of dismissal. In fact, he was suspected of favouring the candidacy for the throne of Akbar's first cousin, the son of Humayun's brother Kamran. A son of Sikandar Sur was also at hand as an alternative pretender, if wanted.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE COURT PLOT

Early in A.D. 1560 (A.H. 967) the conspirators took action. Bairam Khan being then at Agra, Akbar, who was out hunting as usual, was induced to go to Delhi, in order to visit his mother, who either was or pretended to be ill. The friendly governor strengthened the fortifications of Delhi, and measures were taken to secure Lahore and Kabul. Maham Anaga and her fellow conspirators made the most of certain intemperate language attributed to Bairam Khan, and took pains to make it generally known that he no longer enjoyed his

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sovereign's confidence. Messengers passed between the parties, and Maham Anaga, professing to be afraid of Bairam Khan's resentment, begged permission to proceed on the pilgrimage to Mecca. She knew well that Akbar would not allow her to go, for at that time he was completely under her influence.

DECISION OF BAIRAM KHAN

The advisers of Bairam were divided in opinion. Shaikh Gadai, the Sadr-i-Sudur, and certain other counsellors advised their patron to seize Akbar's person and fight the matter out. But Bairam Khan, after some hesitation, honourably refused to stain the record of a lifetime of loyalty by turning traitor, and intimated his intention to submit. Meantime, the courtiers for the most part had deserted the falling minister, and, after the manner of their kind, had turned to worship the rising sun.

AKBAR'S ULTIMATUM

Akbar now felt himself strong enough to carry the business to its conclusion, and sent his tutor, Mir Abdu-l Latif, to Bairam Khan with a written message to this effect :

'As I was fully assured of your honesty and fidelity, I left all important affairs of State in your charge, and thought only of my own pleasures. I have now determined to take the reins of government into my own hands, and it is desirable that you should now make the pilgrimage to Mecca, upon which you have been so long intent. A suitable fief (*jagir*) out of the parganas (districts) of Hindustan will be assigned for your maintenance, the revenues of which shall be transmitted to you by your agents.'

This ultimatum probably was dictated by Maham Anaga, who, to use Abu-l Fazl's words, 'in her great loyalty and wisdom took charge of affairs'. Abu-l Fazl displays unblushing partisanship in his account of the transactions, and even lavishes unstinted eulogies on Pir Muhammad, the worst of Akbar's evil counsellors at this period.

PIR MUHAMMAD SHIRWANI

Pir Muhammad, known as the Shirwani, and originally a mere Mulla or religious teacher, had been lucky enough to attract the favour of Bairam Khan, who made him his confidential manager. The sudden rise in his fortunes was too much for Pir Muhammad, who displayed overweening arrogance towards his patron, by whom he was deservedly dismissed and exiled. He was in Gujarat when he heard of Bairam Khan's disgrace, and at once returned to court, receiving from Akbar the title of Khan. In April 1560, when Bairam Khan moved to Bayana, Pir Muhammad was selected to follow him with an armed force, and 'to arrange for his leaving the imperial domains', or, as Badaoni puts it more bluntly, 'to pack him off as quickly as possible to Mecca, without giving him any time for delay.'

REBELLION OF BAIRAM KHAN

Bairam Khan sent back his insignia to Akbar, who was much gratified at that act of submission, but the insult offered him in assigning to his former servant the task of hounding him out of India induced

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him to change his attitude and attempt rebellion. Bairam Khan accordingly moved to the Panjab, after placing his family in the fortress of Tabarhindh.[1] Near Jalandhar his forces were defeated by the royalists. Bairam Khan then retired into the hills, and ultimately was captured near the Biyas river, and brought before Akbar, who generously accepted his late guardian's words of penitence.

Munim Khan, who had been summoned from Kabul to assume the office of prime minister, placed all his tents and equipage at the disposal of his fallen predecessor, to whom liberal allowances were assigned in order that he might proceed to Mecca in a manner befitting his rank and eminent past services. Akbar returned to Delhi, and thence proceeded by water to Agra, at the close of 1560 (A.H. 968).

DEATH OF BAIRAM KHAN

Bairam Khan, accepting his fate, marched across Rajputana towards the coast, in order to proceed to Mecca, and in due course arrived at Patan, otherwise called Nahrwala or Anhilwara, the ancient capital of Gujarat, now included in the Baroda State. The town was in charge of an Afghan governor, who received his distinguished guest with hospitality, but failed to make adequate provision for the safety of him and his retinue. Bairam Khan, during his stay in the town, used to amuse himself by visiting the gardens and beautiful lakes which then adorned it. One day (January 1561) he had just landed from a visit to an island pavilion in the principal lake when he was attacked by a gang of thirty or forty Afghans, led by one Mubarak Khan, whose father had been killed in the battle of Macchiwara, when Bairam Khan was in command.[2] The ex-Protector was stabbed to death, and his corpse left on the ground. Some fakirs and poor people charitably gave it burial. His camp was plundered, and his family was brought with difficulty to Ahmadabad, pursued by a crowd of Afghans.[3] Bairam Khan's little son, Abdurrahim, then four years of age, was summoned to court, and brought up under the protection of Akbar. He lived to attain the rank of Khan Khanan and to become the greatest noble in the empire. He continued to serve Jahangir faithfully for many years, but, towards the end of a long life, forgot his duty and joined Prince Khurram (Shahjahan), when he rebelled against his father. Abdurrahim will be often mentioned in the course of this history.

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1. The position of Tabarhindh (Tabarhind), which was still disputed and generally regarded as uncertain when the first edition of this work appeared, has been settled. The place, sometimes confounded with Sihrind in MSS., appears undoubtedly to be identical with Bhatinda (Bathinda) in the Patiala State (30°13′ N. and 75° E.). 'The great fort, about 118 feet high, which dominates the town, is conspicuous for many miles round and has thirty-six bastions' (*I. G.*, 1908, s.v. Bhatinda). It was the principal stronghold on the northern road between Delhi and Multan. That intermediate region, of high strategical importance in the time of the Sultans, also included the fortresses of Abohar, Sunam, and others (Horowitz, *J. Panjab Hist. Soc.*, ii, 109; and Stow, ibid. iii. 35).

2. The battle was fought in 1555. The town is in the Ludiana District.

3. Bairam Khan is said to have been sixteen years of age at the time of the battle of Kanauj, in 1540 (Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, p. 315), and, consequently, must have been born about 1524. He was still a young man, thirty-six or thirty-seven years of age, when he perished, in 1561.

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OBSERVATIONS

The story of the transactions leading up to the fall and death of Bairam Khan leaves an unpleasant taste. It seems to be clear that the intriguers who surrounded and controlled the young Padshah were resolved to get rid of the Protector at any cost, and that they deliberately forced him into rebellion in order to ensure his destruction. For a long time he steadily resisted the advice of Shaikh Gadai and others who counselled open opposition, and if his enemies had abstained from the outrage of deputing Pir Muhammad to 'pack him off as quickly as possible to Mecca', he would apparently have submitted to his sovereign's will, as his modern representative, Bismarck, submitted to William II, that is to say, reluctantly, but as a matter of both necessity and duty. Bairam Khan obviously was only a half-hearted rebel, and was glad to be captured. Even Abu-l Fazl, who made the most of the Protector's faults, and could hardly find language emphatic enough to express his sense of the alleged merits of Maham Anaga and Pir Muhammad, was constrained to admit that 'Bairam Khan was in reality a good man, and of excellent qualities'. The courtly chronicler ascribes his deviations from the narrow path of rectitude to his association with evil advisers and his inordinate appetite for flattery. As a matter of fact, Bairam Khan, although misled sometimes by his partiality for Shia co-religionists, chose his instruments far better than Maham Anaga chose hers during her brief tenure of power. He had the nerve needed to punish the traitor Tardi Beg, and so to save his master's cause. It is true that he made a mistake in giving his confidence at first to Pir Muhammad, but when he discovered the man's ingratitude and baseness he had no hesitation in dismissing him.

Both Humayun and Akbar owed their recovery of the throne to Bairam Khan, and the obligations of gratitude required that when the time came for Akbar to take the reins into his own hands the demission of his faithful charioteer should be effected as gently as possible. But the many enemies of Bairam Khan were not in a humour to make his exit easy. If they could have had their way unobstructed, they would certainly have put him to death. The generosity of his reception after the failure of his rebellion may be fairly attributed to young Akbar himself, who had had little to do with the previous transactions, for which Maham Anaga was responsible as her panegyrist Abu-l Fazl expressly affirms.

Akbar shook off the tutelage of Bairam Khan only to bring himself under the 'monstrous regiment' of unscrupulous women. He had yet another effort to make before he found himself and rose to the height of his essentially noble nature.

The next chapter will tell the story of the rather ignoble interval during which he was subject to petticoat government of the worst kind.

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CHAPTER III

PETTICOAT GOVERNMENT; THE EMANCIPATION OF AKBAR. 1560-4

RULE OF MAHAM ANAGA

Akbar, who was still little more than a boy, continued to occupy himself with field sports and elephant fights, apparently taking no interest in the business of government, which he allowed Maham Anaga to control. Notwithstanding the praise lavished on her by Abu-l Fazl, the facts as recorded by him and other authors prove that she was unworthy of the trust reposed in her. One of the main objects of her life was to push forward Adham Khan, her second son, a man clearly unfit for high office. She also bestowed her favour on the treacherous and brutal Pir Muhammad Shirwani, who had betrayed Tardi Beg at Delhi, shown the grossest ingratitude to Bairam Khan, his patron, and was about to earn eternal infamy by his savage cruelty in Malwa. In short, there is reason to believe that the men who secured power and wealth from the hands of Maham Anaga were the worst members of the court circle.

BAZ BAHADUR OF MALWA

At the time of Bairam Khan's fall Akbar was still far from being master of the whole of Hindostan. The condition of the kingdom of Malwa, the fertile plateau lying to the north of the Vindhya range, between the parallels 23° 30′ and 24° 30′ N. and the meridians 74° 30′ and 78° 10′ E., was then such as seemed to invite a war of conquest with good prospects of success. Shujaat Khan, an officer under the Sur kings, and himself a Sur Pathan,[1] who had governed the country in practical independence in the time of Islam Shah, died in A.H. 963 (A.D. 1555-6), the year of Akbar's accession, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Baz Bahadur, who assumed the title of Sultan. The new ruler began badly by murdering his younger brother and many of his own officers. Having suffered defeat at the hands of the Gonds, he gave himself up to pleasure, wine, women, and music. In the arts of music and song he was an expert, and, like Tansen, was reputed to have received instruction from Adali, or Muhammad Shah Adil, the last of the Sur kings.[2] The government of Agra resolved to attack Baz Bahadur, who, although personally brave enough, was not likely to offer effectual resistance.

ATTACK ON MALWA

Accordingly, in the autumn of 1560, an expedition against Malwa was organized, under the supreme command of Adham Khan, assisted by Pir Muhammad Shirwani and other officers. Pir Muhammad, although nominally second in command, was really the guiding

1. Also known as Shuja or Shajawal Khan.
2. Badaoni, tr. Ranking, i, 557.

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spirit. Baz Bahadur was badly defeated (1561) near Sarangpur, now in the Dewas State, Central India Agency, and much valuable spoil was taken by the imperialists. Baz Bahadur had, in accordance with Indian custom, placed confidential men in charge of his wives and concubines with orders to slay them all in case of their lord's defeat. The best beloved of these women was Rupmati, 'renowned throughout the world for her beauty and charm'. When the defeat occurred she was cut down by her guardian but only half killed. Adham Khan having sought to gain possession of her, she escaped further dishonour by taking poison. The loves of Baz Bahadur and Rupmati form a favourite subject for the skill of Indian poets and artists. Adham Khan sent to Akbar nothing except a few elephants, reserving for himself the women and the choicest articles of the spoil.

Meantime, both Pir Muhammad and Adham Khan had disgraced themselves and their sovereign by disgusting cruelties, of which Badaoni the historian was a horrified witness.

'On the day of the victory, the two captains remained on the spot, and had the captives brought before them, and troop after troop of them put to death, so that their blood flowed river upon river.' Pir Muhammad cracked brutal jests, and when remonstrance was offered, replied :—'In one single night all these captives have been taken, what can be done with them ?'

Even Sayyids and learned Shaikhs who came out to meet him with Korans in their hands were slain and burnt.

MISCONDUCT OF ADHAM KHAN; AKBAR'S ACTION

Akbar was much incensed at the misconduct of Adham Khan in retaining the women and choice spoil which should have been sent to court. He resolved to surprise the delinquent and abate his insolence. Leaving Munim Khan, the Khan Khanan, and other officials in charge at Agra, Akbar, without giving notice to the great officers of state, on April 27, 1561, quitted his capital attended by only a small escort. Although Maham Anaga sent off swift couriers to warn her son, Akbar was too quick for her, and rode in upon Adham Khan, who had no news of his sovereign's arrival. He was amazed, and 'when his eye fell on the world-illuminating beauty of His Majesty the Shahinshah he became confounded, and like a bewildered moth dismounted and did homage. He placed the face of servitude in the dust of supplication and was exalted by kissing the stirrup.' His attempts to assuage Akbar's just wrath were unsuccessful at first, and it was not until his mother arrived and arranged matters that his submission was accepted. Even then the villain did not cease from his lustful wickedness. He secretly stole two special beauties who had been in Baz Bahadur's harem. When Akbar heard of this impudent crime he delayed his march until the women were recovered.

'Maham perceived that if these two women were introduced to His Majesty the veil over her acts would be raised, and her son's treachery be revealed. She therefore caused these two innocent ones to be put to death, for a "severed head makes no sound". The Khedive of the age overlooked this gross outrage, as the veil was not yet remov-

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ed from his world-illuminating countenance, and (he) regarded the done as not done.'

The same Abu-l Fazl who records that atrocious deed was not ashamed to praise the 'wisdom and perspicacity' of the guilty woman.

Akbar hastened back to Agra, where he arrived on June 4, 1561, after an absence of only thirty-eight days. Akbar, who resembled Alexander the Great in his disregard of climatic conditions or physical obstacles, made his rapid journey in the height of the hot season.

It is not pleasant to read that Pir Muhammad, who waited on the Padshah after his return, was honoured with gifts of robes and horses.[1] Akbar's conscience had not yet been awakened.

PERSONAL PROWESS OF AKBAR

In the course of his journey homewards Akbar met a tigress with five cubs near Narwar. He encountered the beast on foot and killed her with a single blow of his sword, a most remarkable feat. His escort accomplished the easy task of killing the cubs. This, we are told, was the first beast of prey which His Majesty personally attacked.[2]

Some months later, at Agra, Akbar gave another exhibition of reckless courage, pre-eminent physical strength, and extraordinary mastery over animals. At the early age of fourteen he had acquired the difficult art of controlling vicious elephants. An elephant named Hawai, meaning 'Sky-rocket', and probably the beast of that name ridden by Hemu in his last fight, was notorious for his 'choler, passionateness, fierceness, and wickedness'. One day on the polo ground Akbar, who had drunk two or three cups of wine, took it into his head to mount the savage brute, who was compelled to execute 'wonderful manoeuvres'. Akbar then decided to have still more excitement, and set Hawai to fight Ran Bagha, the 'Tiger in Battle', another vicious giant. Ran Bagha, unable to withstand Hawai's furious onset, fled pursued by the victor, who justified his name by his speed. Akbar, to the terror of the onlookers, held on firmly, and the two maddened beasts, plunging down the steep bank of the Jumna, raced across the bridge of boats. The pontoons swayed and were submerged, the royal servants meantime swimming alongside in case their help should be needed. By good luck the elephants got safely across to the other side of the river and Ran Bagha continued his flight to save his life. Akbar, exercising the marvellous personal power over the brute creation which was one of his peculiar gifts was able to restrain Hawai in a moment.[3]

In later years Akbar explained more than once to Abu-l Fazl that his motive in undertaking such adventures was that God might end his life, if he should have knowingly taken a step displeasing to

1. *Tabakat*, E. &. D., v, 271.

2. Mr. Beveridge (*A. N.*, ii, 222 *n.*) is inclined to accept the reading *babari*, 'lioness', of some MSS. But 'tigress' must be right, because there were five cubs. A lioness never has more than four, and usually only three. The number in the litter of a tigress ranges from two to six (Chambers, *Encycl.*, and *Encycl. Brit.*, latest ed.).

3. Jahangir also tells the story as recounted by his father. The incident is depicted in one of the pictures of the Clarke MS. at the V. & A. Museum, S. Kensington (Jahangir, R.B., ii. 41).

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the Most High or cherished an aspiration contrary to His will, for, he said, 'we cannot support the burden of life under God's displeasure.' The expression of such sentiments in mature age may be accepted as sincere, but when he was nineteen he may be presumed to have taken less serious views, and to have been simply carried away by his sense of possessing exceptional power and by the intoxication of perilous excitement.

AN ADVENTURE

In this connexion another wild adventure, which took place in the following year, 1562, deserves brief notice. The story is too long to be narrated in full detail. Complaints having been received of the violence practised by the people of eight villages in the Sakit pargana now in the Etah District, United Provinces, a tract still noted for its turbulence, Akbar determined to chastise the evil-doers. He availed himself as usual of the pretext of hunting, and accompanied by a small escort of less than two hundred horsemen, supported by as many elephants, he attacked the villagers, who were supposed to number four thousand. A hot fight ensued. His Majesty then perceived some of his followers were shirking in a cowardly fashion and taking cover. 'The royal wrath blazed forth', and Akbar, without waiting to collect the shirkers, advanced on his elephant Dilshankar against a house in the village of Paronkh. His elephant put his foot into a grain-pit, so that the officer riding behind fell on top of his sovereign, who cleverly extricated his mount. Seven arrows hit and five pierced Akbar's shield, but ultimately he succeeded in forcing his elephant through the wall. The house was set on fire, and about a thousand rebels were consumed.

We shall see that Akbar, even when a good deal older, retained the impetuous spirit of his youth, and was as ready as Alexander of Macedon had been to risk his life in personal combat with man or beast. The peculiar system of self-education which he had adopted had endowed him with nerves of iron and bodily vigour which scorned fatigues enough to kill an ordinary man. We can imagine how the reports of the young Padshah's prowess at Paronkh must have echoed through the kingdom and inspired a wholesome terror among all men who thought of defying the royal authority.

A NOCTURNAL ADVENTURE

In the first half of 1561 Akbar had begun to take some personal share in public business, although his final emancipation from the evil influences surrounding him was not effected until three years later. Even in his twentieth year he was keen to learn all that he could about his people, and for that purpose made use of information derived from various classes of ascetics and fakirs, in whose society he took much pleasure, being 'more restless than ever in his search for physicians of the soul.' He followed the example of Harunu-r Rashid in taking nocturnal rambles in disguise. One night he so ventured out into a dense crowd on the far side of the Jumna opposite Agra, and was unlucky enough to be recognized by a vagabond who communicated his discovery to others.

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'When I became aware of this', said Akbar, as he told the story, 'I without the least delay or hesitation rolled my eyes and squinted, and so made a wonderful change in my appearance. In a sense that they could not imagine I was a spectator and was observing the ways of destiny. When those good folks looked at me they, on account of the change in my appearance, could not recognize me, and said to one another, "These are not the eyes and features of the King". I quietly came away from them and went to my palace.'

Nobody will dispute the truth of Abu-l Fazl's comment that 'it was a very strange performance'.[1] Although not so indifferent to affairs of state as he had been previously, Akbar still devoted most of his time to sport, and still, to use his chronicler's recurrent phrase, remained for the most part 'behind the veil'.

EASTERN EXPEDITION; SHAMSU-D DIN KHAN

About this time information was received that Khan Zaman (Ali Kuli Khan), the governor of Jaunpur and the eastern provinces, was meditating rebellion. Akbar accordingly resolved to go in person to bring him back to obedience. He started in the middle of July 1561, hunting on the way in his accustomed manner. At Kara on the Ganges, now in the Allahabad District, Khan Zaman and his brother Bahadur Khan thought it prudent to come in and do homage, which was accepted. Akbar accomplished this expedition with his usual celerity, and was back in Agra before the end of August.

In November Shamsu-d din Muhammad Khan Atga came from Kabul, was received with favour, and entrusted as minister with the management of affairs political, financial, and military. This arrangement was displeasing to Maham Anaga, who 'regarded herself as the substantive prime minister', and was vexed to find that Akbar was gradually freeing himself from her control. Munim Khan shared her jealousy. The fortress of Chunar near Mirzapur was surrendered about this time.[2]

RECALL OF ADHAM KHAN; PIR MUHAMMAD IN MALWA

Akbar now took a more decisive step towards asserting his independence by recalling Adham Khan from Malwa, and making over the government of that imperfectly conquered province to Pir Muhammad in name as well as in fact. But in conferring such an important trust on a man so unworthy Akbar committed a grievous error. Pir Muhammad, feeling himself to be invested with absolute power, attacked Burhanpur and Bijagarh with success, perpetrating a general massacre at the latter fortress. As Badaoni observes, he 'practised to the utmost the code of Chinghiz Khan', massacring or enslaving all the inhabitants of Burhanpur and Asirgarh, and destroying many towns and villages to the south of the Narbada, 'sweeping everything clean and clear'. Contrary to advice he started to pursue

1. *A. N.*, ii, 225, 226.
2. *A. N.*, ii, 231. Abu-l Fazl dates the surrender in A.H. 969, A.D. 1561-2. The *Tabakat*, erroneously it would seem, dates the event in the ninth regnal year, A.D. 1564-5 (E. & D., v. 287). Abu-l Fazl took much pains to fix the chronology of the reign.

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INDIA IN 1561

When Akbar ascended the throne in January 1556 he possessed no definite territory. Five years later he held firmly the Panjab, with the Multan district; the basin of the Ganges and Jumna as far east as Prayag (later known as Allahabad), and also Gwalior in Central India, and Ajmer in Rajasthan. The Kabul territory (excluding Kandahar with its dependencies, then in Persian hands, see Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan*, pp. 592, 600) was governed in practical independence by the guardians of Akbar's younger half-brother, Mirza Muhammad Hakim. The various Himalayan States, including Kashmir, were completely independent. Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa were under the government of an Afghan prince, Sulaiman Kararani. Orissa then meant the modern Midnapore, Puri, Katak (Cuttack), and Balasore Districts. The numerous chiefs in Rajasthan or Rajputana, Sind, and the extensive wild country now forming the Central Provinces, Chutia Nagpur, and Orissa Tributary States, recognized no man as master. Gujarat, which had been occupied by Akbar's father, Humayun, was ruled by a Muhammadan dynasty, as was Malwa. The five kingdoms of the Deccan plateau, namely, Ahmadnagar, Birar (Berar), Bidar, Bijapur, and Golkonda, constituted out of fragments of the Bahmani Empire, were autonomous under Musalman dynasties, constantly at war one with another or with Vijayanagar. The boundaries frequently changed. Bijapur was the most powerful of the five States. The small Muhammadan principality of Khandesh in the valley of the Tapti was practically independent. The whole peninsular area to the south of the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers was under the lordship of the Hindu kings of Vijayanagar.

The Portuguese were strongly established on the western coast in fortified settlements taken from the Sultans of the Deccan, and situated at Goa, with a considerable territory attached; Chaul, Bombaim (Bombay) with neighbouring places; Bassein (see Malabari, *Bombay in the Making*, 1910, p. 21); Daman, and Diu. Their fleet controlled the mercantile and pilgrim traffic of the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf. No other European power had gained any footing on the soil of India, and no Englishman had even landed in the country. All delineations of frontiers and boundaries necessarily are merely approximate. The boundaries of the Sultanates of the Deccan are taken from Sewell's map in *A Forgotten Empire* (1900).

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Baz Bahadur across the river. As he was riding through the stream his horse collided with a string of camels and threw him, so that he was drowned.[1] Thus, to use Badaoni's terse phrase, 'he went by water to fire'; his cruelty, insolence, and severity were punished, and the sighs of the orphans, the helpless, and the captives were avenged. It is not often that we find a Muhammadan historian pronouncing an ethical judgement so distinct and just. Abu-l Fazl slurs over the crimes of Pir Muhammad with a vague allusion to the oppression committed by him, and laments that 'by heaven's decree so loyal, able, and gallant a man underwent such a fate'. The remark goes a long way to discredit the writer's pretensions as a moralist. The defeat of Pir Muhammad resulted in the temporary restoration of Baz Bahadur.

PILGRIMAGE TO AJMER; FIRST MARRIAGE WITH A HINDU PRINCESS

One night, Akbar, when on a hunting excursion, was passing through a village near Agra when he happened to hear a party of Indian minstrels singing the praises of Khwaja Muinu-d din, the renowned saint buried at Ajmer, and was thus inspired to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of the holy man. Accordingly, in the middle of January 1562, he started for Ajmer with a small retinue, hunting on his way. At Deosa, midway between Agra and Ajmer, he received Raja Bihar Mall,[2] the chief of Amber or Jaipur in Rajputana, who offered his eldest daughter to Akbar in marriage. The court made only a brief stay at Ajmer and returned by forced marches to Agra, leaving the heavy camp equipage to follow. The marriage was celebrated at Sambhar. Man Singh, nephew and adopted son of Raja Bhagwan Das, the heir of Raja Bihar Mall, was taken into the imperial service, and rose ultimately to high office. The bride subsequently became the mother of Jahangir. Her posthumous official title, Maryam-zamani (or -uz zamani), 'the Mary of the age', has caused her to be confounded sometimes with Akbar's mother, whose title was Maryam-makani, 'dwelling with Mary'. The dust of Akbar's first Hindu consort lies in a fine mausoleum situated near Akbar's tomb at Sikandara. The building has been restored by judicious measures of conservation.[3]

Although it has been asserted that Humayun had one Hindu consort, that lady, if she really existed, does not appear to have exercised any influence.[4] Akbar's marriages with Hindu princesses, on the contrary, produced important effects both on his personal rule of life

1. Badaoni, tr. Lowe, ii, 43, 47. A various reading gives 'mules' instead of 'camels'.

2. The name is written variously as Bihara, Bahar (*I. G.*), or Bhar. Blochmann writes Bihari. Bihar seems to be the correct form.

3. The tomb is accurately described and illustrated in *Ann. Rep. A. S. India*, 1910-11, pp. 94-6, Plates XLVIII-L. The descriptions in other books, as in Syad M. Latif, *Agra* (1896), p. 194, are erroneous, and usually repeat the false statement that Maryam-zamani was a Portuguese Christian. There is not the slightest reason for believing that any one of Akbar's numerous wives was either a Portuguese or a Christian. Muhammadans venerate the Virgin Mary and were glad to associate deceased ladies of rank with her name. The daughter of Raja Bihar Mall probably conformed more or less to the Muslim religion. Certainly she received a Muhammadan title and was buried in a Muhammadan sepulchre.

4. Tod, *Feudal System*, ch. v, vol. i, pp. 124, 268. The statement seems to be a blunder.

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and on his public policy. His leanings towards Hinduism will be more conveniently discussed at a subsequent stage, and the effects of the Rajput matrimonial alliances on public affairs also will become more apparent as the story proceeds. But at this point of the narrative so much may be said, that the marriage with the Amber princess secured the powerful support of her family throughout the reign, and offered a proof manifest to all the world that Akbar had decided to be the Padshah of his whole people—Hindus as well as Muhammadans.

While the court was on its way back to Agra one of the keepers of the hunting leopards was convicted of stealing a pair of shoes. Akbar ordered the thief's feet to be cut off. Later in life he would hardly have inflicted such a savage punishment for a petty theft.

RECOVERY OF MALWA; VARIOUS EVENTS

Many events of importance happened in the seventh regnal year, reckoned officially as beginning on March 11, 1562.

Abdullah Khan Uzbeg,[1] who was sent to Malwa in supersession of Adham Khan, quickly expelled Baz Bahadur, and again brought the province under the dominion of his sovereign. Baz Bahadur remained in exile at the courts of various princes for several years. In the fifteenth year of the reign he submitted to his fate, appeared at the imperial court, and accepted office as a 'mansabdar of 1,000'. Subsequently, he was promoted to the rank 'of 2,000', and so ended his days. Tradition points out a tomb at Ujjain, built in a tank, as the place where his dust rests beside that of his favourite Rupmati.

Shah Tahmasp of Persia sent a belated complimentary embassy to Agra to offer condolence for the death of Humayun and congratulations on the accession of Akbar.

The practice of enslaving prisoners of war was strictly forbidden, and the strong fortress of Mirtha (Merta) in Rajputana was taken after a stiff fight.

MURDER OF SHAMSU-D DIN ATGA BY ADHAM KHAN

On May 16, 1562, an extraordinary event took place which finally freed Akbar from the debasing influence of Maham Anaga and her worthless son. The appointment of Shamsu-d din Muhammad Atga Khan as minister in November 1561 was, as already mentioned, highly displeasing to Maham Anaga, her son Adham Khan, her ally Munim Khan, and sundry other influential members of the royal circle. The dissatisfaction of those personages, who felt that power was slipping from their grasp, was the immediate cause of the crime committed on May 16 by Adham Khan,[2] who may possibly have acted on his own

1. Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, No. 14, p. 320. He must not be confounded with his namesake, the independent ruler of Transoxiana.

2. The authorities, as is the case so often, differ about the date. The *Tabakat* (E. & D., v. 277) gives it as Sunday, Ramazzan 12, A.H. 970. Badaoni (ii, 49) states it as Monday, Ramazan 12, A.H. 969. The chronograms on his next page give 970 in one case, and 969 in the other. Abu-l Fazl (*A. N.*, ii, 269) staes the date in terms of both the Ilahi and Hijri eras, as Isfandiyar 5, Khurdad = Saturday, Ramazan 12, 969. According to Cunningham's tables Ramazan 12, 969, was a Saturday. Blochmann (*Ain*, i, 324) accepts that statement, which may be taken as correct. The *Tabakat* date, a year later, is impossible. Ramazan 12, 970 was a Wednesday. The event certainly happened in 1562, not in 1563.

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impulse without the privity of his sympathizers. It seems hardly credible that they could have sanctioned in advance his audacious outrage. On the day mentioned, Shamsu-d din, the minister, with Munim Khan and other high officials, was sitting in the palace hall engaged on public business, when Adham Khan swaggered in attended by blustering followers. The minister and his companions politely rose to receive the visitor, but Adham Khan, far from responding to the courtesy, put his hand to his dagger and advanced in a threatening attitude to the minister. At a signal from Adham Khan two of his men cut down Shamsu-d din, who ran out and fell dead in the courtyard of the hall.

The tumult awoke Akbar, who was asleep in an inner room. Adham Khan, meditating the last extremity of treason, tried to force his way in, but was kept back by a faithful eunuch who bolted the door. Akbar, having been told what had happened, came out by another door, receiving as he passed his special scimitar from the hands of a servant. Coming across the terrace he met Adham Khan and roughly asked what he meant by killing the Atga. Adham Khan made impertinent excuses and had the audacity to seize his sovereign's hands. When Akbar tried to disarm him the villain grasped the king's sword. Akbar responded by hitting Adham Khan in the face a blow with his fist which was like the stroke of a mace, and knocked the traitor senseless. Akbar ordered his attendants to bind him and throw him headlong from the terrace. They obeyed, but in a timid, hesitating way, so that the criminal was only half killed. Akbar then compelled them to drag him up again, and throw him down a second time. His neck was broken and his brains dashed out.[1]

Munim Khan, his friend Shihabu-d din, and some other notables, conscious of guilt, and fearing just retribution for their secret treason, absconded.

After the performance of his stern act of justice, Akbar retired into the female apartments where Maham Anaga was lying ill. He told her briefly what had happened, refraining from saying explicitly that Adham Khan was dead. The unhappy woman merely replied 'Your Majesty did well', and then held her peace. But her life was bound up with that of her favourite son, and forty days later she followed him to the grave. Both the bodies were sent to Delhi and interred in a handsome tomb erected at Akbar's expense near the Kutb Minar. The building still exists.[2]

CONSEQUENCES OF THE CRIME

The fugitive conspirators were pursued and arrested. Akbar behaved to them with extraordinary generosity, prompted, perhaps, by deep policy, inflicting no penalties, and actually restoring Munim Khan to favour and his rank as minister and Khan Khanan. The Atka Khail, or 'foster-brother battalion', who thirsted for vengeance on the family of the murderer, were judiciously pacified and kept employed on an expedition against the Gakhars in the Salt Range.

1. The horried scene is realistically reproduced in one of the *Akbarnama* pictures exhibited at South Kensington.
2. Carr Stephen, *The Archaeology of Delhi*, p. 200.

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Abu-l Fazl tells us that from the time of Adham Khan's catastrophe "H.M. the Shahinshah perceived the spirit of the age and the nature of mankind and gave his attention to the affairs of State'. He was then in his twentieth year. Under Maham Anaga's corrupt regime the finances had fallen into disorder, and public revenue was constantly embezzled by the officials.[1] Akbar secured the services of a capable eunuch, who had been in the employ of the Sur kings, and was now honoured with the title of Itimad Khan. This man drew up and enforced the necessary rules and regulations so that embezzlement was checked and the revenue system was placed on a sounder footing.

TANSEN AND MUSIC

Akbar, although engaged in so much troublesome business in various departments, was not indifferent to the pleasures of life. He took special delight in music and song, and seems to have had a considerable knowledge of the technicalities of those arts. About this time (1562) he required Raja Ramchand of Bhath or Riwa to send to court Tansen of Gwalior, who was universally recognized as the premier musician and singer of the age. Tansen, who became a Musalman subsequently, was received with marked favour and liberally paid. He is credited by Abu-l Fazl with having introduced 'great developments' into his art. Conservative Hindu musicians take a different view and accuse him of having falsified the traditional *raags*, two of which, Hindol and Megh, have disappeared since his time. Such critics hold that the influence of Tansen was deleterious to the musical science of India.[2] It would seem possible that he may have violated the ancient Hindu canons and sought to modernize his art by making changes to suit Muslim taste. Few people have a right to express any positive opinion on the subject, and the author of this book is not included among those few.

1562. INWARD CHANGE IN AKBAR

Akbar experienced a remarkable spiritual awakening on the completion of his twentieth year, in October or November 1562. His words, as translated by Jarrett, are :

'On the completion of my twentieth year', he said, 'I experienced an internal bitterness, and from the lack of spiritual provision for my last journey my soul was seized with exceeding sorrow.'[3]

It is impossible not to connect this access of religious melancholy with the public events which preceded it. Akbar had learned the

1. On one occasion, when Akbar happened to ask for eighteen rupees, the treasurer professed his inability to produce the petty sum (Bayazid, in *J.A.S.B.*, part i, vol. lxvii (1898), p. 311).

2. A. H. Fox Strangways, *The Music of Hindostan*, p. 83 (Oxford, 1914). For the theory of the Hindu *raags*, or 'musical modes', see that work and *H.F.A.*, p. 330. The subject remains extremely obscure. The concluding section of *Ain* 30, Book II of *Ain*, tr. Blochmann, vol. i, pp. 611-13, deals with the musicians of the imperial court. See also ch. xv, *post*.

3. 'Happy Sayings', *Ain*, vol. iii, p. 386. Beveridge (*A. N.*, iii, 338) notes that there is a various reading *asp*, 'horse' for *bist*, 'twenty'; and suggests that the remark refers to Akbar's horse having stumbled, which does not seem to be a tenable interpretation.

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painful lesson that the persons, male and female, in whom he had reposed confidence, were wholly unworthy of his trust and were even prepared to take his life. He had become conscious of the weight of the vast responsibilities resting upon his shoulders, and was forced to the conclusion that he must rely on his own strength, with Divine help, to bear them. He could not any longer lean upon the broken reed of false friends. He never again placed himself under the control of any adviser, but mapped out his course, right or wrong, for himself.

'It was', he observed, 'the effect of the grace of God that I found no capable minister, otherwise people would have considered my measures had been devised by him'.[1] That saying was not merely the outcome of self-conceited vanity. Young Akbar, in the days of his apprenticeship, had seen one minister after another fail to rise to the height of his duty. When he reinstated the traitor Munim Khan, there was, I think, some contemptuousness in the action, which signified that it did not much matter who conducted the routine business while Akbar himself was there to shape the policy. During the years in which he was apparently devoted to sport alone, and oblivious of all serious affairs, the young man had been thinking and shaping out a course of policy. His abolition of the practice of enslavement of prisoners of war, his marriage with the princess of Amber, and his reorganization of the finances were measures which proved that his thinking had not been fruitless. No minister would or could have carried them through.

Peruschi, one of the acute Jesuit authors, who based their accounts on the letters sent by the missionaries at Akbar's court in the middle and latter part of his reign, states that : 'He is willing to consult about his affairs, and often takes advice in private from his friends near his person, but the decision, as it ought, always rests with the King.'[2] Akbar was conscious of being a king of men, immeasurably superior in breadth and comprehensiveness of view to any of the people surrounding him, and was justified in keeping his prime minister, whether Munim Khan or another, in a position of definite subordination.

AFFAIRS AT KABUL

Although the events of 1562 freed Akbar once and for all from the thraldom of Maham Anaga and her gang, his complete emancipation from the control of palace influence and intrigue should be dated later, about the end of March 1564, when he inflicted on Khwaja Muazzam, his mother's unruly brother, the punishment which will be described presently.

In the interval several occurrences of considerable importance took place, which will be now briefly related. Kabul had been unfortunate in its governors. Ghani Khan, son of Munim Khan, was one of the failures, and was shut out of the city by Mah Chuchak Begam, mother of Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's young brother, the nominal ruler. Akbar was obliged to send Munim Khan with instructions to undertake the guardianship of the prince and try to restore

1. *Ain*, vol. iii, p. 387.
2. Peruschi, p. 23.

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order. But the Begam attacked and defeated him.[1] After some delay Munim Khan ventured to return to court in August 1563 (end of A.H. 970). Akbar again extended to him a gracious reception, and secured his loyalty for the rest of his life. Matters at Kabul were complicated by the intervention of the turbulent Shah Abu-l Maali, who had returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca. He came to Kabul and persuaded the Begam to give him her daughter, a half-sister of Akbar's, in marriage. He then attempted to seize the government for himself, and cruelly killed the Begam in April 1564. Mirza Sulaiman of Badakhshan came to the rescue of the young prince, and defeated Abu-l Maali, who was justly executed. Kabul then remained for some time under the government of the Mirza.

ABOLITION OF TAX ON PILGRIMS

In 1563 Akbar happened to be at Mathura (Muttra) engaged in tiger-hunting. He had the luck to bag five out of seven tigers seen.[2] While he was in camp there it was brought to his notice that the government had been accustomed to levy dues from the pilgrims worshipping at Mathura and other holy places of the Hindus. Akbar expressed the opinion that it was contrary to the will of God to tax people assembled to worship the Creator, even though their forms of worship might be considered erroneous. Acting on that principle he remitted all pilgrim taxes throughout his dominions, which, according to Abu-l Fazl, amounted to millions of rupees. He amused himself by walking from beyond Mathura to Agra, a distance of about thirty-six miles, in one day. A considerable party started with him, but only three of his companions were in at the finish with their athletic young sovereign.

ATTEMPT ON AKBAR'S LIFE

Early in January 1564 Akbar moved to Delhi. On the 11th he was returning from a visit to the famous shrine of Shaikh Nizamu-d din Auliya, and had just passed Maham Anaga's newly built *madrasa*, now no longer in existence, when a man standing on the balcony of the *madrasa* discharged an arrow which wounded Akbar in the shoulder. The arrow was extracted at once, and the assailant was instantly cut to pieces. In ten days Akbar was sufficiently recovered to be able to return to Agra riding in a litter. The assailant was a slave named Fulad, who had been manumitted by Mirza Sharfu-d din Husain, an ally of Shah Abu-l Maali. Akbar seems to have discouraged attempts to ascertain the identity of Fulad's accomplices. He was then engaged in a scheme for marrying certain ladies belonging to Delhi families, and had compelled one Shaikh to divorce his wife in his favour. The attempted assassination put an end to these discreditable proceedings, and probably was prompted by resentment at the royal invasion of the honour of families. Akbar, throughout his life, allowed himself ample latitude in the matter of wives and concubines, but we do not hear again

1. As pointed out in Lowe's note, the translator of the *Tabakat* (E. & D., v, 282) erroneously represents the Begam as having been defeated by Munim Khan (Badaoni, ii, 55, note 4).

2. Tigers have not been seen near Mathura for many a year.

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of scandals like those which tarnished his good name at Delhi when he was one-and-twenty.[1]

ABOLITION OF THE 'JIZYA'

Early in 1564 Akbar took another important step in pursuance of the policy which had dictated the Amber marriage, the conferment of office on Man Singh, and the abolition of the dues exacted from pilgrims. He now made a second large sacrifice of revenue by remitting the *jizya*, or poll-tax on non-Muslims, that is to say in practice, on Hindus, throughout his dominions. The tax had been originally instituted by the Khalif Omar, who fixed it in three grades, of 48, 24, and 12 *dirhams* respectively.[2] The rate of taxation in Akbar's time does not seem to be recorded. In Sind (A.D. 712) Muhammad bin Kasim had levied the tax according to Omar's canonical scale.[3] In the fourteenth century Firoz Shah Tughlak, a zealous bigot, assessed the three grades for Delhi at 40, 20 and 10 *tankas* respectively; Brahmans, who up to then had been exempt, were charged 10 *tankas* and 50 *jitals*.[4] It is not unlikely that the assessment of Firoz Shah continued in force until Akbar's time, rupees being substituted for silver *tankas* of slightly less value. No statistics are available concerning the yield of the *jizya* collections. Abu-l Fazl merely states that it was immense. The tax, which concerned adult males only, was levied in a lump sum for the whole year, and in a country so poor as India must have been extremely burdensome. Aurangzeb, as is well known, reimposed it in 1679, after the death of Raja Jaswant Singh, and his feeble successors more than once tried to levy it when they could.

Some writers are inclined to attribute too much influence on Akbar's policy to Abu-l Fazl. It is noteworthy that Akbar, of his own motion and contrary to the advice of his councillors, abolished the *jizya* ten years before he made the acquaintance of his famous secretary. He had swept away the pilgrim taxes at a still earlier date. The main lines of his policy, directed to obliterating all difference in treatment between Muslims and Hindus, were fixed as political principles while he was still to all outward appearance an orthodox and zealous Muslim, and long before his open breach with Islam, which may be dated in 1582, after the defeat of his brother's attempt to win the throne of India. When it is remembered that Akbar was only twenty-one or twenty-two years of age when he abolished

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1. The historians, as usual, differ concerning the details of Fulad's attempt. I follow Badaoni (ii, 60) in stating that the assailant discharged the arrow from the balcony.

2. *Ain*, ii, 57, tr. Jarrett.

3. *Chach-namah*, E. & D., i, 182.

4. E. & D., iii, 366. The *dirham* 'is the general name for a silver coin, as the *dinar* for gold. It corresponds to the drachma, and when used as a weight should equal 48 grains. But silver coins having the name *dirham* on them vary much in weight and size' (Codrington, *Musalaman Numismatics*, 1904, p. 117). In the *Ain* (Blochmann, vol. i, p. 31) *jital* is defined as an imaginary 1/12th of the copper *dam*, used by accountants for the purposes of calculation. The silver *tankah* of Firoz Shah weighed about 175 grains. The *kani* or silver *jital* in his time, if of pure silver, should have weighed nearly 2 3/4 grains. 64 *kanis* or *jitals* went to the *tankah*.) E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 1871, pp. 218 *n.*, 281 *n.*).

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the pilgrim tax and the *jizya*, in defiance of the sentiments of his co-religionists and the practice of his predecessors, we may well marvel at the strength of will displayed by a man so young, who a little time before seemed to care for nothing but sport. Abu-l Fazl's tiresome rhetoric about the 'veil' behind which Akbar concealed his real nature for several years has some justification in fact.

THE FATE OF KHWAJA MUAZZAM

Khwaja Muazzam, son of Ali Akbar, and half-brother of Akbar's mother, had always manifested a turbulent, unruly disposition from his boyhood, and when he grew up was guilty of many murders and other offences. His relationship with the royal family secured him impunity. In March 1564 a lady who led high office in the harem, and whose daughter was married to the Khwaja, informed Akbar that she had reason to believe that Khwaja Muazzam intended to kill his wife, whom he was removing to his country-seat for that purpose. Akbar promised his protection, and in fulfilment of his promise crossed the Jumna, as if for hunting, accompanied by a small retinue of about twenty persons. Messengers were sent on to advise the Khwaja of his sovereign's approach. The man horrified them by throwing out a bloody knife with which he had that moment stabbed his wife. When Akbar rode up there was reason to fear that he might be attacked, and his retinue were obliged to cut down one of the Khwaja's followers who seemed to be dangerous. Ultimately Khwaja Muazzam was arrested, and ducked in the river along with his servants. He did not drown as he was expected to do, and was sent to the state prison at Gwalior, where he died insane. Probably he had been more or less mad all his life. The punishment inflicted on him proved definitely that Akbar was not to be deterred by family influence from doing justice on evil-doers after the rough-and-ready manner of the times. The incident may be taken as marking the date of Akbar's final emancipation from the control of a palace clique. He continued to show all proper respect to his mother, but he did not allow her to control his policy, which was conceived on principles distasteful to her.

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CHAPTER IV

CONQUEST OF GONDWANA ; REBELLIONS OF ABDULLAH KHAN, KHAN ZAMAN, ASAF KHAN (I), AND THE MIRZAS; REDUCTION OF THE GREAT FORTRESSES; BUILDING OF FATHPUR-SIKRI ; CONQUEST OF GUJRAT, ETC.

ASAF KHAN AND RANI DURGAVATI

Asaf Khan (1), governor of Kara and the Eastern Provinces,[1] having subdued the Raja of Panna in Bundelkhand, who possessed diamond mines, was directed by Akbar to turn his arms against Gondwana, or the Gond country, now forming the northern part of the Central Provinces. That country was then (1564) governed by a gallant lady, Rani Durgavati, who, fifteen years previously, had become regent for her minor son. Although he had now attained manhood, and was recognized as the lawful Raja, she continued to rule the kingdom. The Rani was a princess of the famous Chandel dynasty of Mahoba, which had been one of the great powers of India five hundred years earlier. Her impoverished father had been obliged to lower his pride and give his daughter to the wealthy Gond Raja, who was far inferior in social position. She proved herself worthy of her noble ancestry, and governed her adopted country with courage and capacity, 'doing great things', as Abu-l Fazl remarks, 'by dint of her far-seeing abilities. She had great contests with Baz Bahadur and the Mianas, and was always victorious. She had 20,000 good cavalry with her in her battles, and one thousand famous elephants. The treasures of the Rajahs of that country fell into her hands. She was a good shot with gun and arrow, and continually went a-hunting and shot animals of the chase with her gun. It was her custom that when she heard that a tiger had made his appearance, she did not drink water till she had shot him.'[2]

She carried out many useful public works in different parts of the kingdom and deservedly won the hearts of her people. Her name is still remembered and revered.

AKBAR'S AGGRESSIVE POLICY

Akbar's attack on a princess of a character so noble was mere aggression, wholly unprovoked and devoid of all justification other than the lust for conquest and plunder. Akbar shared the opinion of all Asiatic and not a few European monarchs that it is the duty of a king to extend his dominions. 'A monarch', he said, 'should be ever intent on conquest, otherwise his neighbours rise in arms against him.'[3] Mrs. Beveridge is quite right when she declares that Akbar was

1. His full name was Khwaja Abdu-l Majid Asaf Khan. See his biography by Blochmann, No. 49 in *Ain*, vol. i, pp. 366-9. Later in the reign two other nobles successively received the title Asaf Khan. The conqueror of Gondwana is conveniently distinguished as Asaf Khan I.
2. *A. N.*, ii, 326.
3. 'Happy Sayings', *Ain*, vol. iii, p. 399.

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'a strong and stout annexationist before whose sun the modest star of Lord Dalhousie pales. He believed, probably without any obtrusion of a doubt as to his course, that the extension and consolidation of territory was a thing worth fighting for; he believed in supremacy as (being) in itself a desirable object, and having men and money, he went to work and took tract after tract without scruple.'[1]

Akbar would have laughed at the remorse felt by Asoka for the miseries caused by the conquest of Kalinga, and would have utterly condemned his great predecessor's decision to abstain from all further wars of aggression. Count von Noer's belief that 'it was not passion for conquest which thrust the sword into the great emperor's hand'[2] is opposed to the obvious facts and to Akbar's clear language. The same author (or his secretary) puts a false gloss on the attempted conquest of the Deccan, when he writes :

'Sunni and Shi'ah animosity had long distracted those southern kingdoms of the Indian peninsula by conquest of which Akbar thought to crown his career. He had set it before him to quiet the unrest of lesser states by welding them into a great empire, and his inner feelings justified him in stepping forward as a redeemer from discord and embroilment. Only war and conquest could lead him to his goal.' That is sentimental rubbish. Akbar's annexations were the result of ordinary kingly ambition supported by adequate power. The attack, devoid of moral justification, on the excellent government of Rani Durgavati was made on the principle which determined the subsequent annexations of Kashmir, Ahmadnagar, and other kingdoms. Akbar felt no scruples about initiating a war, and once he had begun a quarrel he hit hard and without mercy. His better nature made itself felt after victory had been secured. Until then his proceedings were much the same as those of other able, ambitious, and ruthless kings.

FATE OF DURGAVATI; CAPTURE OF CHAURAGARH

Rani Durgavati made a gallant defence, but many of her soldiers, apparently terrified by the might of the invader, deserted and left her to fight the enemy with inadequate forces. Her final stand was made between Garha and Mandla, now in the Jabalpur District. Mounted on a mighty elephant, she led her men with the utmost bravery until disabled by two wounds from arrows. Choosing death rather than dishonour, she stabbed herself to the heart, so that 'her end was as noble and devoted as her life had been useful.'

Two months later Asaf Khan, after a short struggle, took from the Raja the fortress of Chauragarh, now in the Narsinghpur District, which was the treasure city of the kingdom.

'When the fort was taken there fell into the hands of Asaf Khan and his men an incalculable amount of gold and silver. There were coined and uncoined gold, decorated utensils, jewels, pearls, figures, pictures, jewelled and decorated idols, figures of animals made wholly of gold, and other rarities.'

1. A. S. Beveridge, in von Noer, vol. i, p. xxxvii.
2. von Noer, ii, 231.

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The coin was said to include a hundred large pots full of the gold *ashrafis* of Alau-d din Khilji. It is surprising that the ruler of a country so wild as Gondwana, or Garha-Katanga as the Persian authors call it, should have accumulated such a rich treasure. The historian of Indian art would be glad if he could see a specimen of the pictures, examples of Hindu pictorial art between the seventh century and Akbar's introduction of Persian fashions about 1570 being almost wholly lacking.

THE 'JAUHAR' OF CHAURAGARH

The young Raja, whose name was Bir Narayan, died bravely and protected the honour of his household by the awful act of sacrifice so often recorded in Hindu history. The tragic story is well told by Abu-l Fazl :

'He had appointed Bhoj Kaith and Miyan Bhikari Rumi to look after the *jauhar*, for it is the custom of Indian rajahs under such circumstances to collect wood, cotton, grass, ghee, and such like into one place, and to bring the women and burn them, willing or unwilling. This they call the *jauhar*. These two faithful servants, who were the guardians of honour, executed this service.

'Whoever out of feebleness of soul was backward (to sacrifice herself) was, in accordance with their custom, put to death by the Bhoj aforesaid. A wonderful thing was that four days after they had set fire to that circular pile, and all that harvest of roses had been reduced to ashes, those who opened the door found two women alive. A large piece of timber had screened them and protected them from the fire. One of them was Kamlavati, the Rani's sister, and the other the daughter of [the] Rajah [of] Puragadha, whom they had brought for the Rajah, but who had not yet been united to him. These two women, who had emerged from that storm of fire, obtained honour by being sent to kiss the threshold of the Shahinshah' [*scil.* were placed in Akbar's harem at Agra.][1]

MISCONDUCT OF ASAF KHAN; AKBAR'S POLICY

Asaf Khan was intoxicated with pride by reason of his victory and the acquisition of enormous wealth. The booty included a thousand elephants, of which only two hundred were sent to court, while Asaf Khan kept everything else for himself, following Adham Khan's evil example in Malwa. Evidently he thought of setting up as an independent potentate, and ignoring the imperial authority. Akbar 'winked at his treachery', and deferred the settlement of accounts to a more convenient season. The magnanimity and clemency shown to various rebellious nobles in the early years of his reign with which

1. *A. N.*, ii, 331. The passage proves that Abu-l Fazl could write effectively in a simple style when he chose to do so. No other case of escape from a *jauhar* seems to be on record. Sir George Grierson permits me to announce that he has discovered the etymology of the word *jauhar*. It is the Prakrit *jauhara* (Jain story of Bambhadatta in Jacobi, *Ausgewahlte Erzahlungen in Maharashtri*, p. 5, l. 57), representing the Sanskrit *jatu-griha*, the 'lac-house' of inflammable material in which their enemies tried to burn the Pandavas alive (*Mahabh.*, i, chaps. 141-51). The word should be written *jauhar*, not *johar*. Forbes, using the latter spelling, marked it as of Persian origin. See the Ramnagar inscription (*A.S.R.*, xvii, 46-53).

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Akbar is credited seem to have been really the result of his weakness in military strength, his power at that time not being sufficiently established to enable him to assert his sovereign position with full effect. He was a master in the arts of dissimulation and concealment of his feelings. Bartoli, the excellent Jesuit author, summing up the testimony of his brethren concerning Akbar as he was in middle age, tells us that

'He never gave anybody the chance to undertstand rightly his inmost sentiments, or to know what faith or religion he held by..... And in all business, this was the characteristic manner of King Akbar—a man apparently free from mystery or guile, as honest and candid as could be imagined; but, in reality, so close and self-contained, with twists of words and deeds so divergent one from the other, and most times so contradictory, that even by much seeking one could not find the clue to his thoughts.'[1]

We may feel assured that there was much policy in his clemency.

REVOLT OF ABDULLAH KHAN UZBEG IN MALWA

In July 1564 Abdullah Khan Uzbeg, who had succeeded Pir Muhammad in Malwa, revolted, and Akbar was obliged to organize an expedition for the chastisement of the rebel. He marched through the Narwar territory, where he enjoyed a grand elephant hunt, in which seventy beasts were captured. Thence he proceeded to Mandu, defeated Abdullah, and drove him into Gujarat, where he left him. In October Akbar was back at Agra, having made another great catch of elephants at Sipri while on his way. He continued to practise his old amusement of riding ferocious animals. One of the elephants, named Khandi Rai, was so fierce that he could be mastered only by the use of two goads at once, which Akbar applied to his skull unmercifully. Abdullah Khan did not seriously attempt to recover the position which he had lost. He ultimately made his way to Jaunpur, where he joined Khan Zaman, and died a natural death during the rebellion of that officer, which will now be related.

REBELLION OF KHAN ZAMAN, ETC., UZBEGS

The leading adventurers who had helped Humayun and Akbar to recover the throne of Hindostan did not readily settle down to the position of mere noblemen in an ordered kingdom. They all cherished personal ambitions for sovereign power, and were constantly breaking into rebellion. Khan Zaman, who as Ali Kuli Khan had helped to defeat Hemu, and had latterly become governor of the Jaunpur territory, rebelled early in 1565. He was an Uzbeg, like Abdullah Khan of Malwa. At that time Akbar was considered to favour the Persian officers, between whom and the Uzbeg chiefs intense jealousy existed. Khan Zaman, who was assisted by his brother Bahadur and his uncle Ibrahim, defeated the royal troops, which were obliged to withdraw to Nimkhar in Oudh, now in the Sitapur District. Todar Mall, afterwards famous as Akbar's finance minister, is mentioned on this occasion for the first time as taking part in the negotiations. He was opposed to compromise with the rebels. In May 1565 Akbar took

1. Bartoli, ed. 1714, p. 6. The first edition appeared in 1663.

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the field in person and crossed the Jumna.[1] The rebels were driven eastwards, and Asaf Khan came to the aid of his sovereign. Ultimately Khan Zaman formed an entrenched camp at Hajipur, opposite Patna. Akbar made Jaunpur his head-quarters. A complication was introduced by the sudden defection and flight of Asaf Khan, who was alarmed at reports that he would be called on to account for the treasures of Rani Durgavati.

In December 1565 Munim Khan met Khan Zaman in a boat in the middle of the Ganges opposite Buxar, and patched up a reconciliation, the principal stipulation being that Khan Zaman should not cross the Ganges. The rebel, who never intended to observe the terms, promptly violated them. However, he again professed submission, and once more Akbar accepted his excuses, probably because the royal force was not sufficient to secure victory. In March 1566 Akbar started to march back to Agra.

Before the story of the Uzbeg rebellion can be concluded certain miscellaneous occurrences of this time must be recorded.

VARIOUS EVENTS

Late in 1564 twin sons were born to Akbar. They received the names of Hasan and Hussain, and indication probably that their father was then under the influence of Persian Shias.[2] They lived for only a month. The name of their mother is not recorded.

In the cold weather of 1564-5 Haji or Bega Begam, the senior widow of Humayun, who had lost both her children, went on pilgrimage to Mecca, and was absent from the court for three years.[3] Before starting she made arrangements for building at her own cost the noble mausoleum under which her husband's remains rest. It was finished after her return.

Muhammad Hakim's officers, apparently in 1564, drove out the Badakhshanis from Kabul and reinstated their young prince, then about ten years old.

Shaikh Abdu-n Nabi was appointed Sadr-i-Sudur in 1565 or 1566 (tenth regnal year), an appointment which Akbar afterwards had reason to regret.

AKBAR'S EARLY BUILDINGS

About this time Akbar began the extensive building operations in which he took delight for many years. One of his earliest undertakings, executed rapidly at the close of 1564, on his return from Mandu, was the erection of a country palace, or hunting lodge, at a village called Kakrali, seven miles to the south of modern Agra, to which he gave the name of Nagarchain, or, in Persian, Amanabad,

1. About this time Akbar found it expedient to execute Kamran's son, Abu-l Kasim Khan, who was a prisoner in Gwalior and might have been set up as a pretender to the throne (A. H. 973, July 1565—July 1566) (Beale).

2. The Imams Hasan and Husain, the sons of the Khalif Ali and the Prophet's daughter, Fatima, are venerated by the Shias.

3. Gulbadan calls her Bega Begam, but she is generally known as Haji, or the 'pilgrim' Begam. Many books confound her with Hamida Bano Begam, Akbar's mother. See the author's essay on the subject in *J.R.A.S.*, 1917.

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'the Abode of Peace'. Agreeable gardens were laid out and a town grew up around the palace buildings for the accommodation of the people dependent on the court. Akbar sometimes received ambassadors there. The strange thing is that when Badaoni was writing late in the reign all trace of palace, gardens, and town had vanished. Nobody knows when, why, or how the demolition was effected.[1]

The old Hindu and Afghan fort at Agra, called Badalgarh, was built of brick, and had fallen into disrepair. If the chronograms quoted by Badaoni can be trusted, Akbar began building within its precincts as early as 1561-3 (A.H. 969-70), when he erected the Bengali Mahall and another palace. Portions of the Bengali or Akbari Mahall still exist in a much mutilated condition.[2] In 1565 (*i.e.* in tenth regnal year=1565-6, and A.H. 972=1564-5) the command was given for building a new fort of hewn stone at Agra to replace the ruinous brick work of ancient date. According to Jahangir, the work of construction continued for fifteen or sixteen years, and cost thirty-five lakhs, or three millions and a half of rupees, equivalent to nearly 400,000 pounds sterling.[3] The peasantry had to pay for the work by a special tax. Akbar is said to have erected in the Agra Fort during his reign 'five hundred buildings of masonry after the beautiful designs of Bengal and Gujarat which masterly sculptors and cunning artists of form have fashioned as architectural models'.[4] Most of them were destroyed by Shahjahan when he reconstructed the buildings to please his own taste, which differed widely from that of Akbar. The most important relic of Akbar's time still existing is the so-called Jahangiri Mahall, which seems to have been erected later in Akbar's reign as a residence for the heir apparent, Prince Salim, who became the Emperor Jahangir; but its exact date cannot be ascertained.

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

The foundation for the more extensive revenue reforms executed later by Raja Todar Mall was laid by a revision of the assessment of the crown rent or land revenue carried out by an officer named Muzaffar Khan, with the help of the local officials called Kanungos. Particulars of the measures taken are not recorded. So far as appears, their object was purely fiscal in order to prevent embezzlement. A beginning was also made in the organization of the military force attached to the sovereign's person.[5]

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1. *A. N.*, ii, 358; Badaoni, ii, 69. Fanthome describes the site as 'A Forgotten City' in *J.A.S.B.*, 1904, part i, p. 276. It is now known as Mahal Mandu, and adjoins the village of Kakrali. The existence of Nagarchain has been forgotten, but there are trifling traces of mosques and a well.

2. Badaoni, ii, 74; *Ann. Rep. A. S. India* for 1903-4 and 1907-8. Abu-l Fazl notes that on May 11, 1569, Akbar lodged in the Bengali Mahall, then newly constructed. The building work evidently continued for several years (*A. N.*, ii, 497).

3. Jahangir, R.B., vol. i, p. 3. Abu-l Fazl says that the work was completed in eight years, under the superintendence of Kasim Khan, who was both head of the Admiralty and 'First Commissioner of Works' (*Mir Barr u Bahr*) (*A. N.*, ii, 373) Badaoni's text assigns only five years for the work, but, as Nur Bakhsh points out (*Ann. Rep. A.S. India* for 1903-4, p. 165, note 5), the word 'five' should be corrected to 'fifteen'. The chronogram gives A.H. 986 (1578-9) as the year of completion.

4. *Ain*, vol, ii, p. 180.

5. *A. N.*, ii, 402, 403.

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While staying at Nagarchain Akbar amused himself playing polo, and invented a luminous ball so that play could be continued after dark. The courtiers were allowed to have bets on the game, and were required to attend regularly.[1]

INVASION OF MUHAMMAD HAKIM; HUNT; REBELLION OF THE MIRZAS

The pleasant life at the Nagarchain lodge was interrupted by the serious news that Muhammad Hakim, prince of Kabul, had invaded the Punjab. He was encouraged by the Uzbeg rebellions to claim the throne of Hindostan, and Khan Zaman went so far as to recite the *khutba*, or prayer for the king, in his name. The 'flames of the wrath' of Akbar blazed forth when he heard of his brother's action, and no time was lost in preparing to repel the invasion. Akbar placed the Khan Khanan (Munim Khan) in charge of the capital, and set out in person for the north on November 17, 1566. While at Delhi he visited the shrines of the saints and the tomb of his father, whose splendid mausoleum was then in course of erection.[2] Towards the end of February he arrived at Lahore, but before that date his brother had taken fright and retired across the Indus. Akbar, while staying at Lahore, organized a grand battue or hunt of the kind called *kamargha*. Ffty thousand beaters were employed for a month to drive in all the game within a space ten miles in circumference. When that task had been completed, Akbar enjoyed his murderous sport for five days, using the sword, lance, musket, arrows, and lasso. Such a hunt, it is said, was never known before or since.

About this time Asaf Khan made his submission, which was accepted.

Intelligence having been received of the rebellion of the nobles commonly called the Mirzas, who were the sons of Muhammad Sultan Mirza and Ulugh Mirza, descendants of Timur and distant relatives of Akbar, it was necessary to quit the Panjab and return to Agra, in order to arrange for the suppression of the rebels. The Mirzas, having first broken out at Sambhal, near Moradabad, where they had been granted estates, had been driven into Malwa. When starting on the return journey, Akbar characteristically plunged his horse into the Ravi and swam the river. Two of his attendants were drowned.

FIGHT OF THE SANYASIS AT THANESAR

An extraordinary incident which occurred in April while the royal camp was at Thanesar, the famous Hindu place of pilgrimage to the north of Delhi, throws a rather unpleasant light upon Akbar's character. The Sanyasis, or fakirs, who assembled at the holy tank were divided into two parties, which Abu-l Fazl calls Kurs and Puris. The leader of the latter complained to the king that the Kurs had unjustly occupied the accustomed sitting-place of the Puris, who were thus debarred from collecting the pilgrims' alms. Neither party

1. *Ain*, vol. i, p. 298. The luminous ball was made of the wood of the *dhak* or *palas* tree (*Butea frondosa*), which smoulders when ignited. It is recorded that a courtier was punished for slackness in his attendance at the game.
2. *A. N.*, vol. ii, p. 411. The mausoleum was completed about three years later.

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would listen to friendly counsel. Both factions begged permission that the dispute might be decided by mortal combat. The desired leave having been granted, the hostile crowds drew up in line, and the fight began with swords, one man on each side advancing in braggart fashion and starting the fray. Swords were discarded for bows and arrows, and these again for stones. Akbar, seeing that the Puris were outnumbered, gave the signal to some of his more savage followers to help the weaker party. The reinforcement enabled the Puris to drive the Kurs into headlong flight. The vanquished were pursued and a number of 'the wretches sent to annihilation'. The dead are said to have been about twenty. The chronicler unctuously adds that 'the holy heart, which is the colourist of destiny's worship, was highly delighted with this sport'. The other historians tells us that the numbers originally engaged were two or three hundred on one side and five hundred on the other, so that with the reinforcement the total came to about a thousand. The author of the *Tabakat* agrees with Abu-l Fazl that 'the Emperor greatly enjoyed the sight'.[1]

It is disappointing to find that a man like Akbar could encourage such sanguinary 'sport', and even wantonly sacrifice the lives of his own soldiers who had no interest in the quarrel. In his youth he certainly had no qualms of conscience about bloodshed. The story does not stand alone as a proof that the ferocity of his Turk and Mongol ancestors was an essential element in the character of Akbar, kept under control as a rule, but occasionally given free play.

SUPPRESSION OF KHAN ZAMAN

At the beginning of May 1567 Akbar left Agra in order to deal finally with the renewed rebellion of Khan Zaman, who crossed the Ganges with the object of proceeding to Kalpi. Akbar, on arrival at the Manikpur ferry, displayed his customary energy and contempt of personal danger by swimming the elephant he rode across the great river, a most perilous feat. A thousand or fifteen hundred of his soldiers managed somehow to swim over with him. The rebel chiefs, given over to drunkenness and debauchery, had no sentries posted, and were ill prepared to withstand a determined foe. In the battle which followed at a village in the Allahabad District, Khan Zaman was killed and his brother Bahadur was taken prisoner and beheaded.[2] The rebellion was thus brought to an end. Some of the subordinate leaders were pardoned, but several were executed by being trampled to death by elephants. 'An order was issued that whoever brought in a Moghul rebel's head should get a gold mohar, and whoever brought a Hindustani's head should get a rupee. The crowd ran off after heads, and brought them in and were paid.'

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1. *A. N.*, ii, 423; Badaoni, ii, 94; *Tabakat*, E. & D., v. 318. The affair is described and illustrated in the magnificent manuscript entitled *Tarikh-i Khandan-i Timuriyah*, preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh or Oriental Public Library at Bankipore.

2. The name of the village is written 'Sakrawal' in *A. N.*, ii, 434. Badaoni spells 'Maakarwal' (ii, 100); and the *Tabakat* (E. & D., v. 321) has 'Mankarwal'. All these forms apparently are intended for Mankuwar, a village occupying part of the site of an ancient town about ten miles south-south-west of Allahabad (see Cunningham, *Arch. Survey Rep.*, x, 5, 6). The name of Fathpur ('town of victory') was bestowed on the village.

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Akbar then marched to Prayag (Allahabad) and on to Benares, which was plundered because the people were rash enough to close their gates. He proceeded to Jaunpur, and so, crossing the river, to Kara. It is evident that Akbar's resentment was excited by the repeated and continued rebellions of Khan Zaman, and that he was not in the mood to show much mercy to the rebels.

One man, Muhammad Mirak of Mashhad, a special confidant of Khan Zaman, was tortured for five successive days on the execution ground. Each day he was trussed up in a wooden frame and placed before one of the elephants. 'The elephant caught him in his trunk and squeezed him and the stocks and shoulder-boards, and flung him from one side to the other. As a clear sign for his execution had not been given (by the driver) the elephant played with him and treated him gently.....At last, on account of his being a Sayyid [descendant of the Prophet], and on the intercession of courtiers, he was granted his life.' Abu-l Fazl relates this horrid barbarity without a word of censure.

The fiefs of Khan Zaman were bestowed on Khan Khanan (Munim Khan). On July 18, 1567, the court arrived at Agra. Another rebel force under Sikandar or Iskandar Khan was expelled from Oudh.

AKBAR'S DESIGNS ON CHITOR

In September 1567 Akbar resolved on the most famous and tragically interesting of his martial enterprises, the siege and capture of Chitor (Cheetore), which deserves narration in exceptional detail. The Muhammadan historians speak of one attack only, but the local annalists affirm that Akbar had previously made an unsuccessful attempt, which was repulsed by 'the masculine courage of the Rana's concubine queen, who headed the sallies into the heart of the Mogul camp, and on one occasion to the emperor's head-quarters. The imbecile Rana proclaimed that he owed his deliverance to her; when the chiefs, indignant at this imputation on their courage, conspired and put her to death.' [1]

It does not appear when that attempt was made, and it is difficult to find a place for it in Abu-l Fazl's chronology, but there is also difficulty in believing the alleged fact to be an invention. Akbar probably found a special motive for his hostility in the knowledge that the Rana had bestowed hospitality on Baz Bahadur, the fugitive king of Malwa, and on an insubordinate chief of Narwar. Abu-l Fazl tells a story that Sakat Singh, a son of the Rana, was in attendance on Akbar in camp at Dholpur, when the king remarked to him in a jesting manner that 'though most of the landholders and great men of India had paid their respects, yet the Rana had not done so, and that therefore he proposed to march against him and punish him'. The proud Rajput prince, failing to be amused by such jests in the mouth of the master of many legions, fled to his home, and gave the alarm to his father. Akbar resented the departure of the prince without leave, and resolved definitely to humble the pride of the proudest chief in Rajasthan, the acknowledged head of the Rajput chivalry. So 'the Shahinshah's wrath was stirred up, and jest became earnest'. His 'innate dignity',

1. Tod, *Annals*, i, 260.

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we are told, 'demanded that he should proceed in person to chastise the Rana', while the task of suppressing the rebellion of the Mirzas in Malwa was left to the imperial officers.[1] Although the anecdote may be accepted as true, it is superfluous to seek for special pretexts or provocations to explain the attack on Chitor. Akbar, being determined to become undisputed master of all Northern India, could not brook the independence of a chief who was 'proud of his steep mountains and strong castles and turned away the head of obedience from the sublime court'. No Rana of Mewar, to use the old name of the Chitor territory, has ever abased himself by giving a daughter of his house to Mogul embraces, as fellow chieftains in most of the other states were eager to do. No monarch could feel himself secure in the sovereignty of Upper India until he had obtained possession of Chitor and Ranthambhor, the two principal fortresses in the domains of the free Rajput chiefs. Mirtha (Merta) had been already won, and the 'world-conquering genius' of Akbar demanded that he should also hold the two greater strongholds.

DESCRIPTION OF CHITOR

The fortified hill of Chitor is an isolated mass of rock rising steeply from the plain, three miles and a quarter long and some twelve hundred yards wide in the centre.[2] The circumference at the base is more than eight miles, and the height nowhere exceeds four or five hundred feet. A smaller hill called Chitori stands opposite the eastern face and offers facilities to assailants which have been utilized more than once. In Akbar's time the city with its palaces, houses, and markets was on the summit within the fortifications, and the buildings below formed merely an outer bazaar. At the present day the lower town has about 7,000 or 8,000 inhabitants, and the ancient city lies almost wholly desolate. Its more complete desolation a century ago is recorded in touching language by Tod, who visited the place in February 1821 :

'With the wrecks of ages around me, I abandoned myself to contemplation. I gazed until the sun's last beam fell upon "the ringlet of Cheetore",[3] illuminating its grey and grief-worn aspect, like a lambent gleam lighting up the face of sorrow. Who could look on this lonely, this majestic column, which tells in language more easy of interpretation than the tablets within, of

"deeds which should not pass away,
And names that must not wither,"

and withhold a sigh for its departed glories ? But in vain I dipped my pen to record my thoughts in language; for, wherever the eye fell, it filled the mind with images of the past, and ideas rushed too tumultuously to be recorded. In this mood I continued for some time, gazing listlessly, until the shades of evening gradually enshrouded the

1. *A. N.*, ii, 442, 462. Most of the space between those pages is occupied by a tiresome ode, composed by Abu-l Fazl's elder brother Faizi, who was introduced at court about this time, when he was a young man of twenty or thereabouts.
2. The spelling Chitaur (Sanskrit Chitrapura) is the more correct ,but 'Chitor' is retained as representing the current pronunciation.
3. The 'tower of victory'.

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temples, columns, and palaces; and as I folded up my paper till the morrow, the words of the prophetic bard of Israel came forcibly to my recollection :—"How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people ! how is she become as a widow ! she, that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary !" '[1]

The principal approach to the fortress-city was from the south-east angle of the lower town by a road which ran for nearly a mile to the upper gate, with a slope of about one in fifteen. The way then formed two zigzag bends, in the course of which stood seven gates, of which the uppermost is called Ram Pol, a large and handsome portal arched in the Hindu manner. The Ram Pol is on the west. Minor gates, approached by other paths, are the Suraj Pol on the east and the Lokhota Bari on the north. The summit of the rock slopes inwards on all sides, so that innumerable tanks were easily formed, and a water-supply practically unlimited was assured. The city included many magnificent monuments and buildings, the most notable being the two great towers—the Jain Kirtti Stambh, or 'pillar of fame', dating from the twelfth or thirteenth century, and the Jai Stambh, or 'pillar of victory', erected between 1442 and 1449 by Rana Kumbha to commemorate his success over the allied armies of the Sultans of Malwa and Gujrat.[2]

THE RANAS

The Ranas of Mewar, whose 'abode of regality' was the sacred fortress of Chitor, the chiefest in honour among the cities of Hindostan, are universally recognized and for ages have been acknowledged as the heads of the Rajput clans. Their dynasty, the most ancient royal house of importance in India, has ruled Mewar, with merely temporary interruptions, since the early part of the eighth century to the present day, a period of twelve hundred years. Official legend traces the ancestry of the Rana back to the epic hero Rama and thence to the Sun himself. Sober history accepts as a fact the statement that the Rana's ancestor Bappa (Bapa or Bashpa) wrested Chitor from the Mori clan in or about A.D. 728. Guhila (Guhadatta, &c.) a more remote ancestor, who lived about A.D. 600, gave the name Guhilot, or 'sons of Guhila', to the ruling clan of Mewar. The name Sisodia, applied to the royal section of that clan, is derived from a village in the territory. Guhila was a Nagar Brahman from Varnagar (Vadnagar, Anandapura),[3] a town of Gujarat now included in the Baroda State.

Modern research gives good reason for believing that he was of foreign lineage and belonged to one or other of the Central Asian tribes which entered India in the sixth century and were closely related to the

1. Lam. i. 1.

2. For a curious sketch of Chitor by an English gunner in Aurangzeb's service see Fryer, *A New Account*, &c., ed. Crooke, Hakluyt Soc., 1915, plate facing p. 170, vol. iii.

3. In Western India the cerebral letter, written and pronounced in Northern India as *r*, is written and pronounced *d* by educated Hindus. The Muhammadans and lower class Hindus in the west, Professor Rawlinson tells me, follow the northern way of writing and pronunciation. The variation in spelling is sometimes confusing.

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Mers of Gujarat and the Rajas of Valabhi. Mewar traditions rightly preserve the memory of the connexion between the Ranas and Valabhi, but the further claim that the rulers of Mewar also have in their veins the blood of the Persian King Anushirwan (Nushirwan or Khusru I), the famous rival and enemy of Justinian, is more dubious.

The reader may be puzzled by the assertion that the ancestor of the head of the Rajput clans was a Brahman. The fact, however, seems to have been established and finds its explanation in the occurrence of a change in occupation made by Guhila. His descendants, when they took up the business of kingship, were reckoned as members of the Rajput or Kshatriya group of castes, to which all rulers were supposed to belong.

The annals of Mewar, as recorded with sympathetic enthusiasm by Tod, are full of romantic stories of heroic deeds performed and extremest sufferings endured by the men and women alike of the Guhilot and other clans. Few members of the Sisodia royal house ever forgot for a moment the obligations imposed upon them by their noble ancestry. Almost without an exception, they upheld, even to death, the honour of their race. It was the ill fate of Mewar to be cursed with a craven prince at the critical moment when India was ruled by the ablest, and perhaps the most ambitious, sovereign who has ever swayed her sceptre. [1]

RANA UDAI SINGH

The ambitious designs of the Mogul were facilitated by the unkingly weakness of Rana Udai Singh, the unworthy son of a noble sire. When Rana Sanga, the gallant opponent of Babur, died in A.D. 1529, the year before Babur's decease, the throne of Chitor was occupied in succession by three princes, two of whom were legitimate sons of Sanga, and the third a bastard relative. Udai Singh, the posthumous child of Rana Sanga, was saved from destruction in his infancy by the heroic fidelity of a nurse who sacrificed her own offspring in his stead, and after years of concealment he was enthroned by the nobles of the State in the seat of the bastard, who was allowed to depart to the Deccan, and became the progenitor of the Bhonsla Rajas of Nagpur, famous in later history. Those events happened in the Samvat year 1597 (A.D. 1541-2) shortly before Akbar's birth. Udai Singh, Tod tells us, 'had not one quality of a sovereign; and wanting martial virtue, the common heritage of his race, he was destitute of all'. The historian of the Rajputs justly exclaims that 'well had it been for Mewar had the poniard fulfilled its intention, and had the annals never recorded the name of Udai Singh in the catalogue of her princes'. Udai Singh shamelessly abandoned the post of honour and hid himself in distant forests. Some time before the siege he had formed in the valley of the Girwo a lake which was called after his name. He now built

1. See *E.H.I.*, 3rd ed., pp. 407-15, 419; and Stratton, *Chitor and the Mewar Family*, published anonymously at Allahabad in 1881. Detailed proof of the Brahman descent of the Ranas and of the meaning of the term Brahmakshatri will be found in D.R. Bhandarkar's valuable paper entitled 'Guhilots' (*J. & Proc. A.S.B.* (N.S.), vol. v. 1909, pp. 167-87). His conclusions are unsuccessfully disputed by Pundit Mohanlal Vishnulal Pandia (ibid., 1912, pp. 63-99).

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a small palace on an adjoining hill, around which edifices gradually arose and became the city of Udaipur, the modern capital of Mewar. Such was the craven to whom the destinies of Chitor were entrusted when Akbar resolved to make himself master of the historic fortress.

THE SIEGE

On October 20, 1567, Akbar formed his camp, extending for ten miles to the north-east of the rock, and after careful reconnaissance of the whole circumference, completed the investment in the course of a month, establishing many batteries at various points. The site of his encampment is still marked by a fine pyramidal column, built of blocks of compact whitish limestone, known as 'Akbar's lamp', The structure, perfect to this day, is 'about thirty-five feet high, each face being twelve feet at the base, and gradually tapering to the summit, where it is between three and four, and on which was placed a huge lamp (*chiragh*), that served as a beacon to the foragers, or denoted the imperial head-quarters.'[1]

The principal batteries were three, namely, Akbar's opposite the Lakhota gate on the north, where the mines were worked, and two others, of which the position is not stated. Raja Todar Mall was one of the officers in charge of the second. A large mortar capable of throwing a ball half a maund, or forty pounds, in weight, was cast on the spot in Akbar's presence. Numerous direct assaults having been repulsed with heavy loss, Akbar decided to proceed by a regular sap and mine process. The miners made their approach by a covered way (*sabat*) so spacious that ten men could pass along it abreast, and a mounted elephant could be ridden through. On December 17 two heavily charged mines were fired, but failed to explode simultaneously. The storming party, rushing in impetuously at the moment when the first mine was fired, were blown to pieces when the second exploded a little later. The casualties among the besiegers amounted to two hundred, including about a hundred men of note, one of whom was a Saiyid of Barha, a designation destined to play a prominent part in the history of the eighteenth century. The besieged garrison lost only about forty men by the accident, and quickly built a new wall to defend the breach. Akbar recognized the truth that the stronghold could not be taken without patience and devoted himself to perfecting the covered way. One day he was standing in it firing from a loophole when a marksman in the garrison slightly wounded an officer named

1. *Annals of Mewar*, ch. x, vol. i, p. 260 and note; *Personal Narrative*, ch. xv, vol. ii, p. 604. Tod was mistaken in believing that there was 'an interior staircase'. More accurate measurements are : height, 36 ft. 7 in.; 14 ft. 1 in. square at base 3 ft. 3 in. square at apex. The tower is solid for 4 ft., then hollow for 20 ft., and solid again up to the top. The floor of the cavity or chamber is 4 ft. square and has seven openings to admit light. The monument stands about a mile to the NE. of Nagari, a small village representing a town of high antiquity about six miles or more NE. of Chitor hill. The building may possibly be very ancient, although used by Akbar as alleged by local traditions (Kavi Raj Shyamal Das, 'Antiquities at Nagari', in *J.A.S.B.*, part i, vol. lvi (1887), p. 75, Plate V). Probably a wooden ladder gave access to the chamber and to the summit. The original purpose of the building is uncertain. See *A.S.R.*, vol. vi. pp. 196, 208.

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Jalal Khan who was in attendance. Although Akbar could not see the marksman, he fired at his musket, and it was ascertained subsequently that Ismail, the captain of the sharpshooters, had fallen a victim to the royal shot. Another day, when at the Chitori battery, Akbar narrowly escaped being killed by a large cannon ball which destroyed twenty of his men.

At last the *sabat* was completed under the supervision of Raja Todar Mall and Kasim Khan, the head of the works and admiralty departments, who had built the Agra fort. For two nights and one day, while the work was being completed, Akbar stayed in quarters on the top of the *sabat* and the workers took neither sleep nor food. 'The strength of both sides was exhausted.'

On Tuesday, February 23, 1568, Akbar noticed at the breach a personage wearing a chief's cuirass who was busy directing the defence. Without knowing who the chief might be, Akbar aimed at him with his well-tried musket Sangram. When the man did not come back, the besiegers concluded that he must have been killed. Less than an hour later reports were brought in that the defences were deserted and that fire had broken out in several places in the fort. Raja Bhagwan Das, being familiar with the customs of his country, knew the meaning of the fire, and explained that it must be the *jauhar*, that awful rite already described as having been performed at Chauragarh.

FALL OF THE FORTRESS

Early in the morning the facts were ascertained. The chief whom Akbar's shot had killed proved to be Jaimall Rathor of Bednor, who had taken command of the fortress when Udai Singh, his cowardly sovereign, had deserted it.[1] As usual in India the fall of the commander decided the fate of the garrison. Shortly before Jaimall was killed a gallant deed was performed by the ladies of the young chieftain Patta, whose name is always linked by tradition with that of Jaimall. The incident is best described in the glowing words of Tod :

'When Salumbra [alias Sahidas] fell at the gate of the sun, the command devolved on Patta of Kailwa. He was only sixteen.[2] His father had fallen in the last shock, and his mother had survived but to rear this the sole heir of their house. Like the Spartan mother of old, she commanded him to put on the "saffron robe", and to die for Chitor; but surpassing the Grecian dame, she illustrated her precept by example; and lest any soft "compunctious visitings" for one dearer than herself might dim the lustre of Kailwa, she armed the young bride with a lance, with her descended the rock, and the defenders of Chitor saw her fall, fighting by the side of her Amazonian mother. When their wives and daughters performed such deeds, the Rajputs became reckless of life.'

Patta himself fell later. At dawn on the morning after the *jauhar*

1. Jaimall is said to have been previously in command at Mirtha.
2. Stratton points out that Patta must have been more than sixteen years of age, as he left two sons, and had already taken an active part in the defence of Mirtha. His name is spelt variously, sometimes assuming the Musalman form of 'Fateh'. Bernier calls him 'Polta', which may be a misprint.

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Akbar rode into the fortress, mounted on an elephant, and attended by many other elephants and several thousand men.

'His Majesty related that he had come near the temple of Gobind Syam when an elephant-driver trampled a man under his elephant. The driver said that he did not know the man's name, but that he appeared to be one of the leaders, and that a large number of men had fought round him with sacrifice of their lives. At last it came out that it was Pata who had been trampled to death. At the time he was produced, there was a breath of life in him, but he shortly afterwards died.'

THE 'JAUHAR'; MASSACRES AND DESTRUCTION

The *jauhar* sacrifice completed before the final capture of the fortress was, on a large scale, although far smaller than on previous occasions, if the traditional numbers can be believed. The fires were kindled in three distinct places, belonging respectively to members of the Sisodia, Rathor, and Chauhan clans. Nine queens, five princesses, their daughters, as well as two infant sons, and all the chieftain's families who happened not to be away on their estates perished either in the flames or in the assault. Abu-l Fazl estimates that three hundred women were burnt. During the course of the following morning, when Akbar made his entry, eight thousand Rajputs, vowed to death, sold their lives as dearly as possible and perished to a man. [1]

Akbar, exasperated by the obstinate resistance offered to his arms, treated the garrison and town with merciless severity. The eight thousand Rajput soldiers who formed the regular garrison having been zealously helped during the siege by 40,000 peasants, the emperor ordered a general massacre, which resulted in the death of 30,000. Many, however, were spared and made prisoners.

The operations of the defence had been greatly aided by the skill of a body of a thousand expert marksmen from Kalpi who had done much execution among the besiegers and had imperilled the life of Akbar. He was accordingly eager to destroy those men and was much annoyed to find that they had escaped by means of a clever stratagem. They passed themselves off as royal troops, and so marched out taking with them their wives and children, who were represented to be prisoners.

The wrath of the conqueror fell upon what Tod calls the 'symbols of regality' as well as upon the persons of the vanquished. The gates of the fortress were taken off their hinges and removed to Agra.[2] The *nakkaras*, or huge kettle-drums, eight or ten feet in diameter, the reverberations of which had been wont to proclaim 'for miles around the entrance and exit of her princes', as well as the massive candelabra from the shrine of the 'Great Mother', who had girt Bappa Rawal with the sword by which Chitor was won, were also taken away. There is no good evidence that Akbar did serious structural damage to the buildings. The statement made by Tod in one place that the emperor's proceedings were marked by 'the most illiterate atrocity', inasmuch as

1. Interesting reproductions of pictures from the *Akbarnama* at South Kensington, representing various scenes at the siege of Chitor, are given in *J.I.A.*, April 1915, No. 130.

2. This fact is confirmed by Tieffenthaler (ed. Bernouilli (1791), p. 331).

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he defaced every monument that had been spared by the earlier conquerors, Alau-d din Khilji and Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, apparently is untrue, and certainly is inconsistent with the allegation elsewhere made by him that only one building had escaped the wrath of Alau-d din.[1]

'THE SIN OF THE SLAUGHTER OF CHITOR'

The fall of the fortress of Chitor, sanctified by the memory of eight centuries of heroic deed and heart-rending tragedies, wounded deeply the Rajput soul. The place became accursed, and to this day no successor of Udai Singh would dare to set foot within the limits of the once sacred stronghold of his ancestors. The 'sin of the slaughter of Chitor', like the 'curse of Cromwell' in Ireland, has become proverbial, and the memory of it is kept alive, or was so kept a hundred years ago, by a curious custom. It is said that Akbar estimated the total of the Rajput dead by collecting and weighing the 'Brahmanical cords' (*janeo* or *zanar*), which it is the privilege and obligation of high caste men to wear.[2] The recorded amount was 74½ *mans* of about eight pounds each.

'To eternise the memory of this disaster, the numerals 74½ are *tilak* or accursed. Marked on the banker's letter in Rajasthan it is the strongest of seals, for "the sin of the slaughter of Chitor" is thereby invoked on all who violate a letter under the safeguard of this mysterious number.'

The note shows that the traditional explanation of the figures probably is imaginary.[3]

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1. Tod's abuse of Akbar is in ch. x of the *Annals of Mewar*, vol. i, p. 262 *n*. When writing that passage the author evidently forgot his earlier statement (ibid., ch. vi, p. 216) that Alau-d din 'committed every act of barbarity and wanton dilapidation which a bigoted zeal could suggest, overthrowing the temples and other monuments of art', and sparing only the 'palace of Bhim and the fair Padmini'. Again (p. 221), he observes that the Jain tower was the only building left entire by Alau-d din in 1303. The same author (ch. ix, p. 249) describes in detail the storm by Bahadur Shah. In his note (p. 262) he accidentally confounds Bahadur Shah with the later king, Baz Bahadur, alias Bayazid. According to the *Mirat-i Sikandari* (tr. Bayley, *Gujarat* (1886), p. 372), in 1533 Bahadur Shah had merely invested the fortress, 'received the promised tribute, and removed his camp one march from Chitor'. Later (p. 383) the same author states that Bahadur accomplished the conquest of Chitor, but no details are given. That occasion would seem to be the one described by Tod.

2. Tod (i. 263) appositely cites the similar action of Hannibal.

When the Carthaginian gained the battle of Cannae, he measured his success by the bushels of rings taken from the fingers of the equestrian Romans who fell in that memorable field.' 'Ad fidem deinde tam laetarum rerum effundi in vestibulo curiae iussit annulos aureos, qui tantus acervus fuit, ut metientibus dimidium super tres modios explesse sint quidam auctores. Fama tenuit, quae propior vero est, haud plus fuisse modio' (Livy, xxiii, 12).

3. The Rajputana bankers' use of 74½ as protection for their letters is merely a modification of the ordinary use of the figures $74\frac{1}{16}$, meaning apparently 84, as explained by Sir H.M. Elliot :

'There is also a very remarkable use of seventy-four in epistolary correspondence. It is an almost universal practice in India to write this number on the outside of letters; it being intended to convey the meaning that nobody is to read the letter but the person to whom it is addressed. The practice was originally Hindu, but has been adopted by the Musalmans. There is nothing like an intelligible account of its origin and object, but it is a curious fact that, when correctly written,

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THE LATER HISTORY OF CHITOR

The recreant Rana Udai Singh died at Gogunda in the Aravalli hills four years after the storm of the fortress which he should have defended in person. His valiant successor, Rana Partap Singh, waged a long war with Akbar, and gradually recovered much of Mewar. But Chitor remained desolate. Jahangir forbade the repair of the fortifications, and when his prohibition was disregarded in 1653 (A.H. 1064) Shahjahan caused the demolition of the portion which had been restored. On March 4, 1680, Aurangzeb visited the place and posted a garrison in it. He destroyed sixty-three temples in the town, and in various ways did the Rana all the harm that he could do. Among other things he broke to pieces the statues of the Ranas which were collected in a palace. [1] When Father Tieffenthaler examined the ruins in 1744 or 1745, the area on the summit was covered with dense forest, full of tigers and other wild beasts, whose society was shared by a few fearless hermits. A colony of less adventurous holy men lived at the base of the rock. The break-up of the Mogul empire in the second half of the eighteenth century naturally involved the restoration of the hill and town to their lawful sovereign, the Rana. In recent times the lower town has developed and has now about 7,000 or 8,000 inhabitants. It is the head-quarters of a district in the Udaipur State. The railway station, a junction for the Udaipur-Chitor and Rajputana-Malwa railways, is about two miles to the west of the town.

PARTIAL AMENDS FOR THE 'SIN OF CHITOR'

Justice to the memory of Akbar requires that before the subject Chitor is quitted a quotation should be made from Tod which qualifies his stern and partially erroneous censure on Akbar for the severities inflicted on the fortress and its garrison, as previously cited.

'Akbar was the real founder of the empire of the Moguls, the first successful conqueror of Rajput independence; to this end his virtues were powerful auxiliaries, as by his skill in the analysis of the mind and its readiest stimulant to action, he was enabled to gild the chains with which he bound them. To these they became familiarised by habit, especially when the throne exerted its power in acts gratifying to national vanity or even in ministering to the more ignoble passions.

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it represents an integral number of seventy-four [as if of rupees] and a fractional number of ten [as if of annas] ; thus ৬৸৷৷=[equivalent to Rs. 74, annas 10]. These additional strokes being now considered, except by well-educated men, merely ornamental, we find it frequently written ৷৷৬৸৷৷. The Musalmans usually write the seven y-four with two strokes across, or after, the number, with the addition of the words بدیگران *ba digaran* ("with others"] which makes it assume the fomr of an imprecation. May not, then, after all, this seventy-four and ten have been originally intended to convey a mystic symbol of Chaurasi [*scil*, 84]?' (Elliot, *Supplemental Glossary*, ed. Beames (1869), vol. ii, p. 68 *n.*). The number 84 (7×12) is one of the Hindu sacred or favourite numbers, with an astrological significance. Rajputs, especially the Agnikula section of foreign origin, show a special preference for 84 (ibid., p. 77).

1. Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, vol. ii, pp. 240-2. In other books the date of Aurangzeb's visit is stated erroneously. Irvine settled some points in the chronology of Aurangzeb's reign in a paper entitled 'The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir' (*Ind. Ant.*, 1918, pp. 69-85).

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But generations of the martial races were cut off by his sword, and lustres rolled away ere his conquests were sufficiently confirmed to permit him to exercise the beneficence of his nature, and obtain by the universal acclaim of the conquered, the proud epithet of *Jagat-Guru*, or "guardian of mankind". He was long ranked with Shihabu-d din, Alau-d din, and other instruments of destruction, and with every just claim; and, like these, he constructed a *mimbar* [*scil.* "pulpit" or "reading desk"] for the Koran from the altars of Eklinga. Yet he finally succeeded in healing the wounds his ambition had inflicted, and received from millions that meed of praise which no other of his race ever obtained.'[1]

THE DELHI ELEPHANT STATUES

One of the 'acts gratifying to national vanity' which helped to heal the wounds of the Rajput heart was the erection of fine statues in honour of Jaimall and Patta, the defenders of Chitor. Early in the reign of Aurangzeb, the French travellers, Bernier in 1663, and de Thevenot, three years later, saw apparently the same images still standing at the principal entrance to the fortress-palace of new Delhi, or Shahjahanabad, where they had been set up by Shahjahan, who began work on the fort in 1638. Some time after the passing of the travellers named, those statues were broken up by order of Aurangzeb as being idolatrous. The task of describing Delhi in detail was left to Bernier by his friend de Thevenot, who merely states that he saw 'two elephants at the entry, which carry two warriors'.[2] Bernier's fuller account is as follows :

'The entrance of the fortress presents nothing remarkable except two large elephants of stone, placed at either side of one of the principal gates. On one of the elephants is seated the statue of Jaimall, the renowned Raja of Chitor; on the other is the statue of Patta his brother. These are the brave heroes, who, with their still braver mother, immortalised their names by the extraordinary resistance which they opposed to the celebrated Akbar; who defended the towns besieged by that great Emperor with unshaken resolution; and who, at length reduced to extremity, devoted themselves to their country, and chose rather to perish with their mother in sallies against the enemy than submit to an insolent invader. It is owing to this extraordinary devotion on their part, that their enemies have thought them deserving of the statues here erected to their memory. These two large elephants, mounted by the two heroes, have an air of grandeur, and inspire me with an awe and respect which I cannot describe.'[3]

Bernier does not state by whose order the Delhi statues were

1. *Annals of Mewar*, ch. x, vol. i, p. 259. In this quotation from Tod, as in others, the author's eccentric presentation of names and oriental words has been changed for the more correct forms. Eklinga, a manifestation of Siva or Mahadeva, is the patron deity of the Ranas, who are regarded as his *diwans*, or vicegerents. The temple of Eklinga, built of white marble, is situated in a defile about six miles north of Udaipur, and is richly endowed (ch. xix, vol. i, p. 410). *Guru* means 'preceptor', not 'guardian'.

2. English transl., 1687, part iii, p. 42.

3. Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, ed. Constable, and V.A. Smith, 1914, p. 256. The traveller, who spells the names 'Jemel' and 'Polta', was mistaken in supposing the heroes to be brothers.

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erected, but it is difficult to believe that they were not identical with those erected earlier at Agra in honour of the same heroes. President van den Broecke, writing in 1629 or 1930, states that statues of Jaimall and Patta mounted on elephants were executed by command of Akbar and set up at each side of the gate, presumably the main entrance, of the fort at Agra. That author believed the elephants and their riders to have been carved simultaneously, but the Delhi elephants certainly were executed in black marble and the riders in sandstone. The style, too, of the riders' effigies is thought to be later than, and different from, that of the animals. It is possible, therefore, that the black elephant images may have been ancient works, which stood at the 'elephant gate' of some other captured fortress. Akbar may have utilized a pair of ancient elephant statues and caused the newly carved sandstone effigies of the heroes to be mounted upon them. When Rana Amar Singh and his son Karan submitted to Jahangir, the emperor was so pleased that he imitated his father's example, and 'caused full-sized figures of the Rana and his son Karan to be carved out of marble.' The statues, apparently mounted (*tarkib*), were executed rapidly at Ajmer while the emperor was staying there in 1616, and were transported to Agra, where they were erected in the palace garden under the audience window.[1] Agra thus possessed two pairs of statues of Chitor heroes, namely Jaimall with Patta, and Amar Singh with Karan.[2] It seems to me almost certain that Shahjahan, when building New Delhi, removed the statues of Jaimall and Patta from Agra. I cannot believe that those chiefs were commemorated by distinct effigies at both Agra and Delhi.

The gallant resistance offered and the 'inflexible magnanimity' displayed by Rana Pratap Singh for many years were believed by Tod to have ultimately touched the heart of Akbar, and to have induced him to refrain from disturbing the repose of his brave rival for a considerable time before the death of the Rana, which occurred eight years before the decease of Akbar. During those eight years Rana Amar Singh ('Umra' of Tod) was equally free from molestation. But that charming hypothesis is baseless. The evidence of both Muslim and Jesuit historians proves incontestably that Akbar to the end of his life was eager to destroy the Rana, and was held back from doing so only by the refusal of his son and great officers to undertake an effective campaign in the wilds of Mewar. Akbar's action in erecting memorials of his opponents apparently must have been taken at some time late in his reign, when he had definitely abandoned Islam, and regulated his life in most respects according to Hindu *dharma*, or rules of conduct.[3]

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1. Jahangir, R.B. (1909), i, 332. The marble statues ordered by Jahangir cannot be identified with the sandstone statues at Delhi.
2. No trace survives of the Amar and Karan images.
3. The guide-books to Delhi and Agra and the current histories give utterly erroneous accounts of the Delhi elephants. Their true story, so far as ascertained in 1911, will be found in *H.F.A.*, p. 426. But at that date I was not acquainted with the passage from President van den Broecke, which is : 'Ingens ea victoria fuit, in cuius memoriam rex duos elephantos, et Tzimel Pathan uni, aliumque ex ipsius ducibus alteri insidentes, sculpi curavit, et portae arcis Agrensis utrimque addi' Or in English : 'That was a great victory, as a memorial of which the king arranged for the carving of two elephants, with Tzimel Pathan seated on one, and another of

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The fact that Mogul emperors on two distinct occasion paid chieftains of Chitor the unprecedented compliment of erecting statues in honour of their stout resistance to the Mogul arms bears eloquent testimony to the depth of the respect excited in the minds of the victors by the glorious heroism of Jaimall and Patta and)he gallant chivalry of Amar Singh and Karan. It is pleasant to be able to close the tragical story of the sacred Rajput fortress with the narration of incidents so much to the credit of both the contending parties.

AKBAR'S VOW

At the commencement of the siege of Chitor Akbar had vowed that, in the event of success, he would go on foot to the shrine of Khwaja Muinu-d din Chishti at Ajmer, a distance of about a hundred and twenty miles. He started accordingly on February 28, many of the courtiers and even of the ladies beginning the long walk in attendance on him. But the hot winds had commenced, and when the pilgrims reached Mandal, a town about forty miles from Chitor, they met messengers from the holy men of Ajmer, bearing the opportune intimation that His Holiness the Khwaja had appeared in a vision and advised that His Majesty and the suite had better ride. Nobody was disposed to examine such a welcome communication too critically, so they all mounted and were carried the rest of the way, save the final stage, which was duly walked. Akbar, an excellent pedestrian himself, had a fancy for vowing to make such pilgrimages on foot, and sometimes would start on a long walk merely for fun.

ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES, 1568

In March 1568 Akbar returned to Agra. An exciting encounter with two tigers on the way resulted in the death of a member of the suite. The emperor's hopes of capturing Ranthambhor, the fortress in Rajputana next in importance to Chitor, had to be deferred owing to the necessity of sending against the troublesome Mirzas the army which had been assembled for the siege. The reader will remember that in the early years of the reign Akbar's foster-relatives had enjoyed more power than was good either for them or for the State. Their undue influence had been curtailed by the swift punishment of Adham Khan in May 1562, and Akbar's subsequent assertion of his royal authority. They still, however, held together in the Panjab and controlled that province, where they occupied numerous fiefs. Their sovereign now felt himself strong enough to put an end to the ambi-

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his commanders seated on the other, which he had set up at each side of the gate of the fort at Agra' ('Fragmentum Historiae Indicae' by P. van den Broe ke, in de Laet, *De Imperio Magni Mogolis*, Elzevir, 1631, 2nd issue, p. 178). The Fragmentum, which comes down to the end of 1628, must have been written in 1629. It was 'e genuino illius regni chronico expressum'. The author, it will be observed, jumbles and corrupts the names of Jaimall and Patta. Although he believed the elephants and riders to have been simultaneously carved, his informant might have been easily mistaken about that detail. The facts indicate rather that the elephants were ancient Hindu work and that the riders in different material and style were added by command of Akbar. But a difficulty in my theory of the identity of the Delhi elephants seen by Bernier with Akbar's pair set up at Agra is that pedestals recently discovered at Agra are said not to fit the remains of the Delhi elephants. Father H. Hosten, S.J., has further investigated the subject.

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tious designs of the Atka Khail, as the foster-relatives were called collectively. He summoned all of them to court, and required them to surrender their Panjab fiefs, receiving others in exchange. An exception was made in favour of Mirza Aziz Koka (often referred to by his title of Khan-i-Azam), the son of Adham Khan's victim, Shamsu-d din and Jiji Anaga. The Mirza was allowed to retain Debalpur, [1] while the other members of the Atka Khail had to move to Rohilkhand or elsewhere. The government of the Panjab was entrusted to Husain Kuli Khan (*alias* Khan Jahan). The arrangements made were submitted to quietly. Akbar's growing interest in good administration was further shown by his appointment as finance minister of a competent officer named Shihabu-d din Ahmad Khan, who was embarrassed in the work of reform by the fact that officials 'who did not embezzle much were few'. The new minister, however, was able to check malpractices, although he could not suppress them completely.

SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF RANTHAMBHOR

By the end of the year Akbar was able to raise an army for the siege of Ranthambhor, the stronghold of the Hara section of the Chauhan clan in Rajputana. The siege was opened in February 1569, in due form, with *sabats*, or covered ways, and all the other appliances of the military science of the time. It threatened to be a long business, but after a month came to an unexpected end by the surrender of Surjan Hara, the commandant. The methods by which the surrender was obtained, which do not appear clearly from the Muhammadan accounts, are revealed fully by the *Annals of Bundi* (Boondee), the Hara capital. The story is so remarkable, and throws so much light upon Akbar's Rajput policy, that it is worth while to transcribe at considerable length Tod's condensed version of the *Annals*, as follows :

'Ranthambhor was an early object of Akbar's attention, who besieged it in person. He had been some time before its impregnable walls without the hope of its surrender, when Bhagwandas of Amber and his son,the more celebrated Raja Man, who had not only tendered their allegiance to Akbar, but allied themselves to him by marriage, determined to use their influence to make Surjan Hara faithless to his pledge—"to hold the castle as a fief of Chitor".[2] That courtesy, which is never laid aside among belligerent Rajputs, obtained Raja Man access to the castle, and the emperor accompanied him in the guise of a mace-bearer. While conversing, an uncle of the Rao recognized the emperor, and with that sudden impulse which arises from respect, took the mace from his hand and placed Akbar on the "cushion" of the governor of the castle. Akbar's presence of mind did not forsake him, and he said, "Well, Rao Surjan, what is to be done?"

1. Now in the Montgomery District. The oldest form of the name is Deobalpur. Dipalpur is a corrupt Persian form.

2. Chitor is situated in 24° 53′ N. and 74° 39′ E. Ranthambhor (Sanskrit *Ranastambhapura*, 'the town of the war-pillar') is situated in 26° 2′ N. and 76° 28′ E., and is now in the SE. corner of the Jaipur State, a few miles from the Bundi border, and about 140 miles north-east from Chitor. A good summary of Bundi history will be found in *I.G.* (1908), s. v. For pictures from the *Akbarnama* at S. Kensington representing incidents during the siege of Ranthambhor see *J.I.A.*, April 1915, No. 130.

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which was replied to by Raja Man, "Leave the Rana (*scil.* of Chitor], give up Ranthambhor, and become the servant of the King, with high honours and office." The proffered bribe was indeed magnificent—the government of fifty-two districts, whose revenues were to be appropriated without inquiry, on furnishing the customary contingent, and liberty to name any other terms, which should be solemnly guaranteed by the King.

'A treaty was drawn up on the spot, and mediated by the prince of Amber [Jaipur], which presents a good picture of Hindu feeling. [The terms were] (1) that the chiefs of Bundi should be exempted from that custom, degrading to a Rajput, of sending a *dola* [bride] to the royal harem; (2) exemption from the *jizya* or poll-tax; (3) that the chiefs of Bundi should not be compelled to cross the Attock; (4) that the vassals of Bundi should be exempted from the obligation of sending their wives or female relatives "to hold a stall in the Mina bazaar" at the palace, on the festival of Nauroza [New Year's Day]; [1] (5) that they should have the privilege of entering the *Diwan-i-amm*, or "hall of audience" completely armed; (6) that their sacred edifices should be respected; (7) that they should never be placed under the command of a Hindu leader; (8) that their horses should not be branded with the imperial *dagh* [a flower branded on the forehead]; (9) that they should be allowed to beat their *nakkaras*, or kettle-drums, in the streets of the capital as far as the Lal Darwaza or Red Gate; and that they should not be commanded to make the "prostration" [*sijdah*] on entering the Presence; [2] (10) that Bundi should be to the Haras what Delhi was to the King, who should guarantee them from any change of capital.'

SEQUEL OF THE SURRENDER

That detailed story seems to me to be worthy of credit. It does not conflict with the summary version of the transaction given by Abu-l Fazl, who states that the surrender was arranged by 'the intercession of the courtiers' and 'the instrumentality of some high officers'.[3] The romantic incident of the emperor's entry in the guise of a mace-bearer is in accordance with the character of Akbar, who, as a younger man, used to wander about disguised in the midst of the Agra crowds at night. The Muhammadan author does not trouble to relate the strange sequel of the surrender, which is told at length by Tod. Ranthambhor became part of the imperial territory, and in due course was included as a Sarkar, or District, in the Suba or province of Ajmer. Surjan was granted a residence in Benares, with a much-valued privilege, of sanctuary attached to it, which was still maintained in Tod's time, in the early years of the nineteenth century. After a short interval, Rao Surjan was given a command in Gondwana, and, having performed acceptable service there, was appointed governor of the Benares Province, including the fortress of Chunar, with the rank of 'commander of 2,000'. He 'resided at his government of Benares, and by his

1. For explanation of the Nauroza scandal see Tod, i, 275 (*Annals of Mewar*, ch. xi).
2. According to Abu-l Fazl, the Rao performed the *sijdah* (*A. N.*, ii, 494, 495).
3. *A. N.*, ch. lxviii, vol. ii, p. 494.

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piety, wisdom, and generosity, benefited the empire and the Hindus at large, whose religion through him was respected. Owing to the prudence of his administration and the vigilance of his police, the most perfect security in person and property was established throughout the province. He beautified and ornamented the city, especially that quarter where he resided, and eighty-four edifices, for various public purposes, and twenty baths, were constructed under his auspices.'[1]

Two of his sons gave valiant support to Akbar in the expedition to Gujarat, which will be described presently, as well as in the Deccan war towards the close of the reign.

SURRENDER OF KALANJAR

The strong fortress of Kalanjar in Bundelkhand, now in the Banda District, which had defied Sher Shah and cost him his life, was at this time in possession of Raja Ramchand of Bhatha or Riwa, the chief who had surrendered Tansen, the musician, to Akbar's demand. The fort was besieged on the emperor's behalf by Majnun Khan Kakshal and closely invested. The Raja, making a virtue of necessity, submitted to irresistible power. Abu-l Fazl describes the surrender with his accustomed turgid rhetoric :

'When the report of the captures of Chitor and Ranthambhor resounded in the ears of the haughty ones, every one whose eyes had been in a measure touched by the collyrium of understanding saw that there was no remedy except to lay down the head of presumption on the ground of submission. Raja Ramchand, who possessed some rays of intelligence, heard of the arrival of the holy *cortege* at the capital and asked for quarter. He made over the fort to the imperial servants and sent the keys along with splendid presents by confidential agents to the sublime threshold, and offered his congratulations on the recent victories. His wisdom and foresight were approved of, and his agents were received with favour. The government of the fort was made over to Majnun Khan Kakshal. By this felicity of the Shahinshah's fortune such a fortress, upon whose battlements the eagle of the imagination of former rulers had never alighted, came into the possession of the imperial servants without the trouble of a battle or contest.'[2]

Akbar received the welcome news in August 1569, and gave the Raja a *jagir* near Allahabad.

The surrender of Kalanjar, the last of the great fortresses to submit, secured Akbar's military position in north-western India, and left him free to pursue his ambitious projects in other regions. Before we enter upon the description of his next important campaign, that

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1. Tod, vol. ii, p. 384.

2. *A. N.*, ii, 499, the names being spelt in my fashion. Mr. Beveridge erroneously calls Ramchand Raja of 'Panna' instead of Bhatha. It is easy to misread names as written in the Persian character. The same mistake occurs in E. & D., v. 333 *n.* Lowe's translation of Badaoni given the name correctly as 'Bhat'h' (ii, 124). See *Ain*, vol i, pp. 367, 369; vol. ii, p. 166; Hamilton, *Description of Hindostan*, 4to, 1820, vol. i, p. 316; Elliot, ed. Beames, *Glossary*, map at p. 203, vol. i and vol. ii, p. 164. Kalanjar, a fortress and sacred place of immemorial antiquity, is in 25° 1′ N. and 80° 29′ E. It was bestowed as *jagir* on Akbar's favourite, Raja Birbal (*I.G.*, s. v. 'Kalanjar'). The spelling Kalanjar (Kalanjara) is the correct one.

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directed to the subjugation of Gujarat, various events of a peaceful nature demand attention.

AKBAR'S CHILDREN

Akbar, although he had married early and often, was still childless, several children who had been born to him having died in infancy. He earnestly desired to be blessed with a son, and was assiduous in his prayers at the shrines of famous Muslim saints at Delhi, Ajmer, and elsewhere. He made a point of performing every year a pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh Muinu-d din Chishti at Ajmer, and maintained the practice until 1579, when he made his last visit.[1] Shaikh Salim, also a Chishti, a reputed holy man who lived at Sikri, twenty-three miles to the west of Agra, among the rocks close to the battlefield where Babur had routed the host of Rana Sanga, shared in the imperial devotion, and ventured to recognize its fervour by assuring his sovereign that his prayers would be fulfilled.[2] At the beginning of 1569 the heart of Akbar was gladdened by the news that his earliest Hindu consort, the daughter of Raja Bihar Mall of Amber, was with child, and that he might hope for the first of the three sons whom Shaikh Salim had promised. Akbar, being resolved to make sure so far as possible of the utmost benefit obtainable from the saint's orisons, sent the expectant lady to the Shaikh's humble dwelling at Sikri, in order that she might be confined while there. On August 30, 1569, the boy so ardently desired saw the light and received the name of Salim, in acknowledgement of his father's faith in the efficacy of the holy man's prayers. In November the royal nursery was enriched by the arrival of a daughter, to whom the name of Khanam Sultan was given. On June 8, in the following year, 1570, a concubine bore to Akbar a son who was named Murad and nicknamed Pahari because born among the Fathpur hills (*pahar*). In order to complete the story of Akbar's family it may be stated here that his third son, Daniyal ('Daniel'), was born of a concubine on September 10, 1572, at Ajmer, in the house of Shaikh Daniyal, one of the holy personages whom Akbar had so often visited.[3] There were at least two other daughters besides the first-born namely, Shukru-n nisa Begam, who, like the elder sister, Khanam, was allowed to marry, and Aram Bano Begam, who died

1. Rajab (7th month) A. H. 987 (Badaoni, ii, 280).

2. For biography of Shaikh Salim see Badaoni, tr. Haig, vol. iii, fasc. 1, 1899, pp. 18-27. (Fasc. 3 has appeared since.) He was descended from the saint, Shaikh Farid-i-Shakarganj, who lived in the thirteenth century. He twice travelled from India, once by land and once by sea, to the holy places, and performed the actual pilgrimage at Mecca twenty-two times. He was called the 'holy man of India', and lived with great austerity, but was not a celibate. He died in 1571 (A.H. 979), at the age of 95 lunar years; about 92 solar years. Father Monserrate gives him a bad character, describing him as a man 'qui per summam stultitiam pro sancto colitur, cum homo fuerit omnibus Agarenorum sceleribus flagitiisque contaminatus' (*Commentarius*, p. 642). The words 'stained with all the wickedness and disgraceful conduct of Muhammadans' probably imply an accusation of addiction to unnatural vice. The plate recalls pictures of St. Jerome and the lion.

3. On the night of Jumada I (5th month), 979, the 119th day of the Hijri year, which began on May 26, 1571. The corresponding date, consequently, is September 11 (Jahangir, R.B., i, 34). Beale erroneously states that Daniyal was the son of a daughter of Raja Bihar Mall Kachhwaha.

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unmarried in the reign of Jahangir (Salim). The daughters apparently took no part in affairs of state and are rarely mentioned. The three sons attained mature age.

Akbar, in pursuance of a vow, started on January 20, 1570, for Ajmer, to return thanks for the birth of his children. He honestly walked the sixteen stages, covering an average distance of about fourteen miles a day.

VARIOUS EVENTS

From Ajmer he went to Delhi, where, in April 1570, he inspected the newly-built mausoleum of his father, erected under the pious superintendence of Haji Begam, and at her expense. She had arranged for the work before she started on her pilgrimage, and it took eight or nine years to complete. The architect was Mirak Mirza Ghiyas.[1] Badaoni justly praises the 'magnificent proportions' of the building. Its position in the history of Indo-Muhammadan art will be considered in a later chapter.

While on the way to Agra Akbar several times amused himself hunting deer by moonlight. Deer-hunting by torchlight was a subject much favoured by the skilled painters of a date slightly later.

In September of the same year (1570) Akbar returned to Ajmer, and with the assistance of able architects, arranged for the enlargement of the fort and the erection of many handsome buildings for the accommodation of the sovereign and court. The works were completed in three years. Improvements were effected also at the ancient town of Nagaur in Rajputana, where a fountain with seventeen jets, dating from Akbar's time, may still be seen.[2]

The emperor continued his policy of making Hindu alliances by marrying princesses from Bikaner and Jaisalmer, the two leading principalities of the Rajputana desert.

He indulged his love of novel kinds of sport by hunting wild asses for the first time, and succeeded in shooting sixteen during a single day's arduous hunting, in which he covered a distance of more than thirty miles.[3]

About the same time he had the satisfaction of receiving the submission of Baz Bahadur, the fugitive king of Malwa, who was content to accept office as a "commander of 1,000" in the imperial service.[4]

Akbar then marched into the Panjab, and visited more saints' shrines.

In August 1571 he came back to Sikri, where he took up his quarters in the Shaikh's residence, and made himself quite at home. During this year an embassy from Abdullah Khan Uzbeg, the power-

1. Badaoni, ii, 135. The visit took place near the close of A.H. 977 (June 16, 1569—June 4, 1570), and in the fifteenth regnal year, which began on March 11, 1570. The date consequently falls between March 11 and June 4.

2. *I. G.* (1908), s.v.

3. One of the *Akbarnama* pictures at S. Kensington represents the emperor in the desert, overcome by thirst.

4. The gradations of office in Akbar's service will be explained in ch. xiii. This is the earliest mention of a particular rank in Akbar's reign, but Humayun, about 1539, had appointed Raja Bihar Mall to be a 'commander of 5,000'.

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ful ruler of Turan or Transoxiana, was received with due honour.

FATHPUR-SIKRI

Akbar resolved at this time to press on his scheme for converting the obscure village of Sikri into a great city. His reasons, or some of them, for doing so may be stated in the words of Abu-l Fazl :

'Inasmuch as his exalted sons [Salim and Murad] had taken their birth in Sikri and the God-knowing spirit of Shaikh Salim had taken possession thereof, his holy heart desired to give outward splendour to this spot which possessed spiritual grandeur. Now that his standards had arrived at this place, his former design was pressed forward, and an order was issued that the superintendents of affairs should erect lofty buildings for the use of the Shahinshah.'[1]

A wall of masonry was built round the town, but never completed, and dwellings of all classes were constructed, as well as schools, baths, and other public institutions, the indispensable gardens not being neglected. The emperor, after the conquest of Gujarat, gave it the name of Fathabad ('town of victory'), which was soon exchanged in both popular and official use for the synonymous Fathpur.[2] The language of Abu-l Fazl in the passage quoted might be understood to mean that Akbar did not begin his extensive programme of building at Fathpur-Sikri until 1571, but that is not the fact. The design had been formed in his mind and his buildings had actually been begun in 1569. They continued to be constructed for fourteen or fifteen years.[3] Salim, the old saint, had settled among the rocks and wild beasts as a hermit in A.D. 1537-8 (A.H. 944), and in the year following had constructed a monastery and schoolhouse. The local workmen engaged in the extraction and dressing of the excellent red sandstone which abounds in the locality had built at the same time for the use of the holy man, and adjoining his dwelling, a small mosque, which still exists, and is known as the Stone-cutters' Mosque. The building, being some thirty years older than any other structure at Fathpur-Sikri, is of considerable interest as a landmark in the history of Indo-Muhammadan architecture.[4]

Akbar's acquaintance with Shaikh Salim seems not to have begun until a year or so before the birth of Prince Salim. The fulfilment of the saint's promise induced the emperor at once to decide to leave unlucky Agra and to establish his capital at Sirki, which he regarded as 'a place lucky for him'. Akbar, we must remember, was quite as superstitious as most of his contemporaries, in spite of his rationalism.

The building miscalled Jodh Bai's Mahall, and designated also, with better reason, as the Jahangiri Mahall, which is the largest of the residential palaces, is one of the earliest of Akbar's edifices, and probably was occupied by the mother of Prince Salim (Jahangir).[5]

1. Monserrate (p. 562) was informed that the buildings at Agra were supposed to be haunted by evil spirits.
2. *A. N.*, ii, 530; ch. lxxvi. The name on the coinage is invariably Fathpur. I do not know any instance of the actual use of the form Fathabad.
3. Jehangir (R.B.) i, 2.
4. E. W. Smith, *Fathpur-Sikri*, part iv, ch. iii.
5. Ibid., part ii, ch. ii.

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The great mosque, purporting to be a 'duplicate of the holy place' at Mecca, has a chronogram inscription recording its completion in A.H. 979 (May 1571-May 1572).[1]

THE BULAND DARWAZA

The immense portal, known as the Buland Darwaza, or Lofty Gateway, which far exceeds in dimensions the other gateways of the mosque, was finished a few years later, in 1575-6 (A.H. 983), and in all probability was designed on a scale of exceptional magnificence in order to serve as a memorial of the conquest of Gujarat in 1573. It is usually believed to have been erected in A.D. 1601-2 (A.H. 1010), because that is the date of an interesting inscription on it recording Akbar's triumphant return from the Deccan war. But the gateway cannot possibly date from that year, when Akbar was no longer a Muslim. He was then more disposed to destroy mosques than to build them. He had ceased to reside at Fathpur-Sikri in 1585, when he went north, where he remained for thirteen years. In 1601 he merely paid a flying visit to his former capital, and made use of an existing monument as offering a convenient place for the record of his recent triumph. His inscription-writer and skilled stone-cutters were in attendance in his camp and would have executed his orders with all speed. Fathpur-Sikri was deserted and ruinous in 1604, except so far as a few of Akbar's buildings were concerned, and it must have been far advanced in decay in 1601. At that date the emperor could not have thought of erecting there a costly building on the scale of the Buland Darwaza.[2]

ROYAL OCCUPATION OF FATHPUR, 1569-85

It will be convenient to give in this place a summary history of Akbar's palace city, and to quote the only description of it by a contemporary traveller. From 1569, the year of Prince Salim's birth, to 1585, when Akbar was obliged to go north in order to take over the Kabul province and guard against an Uzbeg invasion, Fathpur-Sirki was the ordinary and principal residence of the court. Akbar quitted it finally in the autumn of 1585, and never lived there again. The water-supply of the place was naturally defective. Akbar had remedied the deficiency by constructing to the north of the ridge a great artificial lake, measuring about six miles long by two broad, which supplied an elaborate system of water-works, traces of which still exist. The bursting of the dam of the lake in 1582, although it injured the amenities of the town, did not render it uninhabitable. It continued to be the residence of the court for three years longer. We are fortunate in possessing a description of it by an English traveller who was there in September 1585, just before Akbar left the place for

1. Ibid., part iv, pp. 1, 4.

2. For full description and illustration see E. W. Smith, *Fathpur-Sikri*, part iv, ch. ii. The corrected date is given in *A.S. Progress Rep., N. Circle*, 1905-6, p. 34, on the authority of a chronogram of unknown origin, printed by Beale in *Miftahu-t tawarikh* (Cawnpore, 1867, p. 181). That chronogram in itself is of little authority, but it may be accepted as correct, because the A.H. 1010 date for the building is impossible, and the memorable conquest of Gujarat offers a suitable occasion for the erection of such a noble triumphal arch. Jerome Xavier's letter of September 1604 proves that Fathpur-Sikri was then ruinous.

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ever, save for the flying visit in May 1601, mentioned above. Ralph Fitch, the traveller referred to, was not a good observer or writer. His meagre notes leave much to be desired, and his remark that the houses and streets of Fathpur were not so fair as those of Agra strikes the modern reader as curious. But the observation, no doubt, was perfectly true. Fitch compared the two towns, not the palaces, and he may have seen very little of the Fathpur palace buildings which now attract the tourist, who does not trouble himself about the obscure ruins of the business streets. Fitch was barely in time. The withdrawal of the court in August, just before his departure at the end of September, must have left the place desolate and almost empty.

This is his account, such as it is :

DESCRIPTION BY RALPH FITCH, SEPT. 1855

'Agra is a very great citie, and populous, built with stone, having faire and large streets, with a faire river running by it, which falleth into the gulfe of Bengala. It hath a faire castle and a strong, with a very faire ditch. Here bee many Moores and Gentiles, the king is called Zelabdim [Jalalu-d din] Echebar : the people for the most part call him The great Mogor.[1]

'From thence wee went for Fatepore, which is the place where the king kept his court. The towne is greater than Agra, but the houses and streetes be not so faire. Here dwell many people both Moores and Gentiles.[2]

'The king hath in Agra and Fatepore as they doe credibly report 1,000 elephants, thirtie thousand horses, 1,400 tame Deere, 800 concubines; such store of Ounces,[3] Tigers, Buffles,[4] Cocks and Haukes, that is very strange to see.

'He keepeth a great court, which they call Dericcan.

'Agra and Fatepore are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous.[5] Between Agra and Fatepore are 12 miles [*scil. kos*—23 miles], and all the way is a market of victuals & other things, as full as though a man were still in a towne, and so many people as if a man were in a market.

'They have many fine cartes, and many of them carved and gilded with gold, with two wheeles, which be drawen with two litle Buls about the bigness of our great dogs in England, and they will runne with any horse, and carie two or three men in one of these cartes; they are covered with silke or very fine cloth, and be used here as our Coches be in England. Hither is great resort of marchants from Persia and out of India, and very much marchandise of silke and cloth,

1. The Portuguese so called him, but I doubt if his own people ever did.
2. Muhammadans and Hindus. See the good article on Mogul, Mogor, and connected terms in Yule and Burnell, *Glossary*.
3. The 'ounce' properly means *Felis uncia*, the snow leopard, a Himalayan species. But Fitch probably meant the 'cheetah', or hunting leopard, *Felis jubata*, or *Cynaelurus*.
4. Buffaloes, kept for fighting.
5. Creighton, using the 'bills of mortality' calculated the population of London to have been 123,034 in 1580, and 152,478 for the period 1593-5 (*Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed. s. v., London, vol. xvi, p. 965). Those figures suggest that the population of Fathpur-Sikri may have been about 200,000 in 1585.

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and of precious stones, both Rubies, Diamants, and Pearles. The king is apparelled in a white Cabie, made like a shirt tied with strings on the one side,[1] and a little cloth on his head coloured oftentimes with red or yellow. None come into his house but his eunuches which keepe his women.

'Here in Fatepore we staied all three untill the 28. of September 1585, and then Master John Newberie took his journie toward the citie of Lahore, determining from thence to goe for Persia and then for Aleppo or Constantinople, whether hee could get soonest passage unto, and directed me to goe for Bengala and for Pegu, and did promise me, if it pleased God, to meete me in Bengala within two yeeres with a shippe out of England. I left William Leades the jeweller in service with the King Zelabdim Echebar in Fatepore, who did entertaine him very well, and gave him an house and five slaves, an horse, and every day sixe S.S. [shillings] in money.[2]

'I went from Agra to Satagam in Bengala,[3] in the companie of one hundred and fourscore boats laden with Salt, Opium, Hinge,[4] Lead, Carpets, and divers other commodities down the river Jemena.'[5]

LATER HISTORY OF THE TOWN

Akbar's proximate successors never resided at Fathpur, but Muhammad Shah (1719-48) occupied it for a short time.[6] The town, which is now situated near the western end of the old city, and has about 7,000 inhabitants, was never wholly abandoned. Several mosques and other buildings erected by private persons about A.D. 1700 date from the latter part of the reign of Aurangzeb.[7]

EXPEDITION FOR THE CONQUEST OF GUJARAT

The reduction of the four fortresses—Mirtha, Chitor, Ranthambhor, and Kalanjar—having secured the control of the imperial government over the provinces of Hindostan, Akbar was in a position to proceed in the extension of his dominions to the sea on both sides. His first move was towards the west, the conquest of Bengal being reserved for a later effort.

Gujarat, the extensive region lying between Malwa and the Arabian Sea, had been occupied for a time by Humayun, and might therefore be regarded as a lost province of the empire which it was a duty to recover. Moreover, the country was at that time without a settled government, being divided into seven warring principalities, over which the nominal king, Muzaffar Shah III, a prince of doubtful legitimacy, exercised little authority. Such a condition of affairs seemed almost to demand the interposition of a power capable of

1. 'Cabie' is more often spelt 'cabaya', and is defined as 'a surcoat or long tunic of muslin' (Yule and Burnell, *Glossary*, s. v. Cabaya).
2. Neither Newbery nor Leedes was ever heard of again. Fitch arrived safely in London on April 29, 1591. His dates are in 'old style'.
3. Satgaon, close to Hooghly (Hugli), and then the chief river port of Bengal.
4. 'Hinge', more correctly *hing* or *hingu* assafoetida, much esteemed in India as a condiment. See Yule and Burnell, s. v. Hing.
5. Fitch, pp. 97-100.
6. *I. G.* (1908), s. v.
7. Horowitz, p. 84, Nos. 644-6.

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enforcing order. Akbar, in fact, was actually invited by one of the local princelings named Itimad Khan to put an end to the prevailing anarchy.[1] Even if those special reasons for intervention had not existed, the attractions of the province itself were quite sufficient to tempt Akbar. The possession of numerous ports and the resulting extensive maritime commerce made Gujarat the richest kingdom in India. Ahmadabad, the capital, was justly reputed to be one of the finest cities in the world, while the manufacture of salt, cloth, paper, and other commodities flourished in many localities. A sovereign, consumed as Akbar was by the lust of conquest and the ambition of empire, could not possibly allow such a delectable land on his frontier to continue in the enjoyment of unfettered independence.

Having made up his mind, therefore, to annex Gujarat, he marched out of Fathpur-Sikri on July 4, 1572, hunting, as usual, on the way. At Phalodi, between Ajmer and Nagaur, he received the joyful news of the birth of his third son, Prince Daniyal. In September the court halted at Nagaur.[2]

FIRST GUJARAT CAMPAIGN—BATTLE OF SARNAL

Although the armed opposition to the invasion did not promise to be extremely formidable, due military precautions were taken. Special arrangements were made to prevent any risk of interference from the side of Marwar (Jodhpur) and a strong advance guard of 10,000 horse was sent forward under the command of the Khan-i-Kalan (Mir Muhammad Khan Atka).[3] The arrival of the invaders at Sirohi, a town famous for the excellence of its sword-blades and arrow-shafts, and the head-quarters of the Deora sect of the Chauhan clan, excited the fanatical hostility of a band of a hundred and fifty Rajputs, who deliberately sacrificed their lives in a futile attempt at resistance. In November 1572, when Akbar approached Ahmadabad, Muzaffar Shah, the fugitive king, was found hiding in a cornfield and brought in. He duly made his submission and was granted a small allowance. Certain camp-followers having insolently plundered his effects, Akbar set an example of stern justice by ordering the offenders to be trampled to death by elephants.

The emperor then made an excursion to Cambay in order to view the sea for the first time. He took a short sail on the waters, but, unluckily, the impression made on him by the sight and experience has not been recorded. While at Cambay he received the Portuguese merchants who came to pay their respects, and he thus made acquaintance with their nation.

He appointed the Khan-i-Azam (Mirza Aziz Koka), his favourite foster-brother, to be governor of the newly-annexed province as far as the river Mahi, and was engaged in other administrative measures when he heard that Ibrahim Husain Mirza had murdered a person of distinction named Rustam Khan, and was meditating further misdeeds.

1. *Bombay Gazetteer* (1896), vol. i, part i, p. 264.
2. Volume ii of Mr. Beveridge's translation of the *Akbarnamah* closes the historical narrative at this point (p. 544). The rest of the volume is occupied with autobiographical matter about the author.
3. For his biography see Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, p. 322, No. 16.

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The emperor's 'wrath was kindled' at the news, so that he resolved to postpone all other business until he had in person inflicted condign punishment on the presumptuous Mirza, who had taken advantage of Akbar's absence on the trip to Cambay. Surat, the wealthy port at the mouth of the Tapti, was the chief stronghold of the Mirzas, and consequently the objective of the campaign, but the immediate purpose was to meet and defeat Ibrahim Husain. Akbar, who was then near Baroda, insisted on pursuing his rebellious relative with quite a small force, at the head of which he rode off. When he came near the ford on the Mahi, he learned that the enemy, much superior in number, was holding Sarnal, a small town on the other side of the river, five miles to the east of Thasra.[1] He refused to listen to advisers who counselled delay in order to await reinforcements, and urged the advantages of a night attack. Akbar replied that he considered an attack in the dark dishonourable, and expressed his resolve to fight at once, although the men with him did not exceed two hundred.[2] Supported by Man Singh of Amber, his adoptive father, Bhagwan Das, and sundry brave Muslim nobles, Akbar forded the river and scrambled up the steep bank to the water-gate of Sarnal.

Meantime, the Mirza had gone out from the other side of the town in order to find space on which to deploy his superior force. The town, as is usual in Gujarat, was approached by narrow lanes fenced with prickly-pear cactus, the most unsuitable ground possible for cavalry. Akbar's party became entangled in the obstacles, and Bhupat, the brother of Bhagwan Das, was slain. Bhagwan Das himself rode with his sovereign, and when three men from the enemy's ranks attacked them the Raja disabled one with a spear-thrust, while Akbar successfully defended himself against the other two. The Mirza's followers fled when the rest of the royal party came up, and Akbar remained master of the field. Darkness prevented pursuit, and the victors had to spend the night in Sarnal. Akbar returned to his camp on December 24. All his men who had fought so valiantly were liberally rewarded, and Raja Bhagwan Das was honoured by the grant of a banner and kettle-drums, never before bestowed on a Hindu.

SIEGE OF SURAT

Raja Todar Mall was sent to report on the strength of the Surat defences. When he returned with an encouraging report, Akbar, on the last day of December, marched from Baroda. On January 11, 1573, he approached Surat, and presently began regular siege operations. While the siege was in progress, according to the court chronicler's version, certain Portuguese from Goa, who had arrived with the intention of assisting the defence, came to the conclusion that

1. Mr. Beveridge and other writers have been puzzled about the position of Sarnal. It still exists, five miles to the east of Thasra (in about 22° 50' N. lat., 73°10' E. long.), a well-known small town in the Kaira District, marked on the maps and described in *I.G.*, (1908). An ancient temple at Sarnal has been surveyed by the Archaeological Department (*Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains, Bombay*, 1897, p. 94). The *Bombay Gazetteer* (1896), vol. i, part i, p. 265, erroneously identifies Sarnal with Thasra.

2. 156 according to Firishta; 200 according to Abu-l Fazl; 100 according to the *Tabakat*.

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Akbar's force was irresistible, and that it would be more prudent to conciliate him. They accordingly assumed the attitude of friendly envoys, offered presents, and were graciously received. But the truth is that Akbar, having reason to fear an attack by a Portuguese naval squadron, was glad to come to terms with the Viceroy, Dom Antonio de Noronha. Akbar first sent an envoy, and the Viceroy, having heard his proposals, sent back with him Antonio Cabral, who concluded peace to the satisfaction of both parties.[1] The acquaintance with the Portuguese nation begun at Cambay was thus extended, and Akbar was able to gratify his insatiable curiosity by many 'inquiries about the wonders of Portugal and the manners and customs of Europe.' Friendly relations with the foreigners had for him the practical advantage that they enabled him to secure a safe conduct for the Mecca pilgrims, which was dependent on the goodwill of the Portuguese. The Mogul emperors never showed any aptitude for maritime affairs or possessed a fleet worth mentioning. Their coasts and the neighbouring seas were thus at the mercy of the Portuguese, who felt no scruples about the manner in which they exercised their power. In those days Akbar took a lively interest in the Mecca pilgrimage, and was ready to spend money freely in helping the pilgrims.

The siege of Surat was terminated in about a month and a half by capitulation (February 26, 1573). The commandant, Hamzaban, formerly in the service of Humayun, was granted his life, but was barbarously punished by the excision of his tongue, which he was alleged to have used indiscreetly.

A DRUNKEN FREAK

A queer story related by Abu-l Fazl describes an incident which happened at or near Surat. One night, we are told, there was a select drinking-party, and the talk turned upon the disregard for life shown by the heroes of Hindostan. It was said that two Rajput rivals would run from opposite sides against the points of a double-headed spear, or two spears, held by third parties, so that the points would transfix both of the rivals and come out at their backs. Akbar, who could not pretend to have a rival, announced, to the horror of his fellow revellers, that he would fight his sword. He fixed the hilt into the wall, and was about to transix himself by rushing against the point, when Raja Man Singh 'with the foot of fidelity' kicked down the sword, and in doing so cut his sovereign's hand. Akbar promptly knocked down Man Singh and squeezed him hard. Saiyid Muzaffar, one of the merry party, was obliged to go so far as to twist Akbar's injured finger, in order to make him loosen his hold on the throat of Man Singh, whom he would have choked in his rage. The opportune wrench opened Akbar's wound, but that soon healed. Akbar must have been shockingly drunk. He appears to have had the good sense not to resent the rough measures by which his friends saved him from himself,

1. Hosten, quoting authorities, in *J. & Proc. A.S.B.* 1912, p. 217 *n.* See also *Bombay Gazetteer* (1896), vol. i, part i, p. 265. Dom Antonio de Noronha, the 11th Viceroy, was in office from September 6, 1571 to December 9, 1573 (Fonseca, *Sketch of the City of Goa*, 1878, p. 90).

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and it is wonderful that two historians should have had the candour to record the scandalous affair.[1]

AKBAR'S INTEMPERANCE

Although the uncritical panegyrists of Akbar make no mention of his drunken bouts, and his published sayings include phrases condemnatory of excess in wine, it is certain that for many years he kept up the family tradition and often drank more than he could carry. Jahangir naively remarks at the opening of his authentic *Memoirs*:

'After my birth they gave me the name of Sultan Salim, but I never heard my father, whether in his cups or in his sober moments, call me Muhammad Salim or Sultan Salim, but always Shaikhu Baba.'

The phrase clearly implies that the writer's 'revered father' was not seldom 'in his cups'. The Jesuit testimony concerning the experience of the first mission under Aquaviva in 1582 proves, beyond possibility of doubt, that at that time, some nine years after the fall of Surat, Akbar habitually drank hard. The good father had boldly dared to reprove the emperor sharply for his licentious relations with women. Akbar, instead of resenting the priest's audacity, blushingly excused himself, and even sought to subdue the flesh by fasting for several days. The abstinence was not extended to include liquor. 'He went to such excess in drinking that the merit of fasting was lost in the demerit of inebriation'.[2] Sometimes Akbar seemed to forget Padre Ridolfo altogether, allowing long intervals to elapse without summoning him.

'Even if he did invite the priest to say something about God, he had hardly begun before Akbar fell asleep, the reason being that he made too much use, sometimes of arrack, an extremely heady palm-wine, and sometimes of *post*, a similar preparaton of opium, diluted and modified by various admixtures of spices.'[3]

Akbar, as a rule, exercised strict control over his naturally violent temper. The occasional outbreaks of passion recorded by the historian may have been due in some cases to the effects of drink. His bad example in the matter of inebriety was followed only too faithfully by his three sons who attained manhood. Two of them, Murad and Daniyal, died from the effects of their chronic intemperance, and Salim (Jahangir) never freed himself wholly from the vice, although Nurjahan, after her marriage with him, succeeded in keeping him in order to some extent.

RETURN OF AKBAR; FATE OF IBRAHIM HUSAIN MIRZA

Akbar started on his return journey on April 13, 1573,[4] and on arrival at Sirohi heard the good news of the capture and death of Ibrahim Husain Mirza, who after his escape from the Sarnal fight

1. *A. N.*, vol. iii, p. 43, with reference in note to *Iqbalnama*.
2. Bartoli, p. 59. 'Ma allora disordino tanto in bere, che perde il merito dell' astinenza col demerito dell' ubbriachezza.'
3. Ibid., p. 64. 'O se pur l' invitava a dirgli alcuna cosa di Dio, appena cominciato, s'addormentava; e cio per lo troppo uso hor dell' Orraca, che e un fumosissimo vino di palma, hor del Posto, che e una tal confettione d'Oppio, rintuzzato, e domo con varie corretioni d'aromati.'
4. *A. N.*, iii, 48.

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had made his way into the Panjab, and thence to Multan, where he died, a wounded prisoner. His brother, Masud Husain Mirza, also was taken prisoner by Husain Kuli Khan, governor of the Panjab. The emperor, as usual, paid his devotions at the shrine in Ajmer, and arrived at Fathpur-Sikri on June 3. The notable persons who came out to meet him included Abu-l Fazl's father, Shaikh Mubarak, who made a speech expressing the hope that the emperor might become the spiritual as well as the temporal head of his people.[1] The suggestion pleased Akbar, who bore it in mind and acted on it six years later (1579).

CRUEL TREATMENT OF PRISONERS

On the arrival of the emperor at his capital, Husain Kuli Khan (Khan Jahan) waited on him with his prisoners. The eyes of Masud Husain Mirza had been sewn up, and Akbar was credited with kindness because he directed them to be opened. The other prisoners, nearly three hundred in number, met with little mercy. They were brought before Akbar with the skins of asses, hogs, and dogs drawn over their faces. Some of them were executed with various ingenious tortures, and some were released.[2] It is disgusting to find a man like Akbar sanctioning such barbarities. His philosophy sometimes failed to curb the tendency to cruelty which he inherited from his Tartar ancestors. The severities practised did not finally extirpate the Mirza trouble, which soon broke out again in Gujarat.

FAILURE TO TAKE NAGARKOT OR KANGRA

The pursuit of the Mirzas had interrupted and rendered ineffective an expedition against the famous fortress of Nagarkot or Kangra in the lower Himalayan hills which Husain Kuli Khan had undertaken with good hopes of complete success. He had occupied the outer town, but the inner citadel still held out, when he was obliged to withdraw his troops to pursue the rebels. A peace was patched up, the Raja undertaking to pay tribute and acknowledge formally the suzerainty of Akbar. The caputre of the stronghold was deferred until 1620, when it capitulated to the officers of Jahangir, who was much pleased at winning a conquest which had eluded his father's grasp.[3]

REBELLION IN GUJARAT

Akbar had come home under the impression that the subjugation of Gujarat was complete, and that the arrangements made for the administration of the province would work smoothly. But he was soon disillusioned. Reports were received from the governor that a fresh insurrection had broken out, under the leadership of Muhammad Husain, one of the irrepressible Mirzas, and a chief named Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk. The governor admitted in his dispatch that the rebels were too strong for him, and Akbar without hesitation resolved to proceed in person to suppress the insurrection. He was not, however, in a position to move without preparation. His army, which was little more than a loosely organized militia, had been exhausted by the pre-

1. *A. N.*, iii, 55.
2. Badaoni, ii, 163; *Tabakat*, in E. & D., v, 359.
3. Jahangir, R. & B., ii, 183-6, 223; *A. N.*, iii, 52.

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vious campaign, and the equipment at the disposal of the nobles responsible for furnishing contingents was worn out. It was necessary, therefore, to equip the fresh expedition from imperial funds. Akbar opened wide the doors of his treasury and provided the requisite cash without stint. He saw to everything with his own keen eyes. One of his historians observes that, 'although he had full trust and hope of heavenly assistance, he neglected no material means of success.'[1] In other words, he acted on the Cromwellian maxim of trusting in God and keeping his power dry.

'He frequently said', we are told, 'that although he was exerting himself in the organization and dispatch of the army, no one would be ready sooner than himself to take his part in the work.'

AKBAR'S WONDERFUL EXPEDITION

The young sovereign, then in his thirty-first year, and in the fullest enjoyment of his powers, bodily and mentally, was as good as his word. On August 23, 1573 (24 Rabi II, A.H. 981), he was ready, and rode out from his capital attended by a small suite, mounted on swift she-camels. He travelled fifty miles through the stifling heat without drawing rein, and proceeded each day with equal speed, riding sometimes on a horse and sometimes in a light cart. So travelling he rushed across Rajputana, until in the course of nine clear days, or eleven days all told, he found himself in the outskirts of Ahmadabad, distant nearly six hundred miles by the road used. His route lay through Ajmer, Jalor, Disa (Deesa), and Patan or Anhilwara, the ancient capital of Gujarat. At the small town of Balisna, between Patan and Ahmadabad, he made a halt and reviewed his tiny force,[2] which, including the cavalry sent on in advance and his personal escort, did not exceed in all three thousand horsemen. The enemy were estimated to muster 20,000. He kept a bodyguard of about a hundred selected warriors about his person, and divided the rest into three sections or brigades, centre, right, and left. The command of the centre, the post of honour, was given to Abdurrahim Khan, a lad of sixteen, the son of Akbar's former regent and guardian, Bairam Khan. The boy, who was with his father at the time of his murder in January 1561, had been rescued, brought to court, and carefully educated under the supervision of Akbar, who seized the earliest possible opportunity of giving him the chance of winning distinction in the field, of course, under the guidance of older officers. He became in due time the greatest noble in the realm.[3]

1. *Tabakat*, in E. & D., v, 364.

2. 'Balisana' of *A.N.*, iii, 66, with *v. l.* 'Maliyana' and 'Palitana'. It must be Balisana of the *I. G.* (1908), s. v., a small town in the Patan *taluka*, Baroda State; and not as suggested by Beveridge, loc. cit. The positions are : Patan, 23° 51′ N., 72° 10′ E.; Balisna, 23° 49′ N., 72° 15′ E.; and Ahmadabad, 23° 2′ N., 72° 35′ E. See sketch map.

3. Abdurrahim was born at Lahore on December 17, 1556=Safar 14, A.H. 964 (Beale and Blochmann). His education was unusually thorough. He acquired proficiency in Arabic, Persian, Turki, Sanskrit, and Hindi. He is now chiefly remembered for his Persian version of Babur's *Memoirs* from the Turki original. The *A.N.*, iii, 69, gives an interesting list of 27 officers who rode with Akbar on his rapid march. It includes 15 Hindus, of whom three seem to have been painters, namely

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The royal troops, when within a few miles of Ahmadabad, approached the river Sabarmati, expecting to effect a junction with the army of the Khan-i-Azam, which failed to appear. The insurgents, hearing the blast of their sovereign's trumpets, could not believe their ears, and said : 'Our scouts reported that a fortnight ago the emperor was at Fathpur-Sikri ; how can he be here now ? Where are the elephants which always travel with him ?' Whatever might be the explanation, the fact of Akbar's presence could not be denied, and the rebels were constrained to make ready to fight for their lives.

BATTLE OF AHMADABAD, SEPT. 2, 1573

Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk undertook the duty of watching the gates of Ahmadabad, and preventing Khan-i-Azam, the governor, from coming to the aid of his lord. Muhammad Husain Mirza, at the head of fifteen hundred fierce Moguls, was prepared to receive the royalist attack. Akbar, indignantly rejecting the advice of cautious counsellors who advised him to wait for the city garrison to come out, compelled his unwilling followers to fight at once, and, with his accustomed impetuosity, spurred his horse into and across the river, and so challenged the enemy, who replied by checking the small advanced guard. The emperor, perceiving the check, 'gave the word, and charged like a fierce tiger'. Much hard fighting hand to hand ensued, and at one moment Akbar was left with only two troopers by his side. His horse was wounded, and a report spread that he had been killed. His men, when they saw that he was safe, rallied and quickly drove the rebels from the field. Muhammad Husain Mirza was wounded and taken prisoner, and the fight was won.

An hour later Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk appeared with 5,000 men, hoping to reverse the defeat. But his followers were struck with panic so disgraceful that 'the royal troops pulled the arrows out of the quivers of the fugitives, and used them against them'. Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk was slain by a trooper who rode him down, and the wounded Mirza prisoner was decapitated by his guards, in pursuance of an order obtained with some difficulty from Akbar by officers who urged the necessity of the act. The Khan-i-Azam did not come up until all the fighting was over. Thus in one short, sharp tussle the back of the rebellion was broken (September 2, 1573). In accordance with the gruesome custom of the times, a pyramid was built with the heads of the rebels, more than 2,000 in number, who had fallen in the battle.[1] Akbar slew with his own hand a prisoner named Shah Madad who was identified as having killed Bhupat, the brother of Bhagwan Das, in the Sarnal affair. The one remaining Mirza of importance, by name Shah Mirza, became a homeless wanderer, and is heard of no more.

No. 5, Jagannath; No. 21, Sanwal Das, and No. 26, Tara Chand. A picture of the Sarnal fight by Sanwal Das or Sanwlah is in the Clarke MS. at the S. Kensington Museum. No. 27, Lal Kalawant, was a musician. Raja Birbal is No. 10, and Ram Das Kachwhaha is No. 18.

1. *Tabakat*, in E. & D., v, 368. Badaoni says 'nearly 1,000 heads' (ii, 172). *A. N.* does not state the number, but says that 1,200 dead were counted on the field, besides about 500 who perished in the neighbourhood (iii, 87).

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Akbar's return march, although not performed at the lightning speed of his outward progress, was accomplished rapidly in about three weeks. He was back in Fathpur-Sikri within forty-three days from the time he had ridden out. Considering the distances traversed, Akbar's second Gujarat expedition may be described safely as the quickest campaign on record. The victor, spear in hand, rode proudly into his capital, on Monday, October 5, 1573.

SETTLEMENT OF GUJARAT

The revenues of Gujarat not having been paid up properly during the period of disturbance, it was necessary to set in order the finances of the province. That duty was assigned to the capable hands of Raja Todar Mall, who made a 'settlement' of the land-revenue, and effected the measurement of the greater part of the lands in the short space of six months. The province, as reorganized, yielded more than five millions of rupees annually to the emperor's private treasury, after the expenses of the administration had been defrayed. The work so well begun by Raja Todar Mall was continued by another revenue expert, Shihabu-d din Ahmad Khan, who was viceroy from 1577 to 1583 or 1584. He re-arranged the Sarkars or administrative districts, so that sixteen were included in the province. The conquest of 1573 was final, although disturbances continued to occur. Gujarat remained under the government of imperial viceroys until 1758, when Ahmadabad was definitely taken by the Marathas.[1]

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS; MUZAFFAR KHAN

About this time (1574) Muzaffar Khan Turbati, who had been in Bairam Khan's service, and had become governor of Sarangpur in the Ahmadabad territory, was summoned to court and entrusted with the duties of Vakil or prime minister. Raja Todar Mall served under him in the finance department. Akbar's system of administration may be said to have been definitely planned in 1573 and 1574, immediately after the conquest of Gujarat. The emperor, in concert with Raja Todar Mall, then 'promulgated the branding regulation, the conversion of the imperial territories into crown-lands, and the fixing of the grades of the officers of State.'[2]

The 'branding regulation' means the adoption of a regular system of branding government horses in order to prevent fraud. It was based on the institutions of Alau-d din Khilji and Sher Shah,[3] and excited the most lively opposition.

The phrase, 'the conversion of the imperial territories into crown-lands', means that the territories were not given as fiefs (*jagirs*) to nobles to be administered by them, subject merely to the supplying

1. *Mirat-Ahmadi*, in Bayley, *History of Gujarat* (1886), pp. 20, 22. 20, 82, 00, 342 *dams*, divided by 40, equal 5,205,008 rupees paid to the private fisc (*khalsah-i-sharifah*). Full statistical details are given. See also *Bombay Gazetteer* (1896), vol. i, part i, pp. 265-9. Shihabu-d din Ahmad Khan (Shihab Khan) has been mentioned already as having taken part in the intrigues against Bairam Khan, and as having been finance minister for a short time. Blochmann gives his biography (*Ain*, vol. i, p. 332, No. 26).
2. *A. N.*, iii, 95.
3. For Sher Shah see E. & D., iv, 551.

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of a fixed number of troops, but that they were to be administered directly by imperial officials, who would themselves collect the revenues. The 'fixing the grades of the officers of State' means the definite establishment of the official bureaucracy of Amirs and Mansabdars which will be explained in a later chapter.

These administrative reforms were distasteful to Muzaffar Khan, who failed to carry out the imperial orders with loyalty, and consequently was soon removed from his high office.[1] The revenue arrangements were further developed by Raja Todar Mall some years later. His system will be described in due course.

The execution of the reforms above mentioned, interrupted by the war in Bihar, was resumed in 1575.

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1. Blochmann gives a full life of Muzaffar Khan Turbati (*Ain*, vol. i, p. 348, No. 37).

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CHAPTER V

CONQUEST OF BIHAR AND BENGAL; ESTABLISHMENT OF THE 'HOUSE OF WORSHIP'; AKBAR'S FIRST CONTACT WITH CHRISTIANITY; ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES; WAR IN RAJPUTANA.

BENGAL HISTORY

The provinces of Bengal and Bihar, which had been overrun by small Muhammadan armies at the close of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, continued to be ruled by governors loosely dependent on the Sultan of Delhi, but in practice usually independent, until about 1340, in the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlak, when the governor openly set himself up as independent king. In the time of Sher Shah, Afghan chiefs held the country; Sulaiman Khan, an Afghan of the Kirani or Kararani clan, being then governor of Bihar.[1] In 1564 Sulaiman occupied Gaur, the capital of the Bengal kings, and so founded a new and short-lived Bengal dynasty. Finding Gaur to be unhealthy, he moved his court to Tanda, a few miles to the south-west.[2] He besieged Rohtas, the only place of importance in Bengal or Bihar which then held out for the emperor.[3] When Akbar had sent a small force to relieve the fortress (1566), Sulaiman thought it prudent not to brave the imperial wrath. He therefore retired to Bengal and left the stronghold in the hands of the imperialists.

Sulaiman found it advisable to send valuable presents from time to time to Akbar, and to recognize his superior authority in a certain measure, with which the emperor was content for the moment.

When Sulaiman died in 1572 (A.H. 980), he is said to have been 'much regretted by his subjects, and highly respected by all his contemporaries.'[4]

His elder son, Bayazid, who succeeded to the throne, was killed a few months later by Afghan chiefs, who substituted Daud, Sulaiman's younger son. That prince, who 'was a dissolute scamp, and knew nothing of the business of governing',[5] 'forsook the prudent measures of his father; and, assuming all the insignia of royalty, ordered the *Khutba* to be proclaimed in his own name through all the towns of Bengal and Bihar, and directed the coin to be stamped with his own

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1. *Kirani* (قرانی) in *Tabakat* &c., *Kararani* in *A .N.* and Badaoni. Blochmann (*Ain*, vol. i, p. 171 note) says that the form Karzani also occurs.
2. Old Tanda, or Tanra, seems to have been cut away by the Bhagirathi (Ganges), and its exact site is not ascertainable (*I. G.*, 1908).
3. Rohtas, or Rohtasgarh, 24° 37′ N. and 83° 55′ E., is now in the Sasaram (Sahasram) sub-division of the Shahabad District in Bihar. The fortress occupies a plateau with a circumference of nearly 28 miles. Another Rohtas was built by Sher Shah in the Jihlam (Jhelum) District, Panjab.
4. Stewart, *History of Bengal* (1813), p. 151. The correct year of death is 980 (1572), as in Badaoni (ii, 166), not 981 (1573), as in Stewart.
5. *Tabakat*, in E. & D., v, 373.

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title, thus completely setting at defiance the authority of the emperor Akbar.'[1]

He found himself in possession of immense treasure, 40,000 well-mounted cavalry, 140,000 infantry, 20,000 guns of various calibres, 3,600 elephants, and several hundred war-boats—a force which seemed to him sufficient justification for a contest with Akbar, whom he proceeded to provoke by the seizure of the fort of Zamania, erected a few years before by Khan Zaman, as a frontier post of the empire.[2]

AKBAR'S PREPARATIONS FOR THE CAMPAIGN

Akbar, who was in Gujarat when he received the news of Daud's audacity, at once dispatched orders to Munim Khan, Khan Khanan, and the representative of the imperial power in Jaunpur, to chastise the aggressor. Munim, on receipt of his sovereign's instructions, assembled a powerful force and marched on Patna, where he was opposed by Lodi Khan, an influential Afghan chief, who had placed Daud on the throne, and now served that prince as minister. Munim Khan, who was then very old, had lost his energy, and, after some skirmishing, was content to cease hostilities and grant Daud extremely lenient terms. Neither of the principal parties was pleased. Akbar thought that the Khan Khanan had been too easy-going, and Daud was jealous of his minister. The emperor accordingly deputed Raja Todar Mall, his best general, to take the command in Bihar, making over the Raja's civil duties as Diwan temporarily to Rai Ram Das. Daud treacherously killed his minister, Lodi Khan, and confiscated his property.

Munim Khan, stung by his master's censure, returned rapidly to Patna and laid siege to the city. But he soon found the task of taking it to be beyond his powers, and begged Akbar to come in person and assume charge of the campaign.

Akbar, who had just returned to the capital after paying his annual visit to Ajmer, proceeded to Agra in March 1574, and prepared a fleet of elaborately equipped boats to proceed down the rivers.

SUNDRY OCCURRENCES

Before we enter upon the description of his doings certain miscellaneous occurrences may be noted. On October 22, 1573, the three princes had been circumcised at Fathpur-Sikri, and a little later a tutor was appointed for Prince Salim, then more than four years of age. Haji Begam, Humayun's senior widow, who lived a retired life at Delhi, where she was building her husband's mausoleum, came to court in order to congratulate Akbar on his victories in Gujarat. The emperor was so much attached to her that many people were under the impression that she was his mother. Even historians often confound her with Hamida Bano Begam.[3]

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1. Stewart, loc. cit.

2. Zamania, now a small town of the Ghazipur District, U.P., situated in 25°23′ N. and 83°34′ E. Khan Zaman (Ali Kuli Khan) joined in the Uzbeg rebellion, and was killed in June 1567.

3. Badaoni (Lowe, p. 308), when noticing the death of Haji Begam in A.H. 989, A.D. 1581, describes her as 'a second mother to the Emperor.....a very pillar of holiness, and purity, and virtue, and good works'. See the author's essay, entitl-

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Early in 1574 Abu-l Fazl, whose elder brother Faizi was already in attendance, presented himself at court, but failed to attract much attention, everybody being then intent on the preparations for the campaign in the east. The historian Badaoni (Abu-l Kadir) began his life as a courtier at nearly the same time.

THE RIVER VOYAGE

On June 15, 1574, Akbar embarked for the river voyage. The arrangements made for the comfort and convenience of the emperor and his suite were astonishingly complete. Two large vessels were appropriated as the residence of Akbar himself, and were followed by a great fleet conveying the high officers with equipment and baggage of every kind. Even 'gardens, such as clever craftsmen could not make on land', were constructed on some of the boats,[1] and two mighty fighting elephants, each accompanied by two females, were carried.[2]

Adequate arrangements were carefully made for the protection of the capital and the conduct of the civil administration, during the absence of the sovereign, who was accompanied by many of his best officers, Hindu and Muhammadan. The names of nineteen given by Abu-l Fazl include Bhagwan Das, Man Singh, Birbal, Shahbaz Khan, and Kasim Khan, the admiral or 'Mir Bahr'. The rainy season being then at its height, the voyage was necessarily adventurous, and many mishaps occurred. Several vessels foundered off Etawah, and eleven off Allahabad. After travelling for twenty-six days Akbar reached Benares, where he halted for three days. He then proceeded and anchored near Sayyidpur, where the Gumti joins the Ganges. On the same day the army which had marched by land arrived. The whole movement evidently had been thought out and executed with consummate skill in the face of tremendous difficulties due to the weather. The ladies and children were sent to Jaunpur, and Akbar, in response to urgent entreaties from Munim Khan that he would be pleased to come in person with all speed to the front, advanced to the famous ferry at Chaunsa or Chausa, where his father had suffered a severe defeat in 1539.[3] The army was then brought across to the southern bank of the river.

At this time the receipt of a welcome dispatch announcing the capture of the strong fortress of Bhakkar (Bukkur) in Sind naturally was interpreted as an omen of victory in the east.

FULL OF PATNA AND HAJIPUR

Akbar continued his journey by water, and on August, 3, 1574, landed in the neighbourhood of Patna. After taking counsel with his officers, and ascertaining that the besieged city relied for the greater part of its supplies on the town of Hajipur, situated on the opposite or northern bank of the Ganges, he decided that the capture of that place was a necessary preliminary to the successful accomplishment of the

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ed 'The Confusion between two Consorts of Humayun, namely, Haji alias Bega Begam, and Hamida Bano Begam, Maryam Makani', in *J.R.A.S.*, 1917.

1. *A. N.*, iii, 120. 2. Ibid., 123.
3. Chausa, in the Buxar sub-division of the Shahabad District, Bihar, 23°51′ N. and 83°54′ . The village stands close to the east bank of the Karamnasa river, four miles to the west of Buxar (Baksar).

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main design. The difficulties caused by the flooded state of the huge river, many miles in width at that season, and the strenuous resistance of a strongly posted garrison were overcome, and the fort was captured by the gallantry of the detachment appointed by Akbar to the duty. The heads of the Afghan leaders killed were thrown into a boat and brought to Akbar, who forwarded them to Daud as a hint of the fate which awaited and in due course befell him.

The same day Akbar ascended the Panj Pahari, or 'Five Hills', a group of extremely ancient artificial mounds, standing about half a mile to the south of the city, and thence reconnoitred the position.[1] Daud, although he still had at his disposal 20,000 horse, a large park of artillery, and many elephants, came to the conclusion that he could not resist the imperial power, and decided on flight. During the night he slipped out quietly by a back gate and went to Bengal. The garrison, which attempted to escape in the darkness, suffered heavy losses in the process. Akbar was eager to start at once, but was persuaded to wait until the morning, when he entered Patna by the Delhi gate. He then personally pursued the fugitives for about thirty *kos*, or quite fifty miles, but failed to overtake them. An enormous amount of booty, including 265 elephants, was taken, and the common people enjoyed themselves picking up purses of gold and articles of armour in the streams and on the banks.

The capture of so great a city in the middle of the rainy season was an almost unprecedented achievement and a painful surprise to the Bengal prince. He had reckoned on Akbar following the good old Indian custom of waiting until the Dasahara festival in October to begin a campaign. But Akbar resembled his prototype, Alexander of Macedon, in his complete disregard of adverse weather conditions, and so was able to win victories in defiance of the *shastras* and the seasons.[2]

PROSECUTION OF CAMPAIGN; AKBAR'S RETURN

The question now came up for decision whether the campaign should be prosecuted notwithstanding the rains, or postponed until the cold season. Opinions were divided, but Akbar had no hesitation in deciding that delay could not be permitted. Accordingly, he organized an additional army of more than 20,000 men, entrusting the supreme command to old Munim Khan who was appointed governor of Bengal. Raja Todar Mall and other capable officers were placed under his orders. Jaunpur, Benares, Chunar and certain other territories were brought under the direct administration of the Crown

1. The Panj Pahari, or 'Five Hills', is a group of ruins, lying half a mile to the south of Patna and the same distance to the south-east of Kumrahar, where the palace of Chandragupta Maurya probably stood. They extend from north to south about three furlongs, and evidently are the remains of solid *stupas* or sacred cupolas, either Jain or Buddhist. They seem to date from the time of the Nandas, before the Mauryas. The site has never been examined properly. Some years ago Dr. Fuhrer did damage by ill-considered and futile excavations. The *Tabakat* (E. & D., v, 378) is the authority for the fact of the reconnaissance.

2. 'Neither winter nor difficulties hindered Alexander.....Nothing in the business of war was impossible for Alexander, if he undertook it, (Arrian, *Anab.*, vii, 15).

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(*Khalsa*), and officers were appointed to govern them on behalf of Akbar. He resolved to return to his capital, leaving the Bengal campaign to be conducted by his generals.

Late in September, while he was encamped at Khanpur in the Jaunpur district, he received dispatches announcing the success of Munim Khan. The emperor arrived at Fathpur-Sikri on January 18, 1575, after seven months of strenuous travelling and campaigning.

MUNIM KHAN'S ADVANCE INTO BENGAL

The accounts received from the commander-in-chief showed that the operations ordered had been successful beyond all expectation. Mungir (Monghyr), Bhagalpur, Khalgaon (Colgong), and the formidable Garhi or Teliagarhi Pass were seized in succession, after only feeble resistance. The pass, lying between the Rajmahal Hills on the south and the Ganges on the north, and regarded as 'the gate of Bengal', was turned by a detachment sent round by a path not in ordinary use. Once the pass had been traversed the imperialists experienced no difficulty in entering Tanda, the capital of Bengal. [1] Daud retired in the direction of Orissa, through Satgaon, which was occupied without oppsition by Muhammad Kuli Khan Barlas. [2]

The prospect of pursuing Daud over bad roads into the wilds of Orissa was so distasteful to the troops and their commanders that dissensions broke out, and Raja Todar Mall found it hard to persuade his colleagues to push on, as they were required to do by express written orders from Akbar. Ultimately, Munim Khan (Khan Khanan) who was old and sluggish, and had stayed behind, was constrained to come to the front and press the advance under his personal command. A road easier than that chosen at first was made passable for troops.

BATTLE OF TUKAROI; TREATY WITH DAUD

The army accordingly was able to evade the obstacles prepared by the enemy and to enter Orissa. On March 3, 1575, the battle decisive of the fate of Bengal was fought near the village of Tukaroi, now in the Balasore District, lying between Midnapur and Jalesar or Jellasore. The action was forced on Munim Khan, who was compelled to engage before he was ready. In the early stages of the conflict the imperialist commander received several severe wounds and victory seemed assured to the Bengal army. But later in the day the fall of Daud's general, Gujar Khan, caused fortune to change sides and brought about the total defeat of Daud, who fled from the field.

Munim Khan, following the barbarous fashion of the times, massacred his prisoners, whose heads were sufficiently numerous to furnish 'eight sky-high minarets'.[3]

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1. The pass is now in the Santal (Sonthal) Parganas District. Tanda, as already mentioned, stood a few miles to the south-west of Gaur, in the region now known as the Malda District.

2. Satgaon, now an insignificant village near Hooghly (Hugli), was the principal commercial river port of the province in those days. Its ruin was brought about by the silting up of the river channel and the consequent removal of the public offices in 1632.

1. *A. N.*, iii, 180.

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Shortly afterwards (April 12) Munim Khan accepted the formal submission of Daud and again granted him liberal terms, leaving him in possession of Orissa. Raja Todar Mall, who perceived the insincerity of the enemy, opposed the treaty and refused to sign it. Subsequent occurrences proved the soundness of his judgement.

At this point we may quit Bengal for a time and turn to the consideration of events happening elsewhere.

FAMINE AND PESTILENCE IN GUJARAT

The recently annexed province of Gujarat, which enjoys the reputation of being less liable to the visitations of famine than most parts of India, suffered severely from both famine and pestilence in the nineteenth year of the reign, 1574-5, while Akbar was engaged on the Patna campaign. The one brief notice of the calamity records the bare facts that the famine and epidemic lasted for nearly six months, that prices rose to an extreme height, and that horses and cows were reduced to feeding on the bark of trees. We are not informed concerning the nature of the epidemic disease.[1]

THE 'HOUSE OF WORSHIP', OR ' 'IBADAT-KHANA '

Akbar, on arrival at his capital in January 1575, found plenty of occupation. Within a month after his return home he issued orders for the erection of a 'House of Worship' (*Ibadat-khana*), a building specially designed for the accommodation of selected persons representing various schools of Muslim theological and philosophical thought, where they could discuss with freedom the most abstruse problems under the presidency of the sovereign. Akbar from early youth had been passionately interested in the mystery of the relation between God and man, and in all the deep questions concerned with that relation.

'Discourses on philosophy', he said, 'have such a charm for me that they distract me from all else, and I forcibly restrain myself from listening to them, lest the necessary duties of the hour should be neglected.'[2]

When he came home to his capital at the beginning of 1575 he was conscious of having gained a long succession of remarkable and decisive victories which left him without an important enemy in the world as known to him. We are told that at this time he 'spent whole nights in praising God.....His heart was full of reverence for Him, who is the true Giver, and from a feeling of thankfulness for his past successes he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation on a large flat stone of an old building which lay near the palace in a lovely spot, with his head bent over his chest, gathering the bliss of the early hours of dawn'.[3] Thus he felt himself at leisure and free to indulge his passion for unlimited discussion of all things in heaven and earth. His resolve to erect a building devoted to such discussion was encouraged by stories told about the practice of Daud's

1. *Tabakat*, in E. & D., v, 384.
2. 'Happy Sayings', in *Ain*, vol. iii, p. 386.
3. Badaoni, ii, 203.

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father, Sulaiman Kararani, the late ruler of Bengal, who had been in the habit of sitting up all night in the company of a hundred and fifty renowned ascetic Shaikhs and learned Ulama, or doctors of Muslim law. Moreover, Akbar expected a visit from a distant relative, Sulaiman Mirza, the exiled chief of Badakhshan, driven from his kingdom by the Uzbegs, who was deeply versed in the pantheistic mysticism of the unorthodox Sufi thinkers, and was reputed to have attained the position of a 'Sahib-i-hal', that is to say, a man capable of experiencing a state of ecstasy and intimate union with God.

Accordingly, the emperor instructed skilful architects to design and clever builders to construct with all speed in the gardens of the palace near the dwelling of Shaikh Salim a building suitable for the proposed debates. The nucleus of the new edifice was the deserted cell or hermitage of Miyan or Shaikh Abdullah Niyazi of Sirhind, a renowned ascetic, who had been at one time a disciple of Salim, but had retired to Sirhind. Akbar caused the vacant hermitage to be rebuilt, and on all four sides of it a hall to be erected for the accommodation of his numerous holy visitors. No visible trace of the building remains, nor is its exact position known, but, apparently, it must have stood to the north-west of the great mosque built for Shaikh Salim in 1571, and in a locality where gardens still exist.[1] The structure, which gave scope for the exercise of the skill of eminent architects, must have been of considerable dimensions and graced by appropriate ornament.

We are told that Akbar on Thursday evenings after sunset, reckoned as part of Friday in the Muslim calendar, would 'go from the new chapel of the Shaikh-ul Islam [*scil.* Salim] and hold a meeting in this building'. That statement seems to mean that the emperor used to go from the precincts of the great mosque to the House of Worship, as he could do conveniently by passing through a door which probably existed at the back of the mosque.[2]

THE ASSEMBLIES AT THE HOUSE OF WORSHIP

The persons invited to share in and listen to the debates were confined at first to Muslims of four classes, namely : (1) Shaikhs, that is to say, ascetic holy men who claimed the privilege of special communion with God, like the dervishes of Syria and Egypt; (2) Sayyids, or eminent reputed descendants of the Prophet; (3) Ulama, or doctors learned in the law; and (4) Amirs, selected nobles of the

1. See general plan prefixed to each volume or part of E.W. Smith's work on Fathpur-Sikri.

2. 'At the back of the mosque is an enclosure, containing a small tomb of an infant. This, the legend goes, is the tomb of an infant son of Shaikh Salim, aged six months.....In the debris about here will be found a door leading to a cave which was the original abode of the saint before the spot attracted the attention of royalty. The place is also pointed out where he used to teach his pupils, as also the place where the holy man persuaded the royal couple to take up their abode in the neighbourhood of his own hut, and where the prince who bore his name was born' (Latif, *Agra*, p. 154). Two small openings in the rear or western wall of the mosque are indicated in the plan. For detailed discussion of the position of the House of Worship see my paper, 'The Site and Design of Akbar's '*Ibadat-khana* or "House of Worship" ' (*J.R.A.S.*, 1917). The authorities are : Badaoni, ii, 203 (tr. Lowe); iii, 73, 74 (tr. Haig, No. XXII); *Tabakat*, in E. & D., v, 390; *A.N.*, vol. iii, p. 157. The *Tabakat* states that the building was 'in the gardens of the palace.'

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court interested in the subjects discussed. The building consisted of a single spacious chamber, capable presumably of accommodating two or three hundred people, and built round the remodelled cell of Shaikh Abdullah. At the early meetings persons belonging to all the four classes named were mingled promiscuously, but when disputes arose about seats and the order of precedence the emperor was obliged to assign separate quarters to each class of guests. The Amirs occupied the eastern side, where the main entrance probably existed; the Sayyids were on the west; the Shaikhs on the north; and the Ulama on the south. The four quarters of the building are sometimes spoken of as distinct 'halls' (*aiwan*), but it is certain that they formed only a single chamber, with the 'cell', probably a small domed structure, in the centre. The four sections may have been partitioned off one from the other by light railings, perforated screens, or curtains. No difficulty existed in passing from one section to another. Akbar was in the habit of moving about freely, and chatting with his visitors of all shades of opinion. The debates were of portentous length. Beginning at some time after sunset on Thursday evening, which counts as part of Friday according to the Muhammadan calendar, they were often prolonged until noon on that day. Akbar usually presided in person, but sometimes, when he felt tired, would be represented by some courtier selected for his tact and good temper.

In those days Akbar, although much inclined to rationalistic and unorthodox speculation, especially that of the Sufi schools saturated with pantheistic ideas, was still a practising and to some extent a believing Musalman. The guests in the House of Worship, consequently, were representative of the diverse sections of Muslim thought only, and originally did not include Hindus or other non-Muslim persons. But two or three years later, certainly in 1578, Hindus, Christians, and adherents of diverse religions were admitted. We do not know how long the building continued in use. I suspect that after 1579 or 1580 it must have ceased to be the scene of the more extended debates which then took place and were apparently carried on in other premises, usually the private hall of audience, where men of all religions could meet. The House of Worship was designed for the use of Muslims only. The presumed early disuse of the structure may be the explanation of its total disappearance and of the loss of any recollection of its site. It is not unlikely that it was deliberately pulled down by the orders of Akbar himself.[1] The controversies between the innumerable sects and schools of Islam can have had little interest for Akbar when he ceased to be a Musalman. His definite apostasy may be dated from the beginning of 1582, after his return in December 1581 from his victorious expedition to Kabul, and his release from the intense anxiety caused by his brother's attempt earlier in that year to seize the throne of India,[2] which will be described in the next chapter. The emperor, once he was finally freed from the dread of deposition and death, felt himself at liberty to proceed with

1. See my paper, 'The Site and Design of Akbar's '*Ibadat-khana*, or "House of Worship"' (*J.R.A.S.*, 1917).
2. 'Assoluto da un gran timore' (Bartoli, p. 75).

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his plan for establishing that universal religion which he foolishly dreamed of imposing on his whole empire, under the name of the Divine Religion or Divine Monotheism. From that time he cannot be regarded as a Musalman. The development of Akbar's opinions on religion will be discussed more fully in subsequent pages.

PILGRIMAGES TO MECCA

However unorthodox Akbar might be, the numerous ladies of his family, especially his mother, Hamida Bano Begam, and his father's sister, Gulbadan Begam, were extremely devout Muslims and hostile to all innovation.[1] The latter lady, who had long been desirous to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, had been prevented from attaining her desire earlier by the insecurity of the roads and the dangers from Portuguese piracy at sea. The reduction of Gujarat to a tolerable state of order, and the nature of the relations with the authorities of Goa in 1575 were considered to justify Gulbadan Begam in then proceeding on pilgrimage. She started early in October, accompanied by ten distinguished ladies, of whom the chief was Salima Sultan Begam, Bairam Khan's widow, who had married Akbar and ranked as his senior consort. Elaborate and successful precautions were taken for the safety of the travellers during their long journey to the coast, but the Portuguese did not prove so amenable to the imperial wishes as had been expected. The ladies were detained at Surat for about a year before they could obtain a satisfactory pass guaranteeing them against molestation on the voyage. Ultimately, they got away safely, performed the pilgrimage, and landed again in India early in 1582. Gulbadan Begam who wrote Memoirs of considerable interest, preserved in one incomplete manuscript, has not left a record of her experience as a pilgrim.

Akbar not only made ample provision for the comfort and safety of his female relatives, but also sent at the same time a large party of male pilgrims under the charge of a leader (Mir Haji), well furnished with funds. That novel and costly arrangement was continued for five or six years, and Akbar even professed a desire to go on pilgrimage in person. He yielded with apparent unwillingness to the advice of his ministers, who pointed out that he could not possibly quit his kingdom without incurring grave dangers.[2] The emperor was so zealous, whether from conviction or policy, during those six years (about 1575-81) that he issued a general order to the effect that any one who wished might go on pilgrimage at the expense of the treasury. Many persons took advantage of the opportunity. 'But', adds Badaoni, when writing late in the reign, 'the reverse is now the case, for he cannot now bear even the name of such a thing; and merely to ask leave to go on a

1. 'Sua Madre, & sua Zia, & alcuni di quei gran Signori, che aveva intorno... per l'odio, che naturalmente hanno alla Religione Christiana, & pero glie la dipingevano brutta, & cattiva, & il simile facevano le tante mogli, che haveva, dubitando di esser repudiate' (Peruschi, p. 31). Or, freely rendered : 'His mother, his aunt, and certain great lords of the court had an innate hatred for the Chiristian religion which they represented as being nasty and evil. His numerous wives, afraid of being repudiated, adopted the same attitude.'

2. E. & .D., v, 401; *A. N.*, iii, 269-71.

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pilgrimage is enough to make a man a malefactor worthy of death. "We alternate these days among men." [1] In or about October 1576 Akbar, when sending off Sultan Khwaja as leader of the pilgrim caravan through Rajputana, himself donned the pilgrim's garb (*ihram*), and made a symbolical pilgrimage by walking after the Khwaja for a few paces.[2] The sincerity of that theatrical demonstration may be reasonably doubted. We shall see presently that at a slightly later date Akbar deliberately shammed devotion for political purposes.

AKBAR'S FIRST CONTACT WITH CHRISTIANITY

In this connexion it will be convenient to notice Akbar's earliest dealings with Christians and Christianity.

The first Europeans with whom he became acquainted personally were the Portuguese merchants whom he met at Cambay towards the end of 1572. A little later, early in 1573, when Akbar was at Surat, hostilities between him and the Portuguese seemed to be imminent, but peace was negotiated successfully by Antonio Cabral, under the direction of Dom Antonio de Noronha, the Viceroy, as already noted. In 1576, the year following the erection of the House of Worship, Akbar obtained a favourable impression of the Christian character and religion, on learning that two missionary priests, recently arrived in Bengal, had refused absolution to their converts for committing frauds on the revenue by withholding shipping dues and the imperial share of the harvest. The remonstrances of the priests having effected a marked improvement in the provincial revenue, Akbar was so much pleased that he remitted the arrears found to be due. The incident convinced him that Christian principles, which condemned dishonesty, even when practised against an alien government, must possess exceptional value and influence over the hearts of men.[3]

FATHER JULIAN PEREIRA, VICAR-GENERAL, AND PIETRO TAVARES

At that time Father Julian Pereira was Vicar-General in Bengal, and stationed at Satgaon. Akbar sent for him and when he came to court questioned him closely about Christian doctrine. The worthy Father, being a man of more piety than learning, was unable to satisfy the emperor's insatiable curiosity.[4]

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1. Badaoni, ii, 246. Sale renders the text more diffusely as : 'We cause these days of *different success* interchangeably to succeed each other among men' (Koran, iii, 134).

2. The *ihram* consists of two seamless pieces of white cloth, one wrapped round the loins, and the other worn on the body, the right shoulder and the head being left bare. A woodcut of a man wearing it is given by Hughes (*Dict. of Islam*, s. v.). Pilgrims assume the *ihram* when starting on the last stage of the Mecca road.

3. Bartoli, p. 7. The two priests, the earliest missionaries to Bengal, arrived in 1576. They were named Anthony Vaz and Peter Dias, and were Jesuits. The first Augustinian missionaries did not reach Bengal until 1599. They laid the foundation stone of their church dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary at Bandel (Hugli) on August 15 of that year (Hosten, 'A Week at the Bandel Convent, Hugli,' in *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. x, January—March 1915, p. 43; De Sousa, in *Commentarius*, p. 544).

4. 'Huomo di maggior virtu, che sapere' (Bartoli, p. 9). The Christian name of the Vicar-General was Giuliano (Julian), as stated by Monserrate and Peruschi. Goldie (p. 56), citing Guerreiro, calls him Giles Aves. Bartoli gives the same names in the form Egidio Anes, Egidio being a Latinized version of Giles. De Sousa

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Akbar had already, in 1577, consulted Pietro Tavares, a Portuguese officer in his service, who either was then, or soon afterwards became, the captain or commandant of the port of Hugli (Hooghly).[1] Naturally, he too was ill-qualified to answer correctly the various conundrums proposed to him.

ANTONIO CABRAL AT FATHPUR SIKRI

The Portuguese occupation of Daman, a port on the coast of the Gulf of Cambay, which had been seized by the foreigners in 1558, was always disagreeable to the Mogul court after the conquest of Gujarat in 1573. Friction between the imperial authorities in the province and the Portuguese constantly took place. We have seen that armed conflict was averted with some difficulty at the beginning of 1573, when Akbar was encamped near Surat. A few years later trouble was renewed, and Akbar sent an embassy to Goa to arrange terms of peace. In 1578 the Viceroy (Dom Diogo de Menezes) responded by accrediting to Akbar's court as his ambassador the same Antonio Cabral who had conducted the satisfactory negotiations in 1573. He spent some time at Fathpur-Sikri, and was able to give the emperor a considerable amount of information concerning Christian manners and customs; but, being a layman, he was not in a position to expound with authority the deeper matters of the faith. Akbar, accordingly, was impelled to make arrangements for obtaining instruction from fully qualified experts. The action taken and its results will be described in the next chapter.

ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES

During the interval of comparative leisure which Akbar enjoyed in 1575 and 1576, after his victorious return from Patna, and before the beginning of fresh troubles, he did not confine his superabundant energy to theological discussions and the encouragement of pilgrimages to Mecca, but also paid much attention to certain administrative reforms, which had been planned before the war in Bihar.

The regulations about branding the horses belonging to the government, introduced by Shahbaz Khan for the prevention of fraud, continued to be sullenly frustrated by local officials whose perquisites were threatened.[2] Mirza Aziz Koka, Akbar's favourite foster-brother, was so particularly hostile to the measure that Akbar was obliged to confine him to his garden-house at Agra. It would seem that nothing like complete obedience to the rules was ever attained.

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disguises him as Gileanas Pereyra (*Or. Conq.*, vol ii, C. I, D. II, sec. 44, as cited by Hosten in *Commentarius*, p. 544). He was still at court when the first mission, that headed by Aquaviva, arrived (ibid., p. 560). He was not a Jesuit, and may have been a secular priest.

1. For Tavares see Manrique, pp. 13, 14; and Hosten (*J. & Proc. A.S.B.*, 1911, 34; 1912, p. 218 *n.*). He appears in *A.N.*, iii, 349, as Partab-tar Firingi, *scil.* European. Between 1578 and 1580 Akbar seems to have made to him a grant of land, probably coincident in whole or in part with a plot of 777 bighas granted by Shah Shuja in 1633, of which the Fathers still retain nearly half (Hosten, *A Week, &c., ut supra*, pp. 40, 48 106). Cabral's mission in 1578 was quite distinct from his negotiation in 1573. The Bengal bigha is about one-third of an acre.

2. For a full biography of Shahbaz Khan Kambu see *Ain*, vol. i, pp. 399-402, No. 80.

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The roster of the watches of the palace guard was re-arranged, and a *Mir Arzi*, or Receiver of Petitions, was appointed as a permanent member of the household.

A record office was organized, so that 'whatever proceeded from the court should be recorded'.[1] The record-room at Fathpur-Sikri still exists. It is a fine room, 48½ feet long by 28½ feet wide, with a spacious verandah, and stands to the south of Akbar's bedroom. The space provided, although not inconsiderable, appears to be very scanty according to modern European notions.[2] The records, or at any rate a large part of them, used to be carried about with the imperial camp.

The arrangements made concerning the collection and assessment of the land revenue, or government share of the crops, were more important. They were based on orders passed in previous years and were subsequently modified by Raja Todar Mall.

INSTITUTION OF KARORIS

In 1575-6 the new idea which came into Akbar's mind was to divide the empire (with certain exceptions) into blocks, each yielding a *karor* ('crore'=10 millions) of *tankas*, and placed under charge of an officer termed Karori, whose duty it would be to encourage cultivation and so increase the revenue. Every *pargana*, or 'barony', was to be measured, and the measurement was actually begun near the capital. Bamboo measuring rods fitted with iron rings were substituted for the less accurate rope previously used.

The extensive provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Gujarat being excluded from the new organization, and many regions subsequently annexed not having been then conquered, 182 Amils or Karoris sufficed for the empire. Abu-l Fazl, as usual, attributes much virtue to the reform, declaring that 'men's minds were quieted and also the cultivation increased, and the path of fraud and falsehood was closed'.[3]

1. *A. N.*, iii, 167, 208.
2. *Fathpur-Sikri*, iii, pp. 41 ff. Pl. LXVIII.
3. *A. N.*, iii, 167; *Tabakat*, in E. & D., v, 383. The value of a *tanka* or *tankah* is variously stated. Abu-l Fazl (*Ain*, Bk. i, Ain 2; Blochmann, vol. i, p. 13) treats it as being synonymous with the copper coin called *dam*, of which 40 went to the rupee (ibid., p. 31). De Laet (reprint, p. 135) reckoned 30 copper 'tackae' to the rupee. But the same author (or rather van den Broecke, p. 206) reckons 20 'tangas' to the rupee : 'xx tangas in singulas rupias computando'. According to that reckoning the *tanga* would be a double *dam*. That valuation agrees with certain coin legends, as for example, No. 412 of Wright's *Catalogue, Zarb Dihli nim tankah Akbar Shahi* ('half-tankah'), weight 315 grains, a normal weight for a *dam*. Quarter *tankahs* also occur, e.g., No. 558, weight, 158.7 grs. The discrepancies in the authors cited above are partly explained by the following observations of Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole :

'The term *tankah* [or *tanka*] appears to be used just as vaguely as *fulus*, both for *dams* of 315 of 325 grs., and double dams of 618 to 644 grs. Mr. Rodgers states that his weights prove that the tankah was equal to two dams; but I do not draw the same inference. All [that] his weights prove is that some tankahs weighed about 630 grs., and others about 320 grs. He publishes a coin specifically named an *eighth* of a tankah, weighing nearly 40 grs., which brings the tankah to 320 grs., and also *sixteenth* of 38.5 grs., which would make it 616 grs.' (Stanley Lane-Poole, *B.M. Catal, Mughal Coins*, 1892, p. xciii).

So far as the institution of the Karoris is concerned, the point must be decided by the testimony of Abu-l Fazl, who says (*Ain*, loc. cit)., 'zealous and upright men were put in charge of the revenues, each over one karor of dams'. For that

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Badaoni, on the other hand, gives an account quite different, and presumably nearer to the truth than Abu-l Fazl's courtly phrases :

'One *Karor* was named Adampur, another Shethpur, another 'Ayyubpur, and so on, according to the names of the various prophets [Adam, Seth, Job, &c.]. Officers were appointed, but eventually they did not carry out the regulations as they ought to have done. A great portion of the country was laid waste through the rapacity of the Karoris; the wives and children of the raiyats [peasantry] were sold [as slaves] and scattered abroad, and everything was thrown into confusion.

'But the Karoris were brought to account by Raja Todar Mall, and many good men died from the severe beatings which were administered, and from the tortures of the rack and pincers. So many died from protracted confinement in the prisons of the revenue authorities, that there was no need of the executioner or swordsman, and no one cared to find them graves or grave-clothes.

'Their condition was like that of the devout Hindus in the country of Kamrup [Assam], who, having dedicated themselves to their idol, live for one year in the height of luxury, enjoying everything that comes to their hands; but, at the end of the period, one by one, they go and assemble at the idol temple, and cast themselves under the wheels of its car, or offer up their heads to the idol.'[1]

The ordinary histories lavish so much praise on the revenue reforms effected by Akbar and Todar Mall, and on the merits of the imperial administration generally, that it is startling to read a criticism so severe. Although Badaoni had his personal grievances against both Akbar and Todar Mall, and was embittered by the most rancorous bigotry, it is not possible, I think, to disregard his testimony in this matter as being merely the malicious invention of a disappointed courtier and exasperated fanatic. He may be fairly described in those terms, but his statements of fact, when they can be checked from other sources, seem to be usually correct. I fear it is true that the new system of revenue administration must be regarded as a grievous failure, resulting in shocking oppression of the helpless peasantry and cruel punishment of the local oppressors, the wrongdoing on both sides being directed to the purpose of screwing money out of the people, rather than to anything else. The case must remain at that, because no details have been recorded, and verification either of Abu-l Fazl's flattering phrases or of Badaoni's savage denunciation is impossible.

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purpose, therefore, the *tanka* of Badaoni (ii, 192) must apparently be considered as a synonym for the *dam* of Abu-l Fazl, and equal in value to the fortieth part of a silver rupee. Each karori, consequently, was supposed to collect 10,000,000 dams or tankahs÷40=250,000 rupees; or two lakhs and a half, not a very considerable sum, equivalent to about from £25,000 to £28,000; the total amounting to £4,500,000 or £5,000,000 for the 182 jurisdictions, excluding Bihar, Bengal and Gujarat. In Berar the *tankah* was reckoned as equal to eight of that current at Delhi, and other variations existed in other provinces (*Ain*, vol. ii, p. 231).

1. Badaoni, ii, 192, with corrections as on p. vi. The artificial Karoris' jurisdictions were soon abandoned, and the ancient local divisions again became the units of administration, although the term Karori long survived. 'Good men' should be interpreted as meaning 'orthodox Muslims'.

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THE GRADING OF OFFICIALS

In those days Akbar also systematized the grades of official rank and the conditions of promotion. The imperial officials were known as Mansabdars, that word meaning simply 'official', and were classed in thirty-three grades as 'commanders of ten horse' and so on, up to 'commanders of 5,000'. The statement that, in the fifteenth year of the reign (1570-1) Baz Bahadur, the ex-king of Malwa, submitted to Akbar and was content to accept the rank of 'commander of 1,000', is the earliest reference to the existence of the grades of mansabdars in Akbar's reign which I have found. But the title of mansabdar had been conferred by both Babur and Humayun in accordance with Persian precedent. The new arrangements, which had been planned before the war in Bihar, as already mentioned, were actually put into effect in 1575. The clearest contemporary description of the measures then taken is that given by Badaoni as follows :

'It was settled that every Amir should commence as commander of twenty (*Bisti*), and be ready with his followers to mount guard, carry messages, &c., as had been ordered; and when, according to the rule, he had brought the horses of his twenty troopers to be branded, he was then to be made a commander of 100 (*Sadi*), or of more. They were likewise to keep elephants, horses, and camels in proportion to their command (*mansab*), according to the same rule. When they had brought to the muster their new contingent complete, they were to be promoted according to their merits and circumstances to the post of commander of 1,000 (*Hazari*), or 2,000 (*Duhazari*), or even of 5,000 (*Panjhazari*), which is the highest command[1]; but if they did not do well at the musters, they were to be degraded'.[2]

The essence of the system was that Akbar undertook to administer the empire by about 1,600 salaried superior officials directly amenable to himself alone, rather than, as his predecessors had done, through jagirdars, each in possession of a definite fief or jagir, a tract of land administered by him. The new system immensely enhanced the autocratic power and wealth of the monarch, and so was agreeable to Akbar who loved both power and riches.

The titles 'commander of 100', and so on, simply indicated grades of rank and pay. The actual number of horsemen which a mansabdar was required to furnish depended on elaborate rules which were varied from time to time. The ranks above 5,000 were ordinarily confined to princes of the imperial family.

The subject will be noticed more fully in the chapter devoted to the description of Akbar's administrative system.

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1. In the earlier part of the reign none but princes of the blood royal held commands above 5,000. In the 45th year, after the conquest of Orissa, Raja Man Singh was raised to the rank of 7,000. A little later Mirza Shahrukh and Mirza Aziz Kokah were elevated to the same dignity (Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, p. 341). There were nominally 66 grades, but actually only 33 (ibid., p. 238). The number 33 was held specially sacred by the Persians (*J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 448).

2. Badaoni, ii, 193. He gives details of some of the tricks practised, indications of which may also be found in the *Ain*. The author of that work always pretends to believe that every regulation produced the effect intended, and was efficiently administered by officials gifted with all the virtues.

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In this place I desire to emphasize the facts that his system had been formulated in 1573-4 after the conquest of Gujarat, and that it was carried into effect more or less completely in 1575, after the emperor's victorious return from Patna. But it must be clearly understood that the actual execution of the imperial orders was extremely imperfect from first to last, all sorts of evasions and frauds being continually practised with considerable success. Akbar was well aware that he must wink at a good deal of attempted deception. The duties of the mansabdars included civil as well as military administration.

DEATH OF MUNIM KHAN, OCT. 1575 : REVOLT OF DAUD.

We now return to the story of the conquest of Bengal. Although the battle of Tukaroi on March 4, 1575, had been decisive of the fate of the province at the moment, the ill-considered leniency of the terms granted by Munim Khan in April against the advice of Raja Todar Mall enabled Daud to retain the command of considerable forces, and encouraged him to await an opportunity for recovering his independence. The opportunity was not slow in coming.

Munim Khan, Khan Khanan, whatever may have been his merits in earlier life, was at this time a jealous, obstinate old man, about eighty years of age.[1] Muzaffar Khan, who had been in disgrace, but had regained favour at court by harrying rebels in Bihar, and had consequently been appointed governor of Hajipur, with orders to guard the whole territory from Chausa to the pass of Teliya Garhi, was specially disliked by the Khan Khanan. Akbar's support maintained Muzaffar Khan in his position, but the discord between the two commanders weakened the imperialists.

The Ghoraghat region, now in the Dinajpur District, being much disturbed, Munim Khan desired that his headquarters should be near the scene of disturbance. He was also attracted by the fine buildings of Gaur, which he hoped to restore, and for those reasons decided to move his court back from Tanda to the ancient capital. Remonstrances from his officers, who pointed out the poisonous nature of the Gaur climate, were of no avail, and Munim Khan carried out his purpose. In that year an epidemic was prevalent in the eastern provinces—'a strong wind of destruction', as Abu-l Fazl calls it. At Gaur the strong wind 'amounted to a typhoon', and in October swept away Munim Khan with multitudes of his officers and men. 'Things came to such a pass', says Badaoni, 'that the living were unable to bury the dead, and threw them head-foremost into the river.'[2] Pending the

1. For his life see *Ain*, vol. i, p 317, No. 11, But the great bridge of ten arches at Jaunpur which forms his enduring memorial was not built in A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4), as stated by Blochmann on the strength of a chronogram. Six inscriptions on the bridge prove that it was begun in A.H 972 and finished in 976, corresponding respectively with A.D. 1564 and 1568. Beale gives the date, nearly correctly, as A.H. 975 (A.D. 1567). The architect was Afzal Ali Kabuli. The inscriptions are published in full in ch. ii of E. W. Smith and Fuhrer, *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur*, 1889. One of the records is dated A.H. 975. The frontispiece to the work cited is a fine view of the bridge. Munim Khan erected many other buildings at Jaunpur.

2. Munim Khan did not actually die in Gaur. He had moved back to Tanda

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orders of the emperor, the army elected a stop-gap commander, but nobody really competent was available, and the officers thought only of getting out of odious Bengal with their booty as quickly as possible. They quarrelled constantly among themselves and retired into Bihar. It seemed as if Bengal must be lost. Daud, encouraged by the dissensions among the imperialists, did not scruple to break the treaty and reoccupy the country, even including the important Teliya Garhi Pass.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR CAMPAIGN AGAINST DAUD

When Akbar received news of these unpleasant events, he thought at first of sending Mirza Sulaiman, the Badakhshan exile, to Bengal. That prince having declined the offer, the emperor, on second thoughts, made a wiser choice. He selected as Munim Khan's successor, Khan Jahan (Husain Kuli Khan), governor of the Panjab. That officer, who was preparing an expedition for the reconquest of Badakhshan, was obliged to abandon that project and hasten eastwards. He was succeeded in the Panjab by Shah Kuli Khan Mahram, the captor of Hemu twenty years earlier. Khan Jahan, who was vested with full powers, intercepted at Bhagalpur the retreating Bengal officers, and with the help of Raja Todar Mall, who had arrived from the capital, bearing Akbar's instructions, succeeded in bringing the mutineers back to their duty. The strategically valuable pass of Teliya Garhi was recovered, and Daud was completely surprised by the energy of the new viceroy. Khan Jahan established himself at Ak Mahal, afterwards named Rajmahal, in a position strong by nature, and easily defensible, which recommended itself to later governors as the most suitable capital of Bengal.[1] Military operations being hampered by the rains, Akbar sent the necessary funds and supplies to the governor, and directed Muzaffar Khan to reinforce him with the army of Bihar.

The emperor, however, received reports that unless he undertook the conduct of the campaign in person complete success could not be expected. He made arrangements in consequence to take the field, disregarding, as before, the inconveniences of the rainy season.

On July 22, 1576, he had actually started, and had made only one march from Fathpur-Sikri to a village called Birar when Saiyid Abdullah Khan rushed into camp with the news of a great victory and cast down Daud's head in the courtyard of the house where Akbar was lodged.

The messenger reported that the battle had been fought on July 12, and that he had covered the distance between Rajmahal and Birar in eleven days. The unexpected news relieved Akbar from the

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shortly before his decease. The precise nature of the epidemic is not recorded. Badaoni describes the visitation as one of 'various diseases, the names of which it would be difficult to know'. The vagueness of the description suggests that the trouble was due to varieties of malarial fever.

1. Rajmahal (24° 3′ N., 87° 50′ E.) is now a mere village of mud huts in the Santal Parganas District of the Bihar and Orissa province. The ruins of the Muhammadan city, founded in 1592 by Raja Man Singh as the official capital of Bengal, extend for about four miles westward. Jahangir gave it the name of Akbarnagar, which appears on coins and in Persian records. Manrique obtained access to the officials record at Rajmahal.

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necessity of proceeding eastwards. He accordingly retraced his steps and went back to the capital, where uneasiness was felt concerning the proposed expedition at such an unfavourable season.

BATTLE OF RAJMAHAL, JULY 12, 1576

Daud met his fate in this manner. The army of Bihar under Muzaffar Khan, mustering nearly 5,000 horse, effected the junction with the Bengal army under Khan Jahan on July 10. The two generals, after private consultation, resolved to give battle without delay to Daud who was not far off. Khan Jahan, commanding the centre of the imperialists, faced Daud in person; the Bihar army, on the right wing, was opposed by Daud's uncle, Junaid; and the left wing, led by Raja Todar Mall and other officers, encountered Kala Pahar, Daud's best-known general. The battle was fought on Thursday, July 12, near Rajmahal or Akmahal. Raja Todar Mall, as usual, took the leading part in encouraging his sovereign's troops. Junaid, who had been wounded on the previous evening by a cannon-ball, died from his injury,[1] Kala Pahar was wounded on the field, and after a vigorous fight the imperialists won. Daud, whose horse had been bogged, was brought in a prisoner. His end is described by Badaoni as follows :

'Daud being overcome with thirst asked for water. They filled his slipper with water and brought it to him. But, when he refused to drink, Khan Jahan offered him his own private canteen, and allowed him to drink out of it. He did not wish to kill him, for he was a very handsome man; but finally the Amirs said that to spare his life would be to incur suspicions of their own loyalty,[2] so he ordered them to cut off his head. They took two chops at his neck without success, but at last they succeeded in killing him and in severing his head from his body. Then they stuffed it with straw and anointed it with perfumes, and gave it in charge to Sayyid Abdullah Khan, and sent him with it to the Emperor. They took many elephants and much spoil.'[3]

Daud's headless trunk was gibbeted at Tanda.

END OF THE KINGDOM OF BENGAL

The independent kingdom of Bengal, which had lasted for about two hundred and thirty-six years (1340-1576), perished along with Daud, 'the dissolute scamp, who knew nothing of the business of governing'. Its disappearance need not excite the slightest feeling of regret. The kings, mostly of Afghan origin, were mere military adventurers, lording it over a submissive Hindu population, the very existence of which is almost ignored by history.

Bourdillon, when bringing to a close his summary of the story of the Bengal kings, observes :

'As we look back on the scenes which have been presented on the stage, what do we see ? A long procession of foreign rulers, fierce, cruel, alien in race and faith to the people of the country; long periods of unrest, turmoil, and revolution stained with murder and rapine; shorter intervals when the land had rest under a strong ruler, when the war cloud rolled away to the west and when the arts

1. *A. N.* iii, 254
2. Or, perhaps, 'of future revolts'.
3. Badaoni, ii, 245.

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of peace flourished in a prosperous country under a cultured and luxurious sovereign. Of the condition of the masses of the people we get little information : they seem to have been held in quasi-feudal control by the Afghan jagirdars, amongst whom the country was parcelled out, especially along the marches, and to have been the king's serfs elsewhere : in times of peace they seem to have been fairly well off, and many writers speak in enthusiastic terms of the beauty and richness of Bengal : it was described by the homesick Moghuls as "a hell full of good things"; but in war time they suffered unspeakably. Nor do we hear, with very few exceptions, of a Hindu nobility or of the trading and mercantile classes.'[1]

So far as appears the kings of Bengal did little worth remembering, but it is to their credit that they erected a considerable number of mosques and other buildings possessing some artistic merit, though not of the first class.

The government of the imperial viceroys during the time that the empire retained its vigour may have been slightly more systematic and, perhaps, in some respects, better than that of the kings, although it may be conjectured that the unrecorded mass of the people noticed little difference between the two. We know hardly anything in detail about the actual facts, and are not in a position to form a positive opinion on the subject.

THE RESISTANCE OF RANA PARTAP SINGH OF MEWAR

While the Bengal war was in progress Akbar was obliged to undertake through his officers another considerable military operation in Rajputana, where Rana Partap Singh, the gallant son of the craven Udai Singh, continued to offer uncompromising resistance to the imperial arms. The heroic story is best told in the glowing language of Colonel Tod, and is well worth reading in all its fascinating detail.[2] Here some extracts from his immortal pages are all that can be given. They will suffice, it is hoped, to exhibit clearly the course of Akbar's policy in Rajputana and to give some notion of 'the intensity of feeling which could arm this prince [the Rana] to oppose the resources of a small principality against the then most powerful empire of the world'. It is worth while to take special notice of the concluding words in that brief quotation. Students well versed in European history seldom, if ever, realize the fact that the empire of Akbar during the last quarter

1. J. A. Bourdillon, *Bengal under the Muhammadans*, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1902, p. 23. The same author (p. 36) gives a list of the principal buildings at Gaur and Pandua. The latter ruined city lies 20 miles north-east of Gaur.

2. Ch. xi of the *Annals of Mewar* ; pp. 264-78, vol. i, of the Popular Edition, Routledge, 1914. In the quotations the spelling of the names is regularized. Tod writes 'Amar' as 'Umra', and so on. The reader would be confused if his spelling were preserved. In the *Tabakat* Partap is called Rana Kika. That term is explained by Kaviraj Shyamal Das as follows : 'The word *Kika* is the ordinary name by which children are called in Mewar. Another form of the word is *Kuka*. It was customary with the princes of the Maharanas of Mewar to be called *Kika* before ascending the throne. Accordingly Partap Singh was called *Kika* while his father Maharana Udai Singh was alive. Akbar most probably used to call him *Kika*, and thus the Muhammadan historians called him Rana Kika, even after he became Maharana' (von Noer, *The Emperor Akbar*, i, 245 note by translator).

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of the sixteenth century undoubtedly was the most powerful in the world, and that its sovereign was immeasurably the richest monarch on the face of the earth. Proof will be given later that when he died, in 1605, he left behind him in hard cash not less than forty millions of pounds sterling, equivalent in purchasing power to at least two hundred millions at the present time, and probably to much more. Even in 1576 the amount of his hoarded riches must have been stupendous, and none but the bravest of the brave could have dared to match the chivalry of poverty-stricken Mewar against the glittering hosts of rich Hindostan.

THE RANA

'Partap', we are told, 'succeeded [in 1572] to the titles and renown of an illustrious house, but without a capital, without resources, his kindred and clans dispirited by reverses : yet possessed of the noble spirit of his race, he meditated the recovery of Chitor, the vindication of the honour of his house, and the restoration of its powers. Elevated with this design, he hurried into conflict with his powerful antagonist, nor stooped to calculate the means which were opposed to him. Accustomed to read in his country's annals the splendid deeds of his forefathers, and that Chitor had more than once been the prison of their foes, he trusted that the revolutions of fortune might cooperate with his own efforts to overthrow the unstable throne of Delhi. The reasoning was as just as it was noble; but whilst he gave loose [rein] to those lofty aspirations which meditated liberty to Mewar, his crafty opponent was counteracting his views by a scheme of policy which, when disclosed, filled his heart with anguish. The wily Mogul arrayed against Partap his kindred in faith as well as blood. The princes of Marwar, Amber, Bikaner, and even Bundi, late his firm ally, took part with Akbar and upheld despotism. Nay, even his own brother, Sagarji, deserted him, and received as the price of his treachery the ancient capital of his race and the title which that possession conferred.[1]

'But the magnitude of the peril confirmed the fortitude of Partap, who vowed, in the words of the bard, "to make his mother's milk resplendent"; and he amply redeemed his pledge. Single-handed, for a quarter of a century [1572-97] did he withstand the combined efforts of

1. 'Sagarji held the fortress and lands of Kandhar. His descendants formed an extensive clan called *Sagarawats*, who continued to hold Kandhar till the time of Siwai Jaisingh of Amber, whose situation as one of the great satraps of the Mogul court enabled him to wrest it from Sagarji's issue, upon their refusal to intermarry with the house of Amber. The great Mahabat Khan, the most intrepid of Jahangir's generals, was an apostate Sagarawat. They established many chieftainships in Central India, as Umri Bhadaura, Ganeshganj, Digdolli—places better known to Sindhia's officers than to the British.'

The Rajput tradition about Mahabat Khan must be erroneous, because Jahangir says :

'I raised Zamana Beg, son of Ghayur Beg of Kabul, who has served me personally from his childhood, and who, when I was prince, rose from the grade of an *ahadi* to that of 500, giving him the title of Mahabat Khan and the rank of 1,500. He was confirmed as *Bakshi* of my private establishment (*shagird-pisha*)' (Jahangir, R. & B., i, 24.).

Jahangir cannot have been mistaken about a man whom he had known from childhood and who played such an important part in his life.

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the empire;[1] at one time carrying destruction into the plains, at another flying from rock to rock, feeding his family from the fruits of his native hills, and rearing the nursling hero Amar, amidst savage beasts and scarce less savage men, a fit heir to his prowess and revenge. The bare idea that "the son of Bappa Rawal should bow the head to mortal man" was insupportable; and he spurned every overture which had submission for its basis, or the degradation of uniting his family with the Tatar, though lord of countless multitudes.....

'Partap was nobly supported, and though wealth and fortune tempted the fidelity of his chiefs, not one was found base enough to abandon him.....

'With the aid of some chiefs of judgment and experience, Partap remodelled his government, adapting it to the exigencies of the times and to his slender resources. New grants were issued, with regulations defining the service required. Kumbhalmer, now the seat of government, was strengthened, as well as Gogunda and other mountain fortresses;[2] and being unable to keep the field in the plains of Mewar, he followed the system of his ancestors, and commanded his subjects, on pain of death, to retire into the mountains. During the protracted contest, the fertile tracts watered by the Banas and the Beris, from the Aravalli chain to the eastern tableland, were *be chiragh*, "without a lamp".....

'The range to which Partap was restricted was the mountainous region around, though chiefly to the west of the new capital [Udaipur]; from north to south—Kumbhalmer to "Ricumnath"—about eighty miles in length; and in breadth, from Mirpur west to Satolla east, about the same.'

The bards relate that Raja Man Singh of Jaipur (Amber) invited himself to an interview with Rana Partap Singh, and was mortally offended because the Rana refused to receive him in person, or eat with him.

'Every act was reported to the emperor, who was exasperated at the insult thus offered to himself and who justly dreaded the revival of those prejudices he had hoped were vanquished; and it hastened the first of those sanguinary battles, which have immortalized the name of Partap.'

It is not necessary to adduce any particular incident as supplying a motive for the attack on the Rana, who is represented by Abu-l Fazl as deserving of chastisement by reason of his alleged arrogance, presumption, disobedience, deceit, and dissimulation. His patriotism was his offence. Akbar had won over most of the Rajput chieftains by his astute policy and could not endure the independent attitude assumed by the Rana, who must be broken if he would not bend like his fellows. The campaign of 1576 was intended to destroy the Rana utterly and to crush finally his pretensions to stand outside

1. This clause is inaccurate rhetoric. The author (p. 276) comments later on 'the repose he [Partap] enjoyed during the latter years of his life', and ascribes that repose partly to a change in Akbar's sentiments, which did not really take place.

2. 'Komulmer' of Tod; Kumbhalgarh of *I.G.*, situated on a mountain near the western border of Mewar, about 40 miles to the north of Udaipur city.

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of the empire. The failure of the effort caused deep disappointment to Akbar, who was not troubled by any sentimental tenderness for his stiff-necked adversary. The emperor desired the death of the Rana and the absorption of his territory in the imperial dominions. The Rana, while fully prepared to sacrifice his life if necessary, was resolved that his blood should never be contaminated by intermixture with that of the foreigner, and that his country should remain a land of freemen. After much tribulation he succeeded, and Akbar failed.

BATTLE OF HALDIGHAT OR GOGUNDA, JUNE 1576

But the first considerable fight was disastrous to the cause of liberty. The imperialist army, under the supreme command of Raja Man Singh of Amber (Jaipur), assembled at the fortified town of Mandalgarh in the east of Mewar, between Bundi and Chitor. Their march was directed to the fortress of Gogunda, situated in the southern part of the Aravallis, and distant about a hundred miles in a direct line from the place of assembly. Rajput tradition, as reported by Tod, represents Prince Salim as being in command of the Mogul army, which is absurd, the prince being then in his seventh year. Raja Man Singh had the assistance of Asaf Khan (II),[1] and other officers of distinction. The Rana gathered his three thousand horsemen at the pass of Haldighat, on the way to Gogunda, distant from the defile some twelve or fourteen miles.[2] The contracted plain in which the clans mustered is situated 'at the base of a neck of mountain which shut up the valley and rendered it almost inaccessible. Above and below the Rajputs were posted, and on the cliffs and pinnacles overlooking the field of battle, the faithful aborigines, the Bhil[s], with their ["his" in text] natural weapon, the bow and arrow, and huge stones ready to roll upon the combatant enemy.

'At this pass Partap was posted with the flower of Mewar, and glorious was the struggle for its maintenance. Clan after clan followed with desperate intrepidity, emulating the daring of their prince, who led the crimson banner into the hottest part of the field.....But this desperate valour was unavailing against such a force, with a numerous field artillery and a dromedary corps mounting swivels; and of twenty-two thousand Rajputs assembled that day for the defence of Haldighat, only eight thousand quitted the field alive.'[3]

The fight took place in June 1576 close to the village of Khamnaur at the entrance to the pass.[4]

Badaoni, the historian, who was then one of Akbar's court chaplains or Imams, had begged leave of absence to join in the holy war, in which he took part as a follower of Asaf Khan. His description of the battle is the most detailed and accurate extant. He enjoyed

1. Asaf Khan No. II, whose personal name was Khwajah Ghias-ud-din of Kazwin. He had received the title in A.H. 981, about three years before the battle, and must not be confounded with Asaf Khan No. I (Abdul Majid), the conqueror of Rani Durgavati (Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, p. 433, No. 126).
2. Gogunda, variously misspelt as Kokandah, &c., is situated in 24° 46′ N. 73° 32′ E., about 16 miles north-west of Udaipur city. It is marked on the *I.G*, map.
3. Tod, *Annals*, i, 270.
4. *A.N.*, iii, 245.

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himself, in spite of the scorching heat and air like a furnace which made men's brains boil in their skulls. At one stage in the fierce struggle Badaoni asked Asaf Khan how he could distinguish between the friendly and the enemy Rajputs, and was assured in reply that he could not do wrong if he shot, as sportsmen say, 'into the brown', because, as the commander cynically observed, 'On whichever side they may be killed, it will be a gain to Islam.'

Badaoni gladly took the advice, and was soothed by an inward conviction that he had 'attained the reward due to one who fights against infidels'. He also had the pleasure of observing that the son of Jaimall, the hero of Chitor, 'went to hell', and that there was much other 'good riddance of bad rubbish'.[1]

The battle—a ferocious hand-to-hand struggle, diversified by episodes of combats between mighty elephants—raged from early morning to midday, with the result already stated. The enemy lost about five hundred killed. On the side of the imperialists, who narrowly escaped suffering a total defeat, a hundred and fifty Muslims were slain, besides some of their Hindu allies.[2]

The Rana, having been wounded, fled to the hills, mounted on his beloved steed Chaitak, and the victors were too exhausted to pursue him. Supplies fell short and the men had to subsist on either meat or mangoes.

Badaoni had the honour of carrying the dispatch sent by Raja Man Singh to court, and at the same time of offering to the emperor a noble elephant which formed part of the spoil, for which service he was handsomely rewarded. Akbar expressed displeasure at the failure to press the pursuit of the foe, but after a time renewed his favour to Raja Man Singh.

THE LATTER DAYS OF THE RANA

Partap was obliged to retire to a remote fastness called Chaond, and his strong places one by one fell into the enemy's hands. But later he recovered all Mewar, excepting Chitor, Ajmer, and Mandalgarh. During the latter years of his life he was left in peace, owing to the inability of Akbar to continue an active campaign in Rajputana, while necessity compelled him to reside for thirteen years in the Panjab. In 1597 Partap died, worn out in body and mind. His chiefs pledged themselves to see that his son Amar Singh should not forget his duty.

'Thus closed the life of a Rajput whose memory', says Tod, 'is even now idolized by every Sisodia.' 'Had Mewar', he continues, 'possessed her Thucydides or her Xenophon, neither the wars of the Peloponnesus nor the retreat of the "ten thousand" would have yielded more diversified incidents for the historic muse than the deeds of this brilliant reign amid the many vicissitudes of Mewar. Undaunted

1. Badaoni, ii, 237. Mr. Beveridge gives an independent translation, with some small variations of interpretation, in von Noer, *The Emperor Akbar*, i, 247-56. Haldighat is the correct name of the pass, but Badaoni's and Nizamu-d din' s texts give the name in corrupt forms. The name of the town is Gogunda, not Gogandah, as in von Noer.

2. The details of the casualties vary slightly in the different authorities. Badaoni states that half of the Rana's force was under the command of Hakim Sur, a Muhammadan Afghan—a curious fact not mentioned by the other historians.

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heroism, inflexible fortitude, that which "keeps honour bright", perseverance—with fidelity such as no nation can boast, were the materials opposed to a soaring ambition, commanding talents, unlimited means, and the fervour of religious zeal; all, however, insufficient to contend with one unconquerable mind.'

The historians of Akbar, dazzled by the commanding talents and unlimited means which enabled him to gratify his soaring ambition, seldom have a word of sympathy to spare for the gallant foes whose misery made his triumph possible. Yet they too, men and women, are worthy of remembrance. The vanquished, it may be, were greater than the victor.

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CHAPTER VI

CONSOLIDATION OF CONQUESTS; DISCUSSIONS ON RELIGION; RELATIONS WITH JAINS AND PARSEES; ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST JESUIT MISSION; THE 'INFALLIBILITY DECREE' OF 1579

CONSOLIDATION OF CONQUESTS; SUNDRY EVENTS, 1576-7

Some of the matters which occupied Akbar's attention after his return to the capital in July 1576 were dealt with in the last chapter. Certain other manifestations of his untiring energy, directed to the extension and consolidation of his conquests, will now be briefly described. In September he paid his annual visit to Ajmer, being still persuaded of the efficacy of prayer offered at the shrine of the saint. Good news came of successful military operations in Bihar. Rohtas, which had fallen into the hands of the Afghans, was regained, and the fortress of Shergarh in the same region capitulated to Shahbaz Khan.[1] In Rajputana, Sirohi and other places were occupied.

Akbar himself marched from Ajmer towards Gogunda in October, and made many administrative arrangements. His ardent desire to capture or kill the Rana was not gratified. The emperor then advanced farther south into Malwa. Mount Abu and the principality of Idar were seized, and considerable progress was made in asserting effectively the imperial authority over the southern parts of Rajputana. An army was sent towards Khandesh. Raja Todar Mall, who had come from Bengal with good news and 304 elephants, was ordered to undertake the government of Gujarat, where Wazir Khan had been a failure.

About this time (October 1576) Khwaja Shah Mansur of Shiraz, an expert accountant, was appointed temporarily to the high office of Vizier. Beginning official life as a humble clerk, he rose by means of sheer ability to one of the highest offices in spite of the hostility of Raja Todar Mall, who disliked him, and was never content until the Khwaja came to a tragic end, as he did in 1581.

The troops destined for the conquest of Khandesh were diverted to Gujarat in order to suppress disturbances caused by Mirza Muzaffar Hussain, the youthful son of Ibrahim Husain.

Late in 1577 Raja Todar Mall arrived from Gujarat with a party of alleged rebel prisoners, who were executed.

The Raja then resumed his duties as Vizier, and undertook the preparation of various administrative measures.

In November a remarkable comet with a long tail appeared and remained visible for a long time. Its appearance gave rise to the usual popular apprehensions, and was associated in men's minds with the death of Shah Tahmasp of Persia, which had occurred in 1576 and was

1. The Shergarh fortress, now ruined, stands in 24° 33′ N., 84° 48′ E., 20 miles south-west of Sahasram (Sasseram). It was built by Sher Shah.

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now reported. The assassination of his son and successor, Ismail, was believed to be directly due to the influence of the strange visitor to the sky.

In September 1577 Akbar had moved his camp in the direction of the Panjab.

REORGANIZATION OF THE MINT

In December, when encamped in the neighbourhood of Narnaul,[1] Akbar held a special council, at which he settled many matters of business in consultation with Raja Todar Mall and Khwaja Shah Mansur. One important department then dealt with was that of the mint. Up to that time the various mints had been under the charge of minor officials known by the Hindu title of *chaudhari* ('headman' or 'foreman'). Apparently those officers did not possess sufficient rank and personal weight to secure satisfactory administration. A responsible Master of the Mint at the capital was now appointed to exercise general control over the department; the person selected being the eminent painter and calligrapher, Khwaja Abdul Samad (Abdu-s samad) of Shiraz, who bore the honorary designation of *Shirin-kalam*, or 'Sweet-pen', and had been an intimate friend of Humayun. Akbar when a boy had studied the elements of drawing under his tuition. In 1577-8 the artist must have been well advanced in years. The five principal provincial mints were each placed under the management of one of the highest imperial officials. Raja Todar Mall himself was made responsible for the Bengal mint, situated at either Gaur or Tanda; while Muzaffar Khan, Khwaja Shah Mansur, Khwaja Imadu-d din Husain,[2] and Asaf Khan (II) were entrusted respectively with the mints at Lahore, Jaunpur, Gujarat or Ahmadabad, and Patna. On the same day orders were given for the striking of square [*jalali*] rupees.

Silver and copper money was coined at many towns, of which Abu-l Fazl gives a list, far from complete.[3] In subsequent years modifications in the mint regulations were introduced. Akbar deserves high credit for the excellence of his extremely varied coinage, as regards purity of metal, fullness of weight, and artistic execution. The Mogul coinage, when compared with that of Queen Elizabeth or other contemporary sovereigns in Europe, must be pronounced far superior on the whole. Akbar and his successors seem never to have yielded to the temptation of debasing the coinage in either weight or purity. The gold in many of Akbar's coins is believed to be practically pure.[4]

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1. A considerable town, now in the Patiala State, 28° 3′ N., 76° 10′ E., and the reputed birthplace of Sher Shah.

2. I cannot find any other mention of this official. The reference is to *A.N.*, iii, 320.

3. In the early years of the reign gold coins were struck at many places. Later, the gold coinage was confined to four mints, namely, those at the capital, Bengal (? Tanda or Rajmahal), Ahmadabad (Gujarat), and Kabul. Probably in 1578 gold may have been coined only at the six mints named in the text, but Abu-l Fazl does not say so explicitly.

4. For biography of Abdul Samad, or Abdu-s samad, see Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, p. 495, No. 266; and *H.F.A.*, pp. 452, 470. He was a 'commander of 400'

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AKBAR'S FIT OF RELIGIOUS ECSTASY

Early in May 1578, when Akbar was encamped at Bhera (Bihrah, Bahirah) on the Jhelum in the Panjab,[1] an extraordinary event in his personal history took place, which has been so imperfectly described that it is impossible to make out exactly what happened. Late in April he had arranged for a huge battue, or *Kamargha* hunt, in the course of which the game within a circumference of about forty or fifty miles (25 *kos*) were to be ringed in by a multitude of beaters and driven to the slaughter. The complicated arrangements necessary had been in operation for some ten days when they were suddenly countermanded and the hunt was stopped. 'Active men', Abu-l Fazl tells us, 'made every endeavour that no one should touch the feather of a finch and that they should allow all the animals to depart according to their habits.' The same writer who obscures the facts with a cloud of rhetoric, hints that Akbar was on the point of abdication. We are informed that 'he was nearly abandoning this state of struggle, and entirely gathering up the skirt of his genius from earthly pomp'. He was supposed to have attained a state of ecstasy and to have communed with God face to face. 'A sublime joy took possession of his bodily frame. The attraction (*jazaba*) of cognition of God cast its ray.' Those phrases fail to present a clear picture. The author of the *Tabakat* states that the vision came upon Akbar while he was under a tree, the position of which he ordered to be commemorated by the erection of a house and garden on the spot.

Badaoni is slightly more explicit. He says :

'And when it had almost come about that the two sides of the *Kamargha* were come together, suddenly all at once a strange state and strong frenzy came upon the Emperor, and an extraordinary change was manifested in his manner, to such an extent as cannot be accounted for. And every one attributed it to some cause or other; but God alone knoweth secrets. And at that time he ordered the hunting to be abandoned :

"Take care ! for the grace of God comes suddenly,
It comes suddenly, it comes to the mind of the wise."

And at the foot of a tree which was then in fruit he distributed much gold to the fakirs and poor, and laid the foundation of a lofty building and an extensive garden in that place. And he cut off the hair of his head, and most of his courtiers followed his example. And when news

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and his son Sharif attained the high dignity of Amir-il-umara, or Premier Noble, under Jahangir. The best poets, calligraphists, and engravers were employed for the execution of the legends and designs of the more important denominations of coins. Specimens of many denominations, especially of the large gold pieces struck for the purpose of hoarding, are not now extant. The extensive subject of Akbar's coinage may be studied in Ains, Nos. 4-14 of Book I of *Ain;* in Stanley Lane-Poole, *British Museum Catalogue of Mughal Coins*, 1892; H.N. Wright, *Catalogue of the Indian Museum Coins*, vol. iii, 1908; Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins of the Mughal Emperors in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, 1914; and a host of minor publications. See Bibliography, *post*. There is still room for a special treatise or monograph on the subject, which would make a book of considerable bulk and be of great interest to numismatists.

1. Bhera, situated in 32° 28′ N., 72° 56′ E. It was the head-quarters of a *mahal* (*I. G.*).

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of this spread abroad in the Eastern part of India, strange rumours and wonderful lies became current in the mouths of the common people, and some insurrections took place among the ryots [peasantry], but these were quickly quelled.

'While he was at Bihrah (Bhera), the imperial Begam [Akbar's mother] arrived from the capital.'

Her purpose, presumably, was to watch over her son's health. Abu-l Fazl adds that 'about this time the primacy of the spiritual world took possession of his holy form, and gave a new aspect to his world-adorning beauty... What the chiefs of purity and deliverance [meaning apparently "Sufi seers"] had searched for in vain was revealed to him. The spectators who were in his holy neighbourhood carried away the fragments of the Divine bounty.'

Akbar soon returned to the earth. 'In a short space of time he by God-given strength turned his face to the outer world and attended to indispensable matters.'

He gave vent to his religious emotion by the fantastic freak of filling the Anuptalao tank in the palace at Fathpur-Sikri with a vast mass of coin, exceeding, it is said, ten millions of rupees in value, which he subsequently distributed.[1]

That is all we know about the mysterious occurrence. The information is tantalizing in its meagreness, but probably Akbar never gave any fully intelligible account of the spiritual storm which swept through him as he sat or lay under the tree. Perhaps he slept and had a dream, or, as seems to be more likely, he may have had a epileptic fit[2]. No man can tell exactly what happened. The incident was not altogether singular. Somewhat similar tempests of feeling had broken over Akbar's soul before. Abu-l Fazl narrates at immense length a strange story of his behaviour one day in 1557, when he was in his fifteenth year. The boy, we are told, 'felt constrained by the presence of shortsighted men, and began to chafe'. He mounted a specially vicious Iraki horse named Hairan, and rode off, leaving orders that nobody, not even a groom, should follow him. He dismounted, and was supposed to have 'assumed the posture of communing with his God'. Whatever posture he may have assumed the horse galloped away, but luckily it came back of its own accord and allowed its master to mount. There may not be much in that anecdote, but Akbar's own account, already quoted, of the 'exceeding sorrow' with which his soul was seized at the completion of his twentieth year, seems to have been a foretaste of the experience which he underwent in his thirty-sixth year (1578), when, like Dante, he was 'nel mezzo del

1. The identity of the tank has not been established.

2. 'Natura erat melancholicus, et epileptico subjectus morbo' (Du Jarric, vol. ii, p. 498; Bk. ii, ch. 8). There is abundant evidence concerning Akbar's innate melancholy, but I have not met elsewhere the statement that he was epileptic, Du Jarric must have got it from one or other of the Jesuit missionaries. Muhammad, Julius Caesar, and many other eminent men have been supposed by various writers to have suffered from epilepsy, but there is little evidence of the alleged fact in most of the cases. Peter the Great, however, certainly suffered from convulsive fits of some kind. See Lombroso, *The Man of Genius*, London ed., 1891. The presence of the disease 'is quite consistent with a high degree of bodily vigour' (*Encycl. Brit.*, ed. 11).

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cammin di nostra vita', 'in the middle of life's path', and, like the poet, saw a vision, beholding things that 'cannot be uttered'.

Akbar was by nature a mystic, who sought earnestly, like his Sufi friends, to attain the ineffable bliss of direct contact with the Divine Reality, and now and again believed or fancied that he had succeeded. His temperament was profoundly melancholic, and there seems to be some reason to suspect that at times he was not far from the danger of falling into a state of religious mania. His ambition and intense interest in all the manifold affairs of this world saved him from that fate, and brought him back from dreams to the actualities of human life.[1] He was not an ordinary man, and his complex nature, like that of St. Paul, Muhammad, Dante, and other great men with a tendency to mysticism, presents perplexing problems.

EUROPEAN CURIOSITIES

About this time (1578 or 1580 ?) Akbar was much gratified by the return of Haji Habibullah, who had been sent to Goa with instructions to bring back European curiosities and information about the arts and crafts of Europe. The agent had been supplied with ample funds and was attended by a number of skilled craftsmen, who were instructed to copy anything worthy of imitation. The Haji performed his mission to the emperor's satisfaction and brought back many objects of interest. Special admiration was bestowed on an organ, 'like a great box the size of a man, played by a European sitting inside'. The wind was supplied by bellows or fans of peacock's feathers. A company of persons dressed in European clothes, and seemingly including some actual Europeans, arrived along with Habibullah, whose craftsmen displayed their skill in newly acquired arts. Unluckily, the only two extant accounts of the occurrence fail to give any further details.[2]

ACRIMONIOUS DEBATES ON RELIGION

The discussions in the House of Worship were continued vigorously during 1578-9 with increasing acerbity, degenerating at times into open quarrelling. Two parties among the Muslim doctors formed themselves, one headed by Makhdumu-l Mulk and the other by Shaikh Abdu-n Nabi, the Sadr-n sudur. Akbar found it hard to keep the peace, and on at least one occasion lost his temper. Gradually, he was becoming wholly estranged from the faith of his youth, and was directing his energies to the evolution of a new religion, which would,

1. The references for the incident discussed are *A.N.*, vol. iii, pp. 346-8, 353; Badaoni, ii, 261; and *Tabakat* text, at beginning of 24th year as reckoned in that work. The passage in the history last named was not translated by Elliot and Dowson, and I am indebted for the text reference to Mr. Beveridge's note on *A.N.*, iii, 346. The story of the ride on Hairan is told, ibid., ii, 92, and the reminiscence of the completion of the 20th year is in 'Happy Sayings', *Ain*, vol. iii, 386.

2. *A.N.*, iii, 322; Badaoni, ii, 299. The latter author says that the Haji brought the organ 'from Europe'. He, however, did not go beyond the port of Goa. Badaoni seems to date the Haji's return in A.H. 988 (A.D. 1580-1); but Abu-l Fazl apparently places the incident earlier, in 1577 or 1578. His account of the 33rd Ilahi year, running from March 11, 1578, begins on p. 337, fifteen pages after the notice of the Haji's return.

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he hoped, prove to be a synthesis of all the warring creeds and capable of uniting the discordant elements of his vast empire in one harmonious whole. The differences between the two parties of the Ulama, one of whom denounced as heretical notions declared by the other to be the truth, confirmed Akbar in the opinion that both parties were in error, and that the truth must be sought outside the range of their bickerings. He now consulted the adherents of other religions, Hindus, Jains, Parsees, and Christians, and no longer confined himself to the vain attempt at arbitrating between the various Muslim schools of thought. As Abu-l Fazl expresses it : 'The Shahinshah's court became the home of the inquirers of the "seven climes", and the assemblage of the wise of every religion and sect.'[1]

His relations at this period with Parsees, Jains, and Christians will now be described in some detail.

ZOROASTRIAN INFLUENCE UPON AKBAR

Akbar probably found more personal satisfaction in Zoroastrianism, the religion of the Parsees, than in any other of the numerous religions examined by him so critically in his odd, detached manner. The close connexion with Persia always maintained by his family, and his manifest preference for Iranian rather than Mogul (Uzbeg and Chagatai) officers predisposed him to look with a favourable eye on the creed and religious philosophy of Iran.

The fit of religious frenzy which assailed Akbar at the beginning of May 1578 was a symptom of the intense interest in the claims of rival religions which he manifested in 1578-9 prior to the signing of the 'infallibility' decree in September of the latter year. Discussion in his 'parliament of religions' was fast and furious. About that time, probably in the latter part of 1578, the Zoroastrians found their opportunity for giving the emperor further instruction in the mysteries of their faith, with so much effect that he was regarded by many as having become a convert.[2] He is said to have worn the sacred shirt and girdle which every Parsee must wear under his clothes, just as, at a little later date, he appeared in public with Hindu sectarian marks on his forehead and also adopted the use of Christian emblems.

Akbar's principal teacher in Zoroastrian lore was Dastur Meherjee Rana,[3] a leading *mobed* or theologian from Nausari in

1. *A.N.*, iii, 366. The author classifies the members of the assemblage as 'Sufis, philosophers, orators, jurists, Sunnis, Shias, Brahmans, Jatis, Siuras [*scil.* two kinds of Jains], Charbaks [*scil.* Charvaka, or Hindu materialistic atheists]. Nazarenes [Christians], Jews, Sabians [Christians of St. John], Zoroastrians, and others'. The Siuras or Sewras were Svetambara Jains. Yatis are considered to be unorthodox (Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, 1915, p. 233). Akbar does not seem to have known any Buddhist scholars. Abu-l Fazl met a few Buddhists at the time of his last visit to Kashmir, but 'saw none among the learned'. He observes that 'for a long time past scarce any trace of them has existed in Hindustan' (*Ain*, vol. iii, p. 212). The statements in E. & D., vi, 59 and von Noer, i, 326 *n.*, that Buddhists took part in the debates are erroneous. The passages cited really refer to Jains. Abu-l Fazl briefly describes the Charvaka or Nastika doctrine (op. cit., p. 217).

2. 'The sun, the sun ! they rail at me, the Zoroastrian' (Tennyson, 'Akbar's Dream'). Blochmann says that 'Akbar, though a Sufi in his heart, was a Parsee by his rites' (*J.A.S.B.*, part i, vol. xxxvii, N.S. (1868), p. 14).

3. The correct spelling is Mahyar-ji.

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Gujarat, then the principal centre of the Parsee priesthood in India, whose acquaintance he had made at the time of the siege of Surat in 1573, when the imperial army was encamped at Kankra Khari. Even at that early date Akbar was so eager to learn the mysteries of Zoroastrianism that he extracted all the information he could from the Dastur, and persuaded him to come to court in order to continue the discussion. It is not clear whether the Dastur accompanied Akbar on his return to the capital in 1573 or followed him later, but the Parsee scholar certainly took part in the debates of 1578, and went home early in 1579.

His eminent services rendered at court to the religion of his fathers justly won the gratitude of his colleagues at home, who formally recognized him as their head, an honourable position which he held until his death in 1591. His son who succeeded him also visited Akbar. Old Parsee prayer-books of the eighteenth century are extant which include the name of Dastur Meherjee Rana among the most honoured benefactors of the Zoroastrian faith.[1]

Akbar rewarded him by a heritable grant of 200 *bighas*[2] of land as subsistence allowance (*madad-i-maash*), which after his death was increased by one half in favour of his son. The deeds of grants are in existence. The Dastur taught Akbar the peculiar terms, ordinances, rites, and ceremonies of his creed, laying stress above all things on the duty of reverencing the sun and fire. A sacred fire, prepared according to Parsee rules, was started accordingly in the palace and made over to the charge of Abu-l Fazl, who was held responsible that it should never be extinguished.

From the beginning of the twenty-fifth year of the reign (March 1580) Akbar began to prostrate himself in public both before the sun and before fire, and when the lamps and candles were lighted in the evening the whole court was required to rise respectfully. The reverence for artificial lights thus inculcated finds expression in his recorded sayings one of which is : 'To light a candle is to commemorate the (rising of the) sun. To whomsoever the sun sets, what other remedy hath he but this !'[3]

Akbar's devotion to the fire cult partly explains, though it does not justify, the passionate ferocity which he displayed on one occasion in or about A. D. 1603. He was accustomed to retire to his rooms in the afternoon to rest. One evening he happened to emerge earlier than was expected, and at first could not find any of the servants.

'When he came near the throne and couch, he saw a luckless lamplighter, coiled up like a snake, in a careless, death-like sleep, close to the royal couch. Enraged at the sight, he ordered him to be thrown from the tower, and he was dashed into a thousand pieces.'

The imperial wrath fell also upon the responsible officers, though

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1. 'Nausarinum caput, et sedes est, quorundam hominum qui se Persas, et Jezenos vocant, ex Jeze Persiae civitate, genere Gaberaei, quos Lusitani Cuarinos vocant' (*Commentarius*, p. 548).

2. The *bigha* of Akbar was a little more than half an acre, but its exact area is not known.

2. 'Happy Sayings', *Ain*, vol. iii, p. 393.

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in a fashion less terrible.[1] The story is not a pleasant one, but its horror is somewhat lessened if we remember that in Akbar's eyes the offence of the 'luckless lamplighter' was a profanation as well as neglect of duty.

The Parsee propaganda was supported by the zeal of the Hindu Raja Birbal, an ardent sun worshipper from another point of view, and it also fitted in well with the practices of the Hindu ladies in the zenana who had their burnt offerings (*hom*), after the Brahmanical fashion. A few years later (1589) Akbar carried further his compliance with Parsee ritual by adopting the Persian names for the months and days, and celebrating the fourteen Persian festivals. But he stopped without ever reaching the point of definitely becoming a Zoroastrian. He acted in the same way with regard to Hinduism, Jainism, and Christianity. He went so far in relation to each religion that different people had reasonable ground for affirming him to be a Zoroastrian, a Hindu, a Jain, or a Christian[2].

Nevertheless, he could not bring himself to accept frankly any one of the four creeds, however much he might admire certain doctrines of each, or even practise some parts of the ritual of all four. He always cherished his dream of imposing on the empire a new and improved religion of his own which should include the best parts of all those named besides others; and, when at last he felt his throne secure in 1582, the only religion to which he could be said to adhere was that of his personal invention, the *Tauhid Ilahi*, or Divine Monotheism, with himself as Pope-King.[3]

JAIN INFLUENCE ON AKBAR

The potency of the influence exercised by Jain teachers on the

1. Asad Beg, in E. & D., vi, 164.

2. Badaoni, with reference to the time about 1581, goes so far as to say that 'His Majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion' (ii, 267). The statement may be true for that time, when the influence of Aquaviva was strongly felt.

3. The leading authority for Akbar's relations with the Parsees is the excellent and convincing treatise by J. J. Modi, entitled *The Parsees at the Court of Akbar, and Dastur Mehrjee Rana*, Bombay, 1903. The author, who presents many previously unpublished documents in both text and translation, proves conclusively that Akbar's partial conversion to Zoroastrianism was the work of the Dastur from Nausari, begun in 1573 and continued to 1578-9. He deals fully with the testimony of Badaoni (Lowe, p. 268), and other authors; refuting by an absolute demonstration the shallow criticism of R.B. Karkaria in 'Akbar and the Parsees' (*J. Bo. Br. R.A.S.* 1896) Dates render untenable Karkaria's view that the Parsee lore of Akbar was obtained from Ardeshir, a Persian scholar who was summoned to his court at Lahore. Ardeshir, who was sent by Shah Abbas the Great, came for the sole purpose of helping Mir Jamalu-d din in the compilation of a dictionary of old Persian, which appeared in 1608-9, after Akbar's death, under the title *Farhang-i Jahangiri*. His Indian labours extended from 1593 to 1597, many years after Akbar had absorbed all the Zoroastrianism which he was inclined to accept. Modi's conclusions are supported by ample documentary evidence. The essay in the same volume entitled 'Notes of Anquetil du Perron (1755-61) on King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana' adds certain material and interesting details. For life of Mir Jamalu-d din see *Ain*, vol. i, p.450, No. 164 He attained the rank of 'commander of 4,000' under Jahangir. The *Farhang* is described by Blochmann in *J.A.S.B.*, part i, vol. xxxvii, N.S. (1868), pp. 12-15, 65-9. Akbar took a lively interest in the work, which occupied the Mir for thirty years. It is of high value because it gives the explanation of ancient Zoroastrian words.

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ideas and policy of Akbar has not been recognized by historians. No reader of the works of Elphinstone, von Noer, or Malleson would suspect either that he listened to the lessons of the Jain holy men so attentively that he is reckoned by Jain writers among the converts to their religion, or that many of his acts from 1582 onwards were the direct outcome of his partial acceptance of Jain doctrine. Even Blochmann failed to perceive that three of the learned men of the time, as enumerated in Abu-l Fazl's long lists, were eminent Jain *gurus*, or religious teachers, namely Hiravijaya Suri, Vijayasena Suri, and Bhanuchandra Upadhyaya. The first named, the most distinguished of the three, and credited by Jain authors with the honour of having converted Akbar, is placed by Abu-l Fazl along with twenty others, including Shaikh Mubarak, in the first of the five classes of the learned, among the select few who 'understand the mysteries of both worlds'.

In 1582 the emperor, after his return from Kabul, having heard of the virtues and learning of Hiravijaya, ordered the Viceroy of Gujarat to send him to court. The holy man, in response to the viceregal summons, came to Ahmadabad, paid his respects to the emperor's representative, and, in the interests of his religion, decided to accept the imperial invitation. He refused all the costly gifts pressed upon his acceptance, and, in accordance with the rules of his order, started on his long walk to Fathpur-Sikri. The use of a conveyance of any kind by a man of his station would have involved excommunication.

ACTION TAKEN BY AKBAR

The weary traveller was received with all the pomp of imperial pageantry, and was made over to the care of Abu-l Fazl until the sovereign found leisure to converse with him.[1] After much talk upon the problems of religion and philosophy, first with Abu-l Fazl and then with Akbar, the Suri paid a visit to Agra. At the close of the rainy season he returned to Fathpur-Sikri, and persuaded the emperor to release prisoners and caged birds, and to prohibit the killing of animals on certain days. In the following year (1583) those orders were extended, and disobedience to them was made a capital offence. Akbar renounced his much-loved hunting and restricted the practice of fishing. The Suri, who was granted the title of Jagad-guru, or World-teacher, returned in 1584 to Gujarat by way of Agra and Allahabad. Three years later the emperor issued written orders confirming the abolition of the *jizya* tax and prohibiting slaughter during periods amounting collectively to half of the year. The Suri's colleague, Bhanuchandra, remained at court. In 1593 Siddhichandra, who visited Akbar at Lahore, also received an honorary title, and was granted control over the holy places of his faith. The tax on pilgrims to Satrunjaya was abolished at the same time. The temple of Adisvara on the holy hill of Satrunjaya near Palitana in Kathiawar, which had been consecrated by Hiravijaya in 1590, has on its walls a Sanskrit

1. Abu-l Fazl made a careful study of the doctrines of the Sewras or Svetambara Jains, but was unable to obtain equally satisfactory information about the Digambara or nude sect (*Ain*, vol. iii, p. 210).

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inscription of unusual length, which combines the praises of the Suri with those of Akbar, and gives particulars of the emperor's generosity.

In 1592 Hiravijaya Suri starved himself to death in the approved Jain fashion, and on the spot where his body was cremated, at Unanagar or Unnatpur, a *stupa* or memorial cupola was erected.

Akbar's action in abstaining almost wholly from eating meat and in issuing stringent prohibitions, resembling those of Asoka, restricting to the narrowest possible limits the destruction of animal life, certainly was taken in obedience to the doctrine of his Jain teachers. The infliction of the capital penalty on a human being for causing the death of an animal, which seems so unjust and absurd in our eyes, was in accordance with the practice of several famous ancient Buddhist and Jain kings. The regulations must have inflicted much hardship on many of Akbar's subjects, and especially on the Muhammadans[1].

AKBAR'S INVITATION SENT TO GOA

The contribution made to the debates by Christian disputants was an important factor among the forces which led Akbar to renounce the Muslim religion. The strange story of the first Jesuit mission to his court will now be told in outline. The material is so copious that it is not possible to narrate the interesting details in full. The result of the communications with Christians described in the last preceding chapter was that in December 1578 Akbar dispatched to the authorities at Goa a letter in the following terms :

'In the name of God.

'Letter of Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar, king placed in the seat of God.

'[To the] Chief priests of the Order of St. Paul :

' "Be it known to them that I am a great friend of theirs.

' "I have sent thither Abdullah my ambassador, and Domenico Perez, in order to invite you to send back to me with them two of your learned men, who should bring the books of the law, and above all the Gospels because I truly and earnestly desire to understand their

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1. The principal authority used is the article by 'C', entitled 'Hiravijaya Suri, or the Jainas at [the] Court of Akbar', in *Jaina-Shasana*, Benaras, 1910 (Vira Sam. 2437, pp. 113-28). The names of Akbar's Jain visitors, as recorded by Abu-l Fazl in slightly corrupted forms, will be found in *Ain*, vol. i, pp. 538, 547. The viceroy of Gujarat who sent the Suri to court was Shihab Khan (Shihabu-d din Ahmad Khan). For the prohibition of the use by Jain ascetics of any conveyance see Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, Oxford University Press, 1915, p. 211. Mrs. Stevenson's book is the best readable treatise on Jainism. The mention of the abolition of the *jizya* and the pilgrim tax at the instance of the Suri and his disciple proves that the general orders issued early in the reign for the cessation of those imposts had not been fully obeyed, at least in Kathiawar. Such evasion of imperial orders was common in Mogul times. Similarly, English kings repeatedly renewed Magna Carta and other charters, which they habitually violated whenever they got the chance. The great inscription mentioned is No. 308 of Kielhorn's 'List' in *Ep. Ind.*, v, p. 44, App. The text, with a short abstract in English, was printed by Buhler, as No. XII, ibid., vol. ii, pp. 38, 50. 'C' gives the text and an old translation of the relevant portions.

The erection of a Jain *stupa* so late as 1592 is worth noting. No other modern example is recorded, so far as I know. See V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stupa of Mathura*, Allahabad, 1901, a work accidentally omitted from Mrs. Stevenson's bibliography.

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perfection; and with great urgency I again demand that they should come with my ambassador aforesaid, and bring their books. For from their coming I shall obtain the utmost consolation; they will be dear to me, and I shall receive them with every possible honour. As soon as I shall have become well instructed in the law, and shall have comprehended its perfection, they will be able, if willing, to return at their pleasure, and I shall send them back with great honours, and appropriate rewards. Let them not fear me in the least, for I receive them under my pledge of good faith and assure them concerning myself." '[1]

AKBAR'S ENVOY AT GOA

Abdullah, Akbar's envoy, reached Goa in September 1579, and was received with the stately ceremonial ordinarily reserved for the entry of a new Portuguese Viceroy. The wholly unexpected invitation from Akbar excited the warmest interest in the breast of every member of the colony and aroused the most extravagant hopes. The authorities of Goa had sought for years, and sought in vain, to find a way to introduce the gospel into the Mogul empire, which was almost unknown to them except by report. Now, without any action on their part, they found the door suddenly thrown open by the king himself, who not only invited, but begged them to enter. The prospect of winning a king so great and a kingdom so extensive to the glory of the church and the benefit of Portugal was not to be neglected.[2] Although the Viceroy hesitated at first to accept the invitation, his scruples were overborne by the advice of the ecclesiastical authorities, who earnestly recommended that the Fathers asked for should be allowed to go, 'without other securities than those of Divine Providence'. When the question of acceptance had been decided in November, anxious care was devoted to the choice of the missioners, who should be men qualified to take full advantage of the unique opportunity offered.[3] The three Fathers selected were Ridolfo Aquaviva, as head of the mission; Antonio Monserrate, as second in command; and Francesco Enriquez, a convert from Muhammadanism, as interpreter and assistant. They joyfully welcomed the task imposed upon them, and were filled with eager anticipations of the conquest to be won for the Cross.

1. Translated direct from the Italian of Bartoli, p. 14. Maclagan (p. 48) gives another rendering, substantially identical. A third version, from Du Jarric, will be found in von Noer, i, 325. Goldie (p. 54 *n.*) furnishes a fourth, from the Latin of Alegambe's work, entitled *Mortes illustres eorum de Societate Jesu*, &c. (1657). All the versions agree so closely that we may be confident of possessing the correct text in substance. The date of the letter is given by De Sousa. The 'Order of St Paul' is a synonym for Jesuits. Similar letters were addressed to the Viceroy and Archbishop of Goa. Abdullah the envoy may be the Khwaja Abdullah, who was with Akbar in the Sarnal fight. See Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, p. 423, No. 109. Perhaps he may be identified preferably with Sayyid Abdullah Khan a more conspicuous personage, No. 189 of Blochmann.

2. 'Acquisto d' un Re, e d' un Regno guadagnato alla gloria della Chiesa, e all' utile di Portogallo' (Bartoli, p. 10). Political ambition was combined with missionary zeal.

3. De Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, vol. ii, C. 1, sec. 45, as transl. by Hosten in *Commentarius*, p. 544; and Monserrate himself, ibid., p. 547.

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Before we proceed to narrate the story of the mission, it will be well to introduce to the reader the two remarkable men who conducted it, Aquaviva and Monserrate (Monserrat or Montserrat). The third member, Father Enriquez (Enrichez, Henriquez), the converted Persian, was of slight importance.

FATHER RIDOLFO AQUAVIVA

Ridolfo (Rudolf) Aquaviva, a younger son of the Duke of Atri, one of the most influential nobles in the kingdom of Naples, was born in 1550, and, therefore, was Akbar's junior by eight years. His parents were pious people, devoted to the Church and influential in its councils. Ridolfo, from early childhood, exhibited an intense vocation for the religious career, and may be said to have been born a saint of the ascetic type. He made no account of life or the pleasures of life, and a martyr's crown was the one prize for which his soul longed. By sheer strength of will he beat down his father's opposition, and forced an entry into the Jesuit Order. In September 1578, being then twenty-eight years of age, he landed at Goa, as a member of a proselytizing mission, full of enthusiastic zeal. A month after his arrival he had the pleasure of baptizing a score of the attendants of a princess of Bijapur, who had been persuaded to become a Christian. He was appointed Professor of Philosophy, and devoted much time to perfecting himself in the local vernacular called Konkani, until he was selected to be head of the mission. He then applied himself with equal diligence to the study of Persian, in which he rapidly became proficient.[1]

FATHER ANTONIO MONSERRATE

Father Antonio Monserrate, a Catalan Spaniard, was a worthy colleague of the saintly Aquaviva, although a man of a different type. During the visitation of plague at Lisbon in 1569 he had distinguished himself by exhibiting conspicuous zeal and devotion in his ministrations. At Akbar's court his courage did not desert him, and in his attacks on the religion of the Prophet of Mecca he allowed himself to use language so strong that even the latitudinarian emperor was obliged to check him. In 1582 he returned to Goa and continued his missionary labours at or near that city until 1588, when he was ordered to Abyssinia. While on his way he was taken prisoner by the Arabs, who kept him in confinement for six years and a half.

When deputed to Akbar's court he had been appointed by the Provincial of Goa as historian of the mission. He carried out conscientiously the duty imposed upon him, and wrote up his notes each night. After his return to Goa he arranged his materials, and while confined by the Arabs was permitted to complete his literary labours.

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1. Aquaviva's biography is to be read most conveniently in Goldie. The Bijapur princess was a niece of Mir Ali Khan, uncle of Ali Adil Shah, the reigning King of Bijapur. The uncle was kept by the Portuguese as a possible pretender to the throne and a check on their enemy, the king. There can be little doubt that the conversion of the lady and her suit was due to policy rather than to conviction. In the time of Archbishop Dom Gaspar, the Sultan of Bijapur had anticipated Akbar, by sending for priests and Christian scriptures, 'wthout any further good result' (De Sousa, *ut supra*, in Monserrate, *Commentarius*, p. 545).

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He was ransomed in 1596. The third mission was then at court, and Akbar was indignant when he heard that his old friend had been held captive.

Monserrate's principal work, entitled *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius*, which had been long lost, and was not recovered until 1906, is of special importance as being 'the earliest account of Northern India by a European since the days of Vasco da Gama', and also as including the fullest description extant of Akbar's successful campaign against his brother of Kabul in 1581. The author, who was then tutor to Prince Murad, accompanied Akbar as far as Jalalabad on the road to Kabul.

A smaller tract, devoted to a description of Akbar personally, also has been preserved and is now accessible in an English translation. Monserrate's writings dealing with the geography, natural history, manners, and customs of India have not yet been found, but may be hidden in some European library. The map of Northern India which he prepared on the basis of astronomical observations is attached to the *Commentarius*, and is of much interest as the earliest European map of India since the time of Ptolemy and Eratosthenes.[1]

THE MISSIONARIES' JOURNEY TO COURT

On November 17, 1579, the missionaries left Goa by sea, and after calling at Chaul arrived at Daman, a Portuguese port farther north. Thence they marched through Bulsar and Nausari to Surat, the western entrance to the Mogul empire, where they arrived in December. After a necessary halt for nearly a month there they began their journey inland on January 15, 1580. They were accompanied by a caravan of merchants bringing with them China silks and other goods for sale in the interior. The roads were so unsafe in those days that only large caravans could travel with any hope of reaching their destination. A small mounted guard met the travellers on the northern bank of the Tapti. They then marched parallel to the river through Kukarmunda to Taloda in Khandesh, a country town still in existence. There they turned in a north-easterly direction, and, after passing through Sultanpur, now desolate, advanced through the difficult and perilous country of the Satpura hills, infested by wild Bhils and other such tribes. After crossing the Narbada they proceeded to Mandu and Ujjain. On February 9 they reached Sarangpur, now in the Dewas State, where the Fathers had the consolation of saying Mass. Six days later they arrived at Sironj, now in Tonk, and were met presently by a strong escort sent by Akbar. From that point their road ran nearly due north, through Narwar, Gwalior, and Dholpur to Fathpur-Sikri, where they arrived on February 28 (o.s.) after a journey from Surat of a little over six weeks.[2]

1. See *post*, Bibliography, section B.
2. The stages of the journey are detailed by Franciso de Sousa, S.J., *Oriente Conquistado*, i. d. ii, p. 159, as translated by Goldie, pp. 58-61. Sultanpur, in the West Khandesh District, Bombay Presidency, 21° 38′ 20″ N., 74° 31′ 40″ E., was an important town until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when it was ruined by Jaswant Rao Holkar, the Bhils, and famine. A petty village now occupies part of the site, on which traces of buildings remain. Sarangpur (23° 34′ N., 76° 29′ E.),

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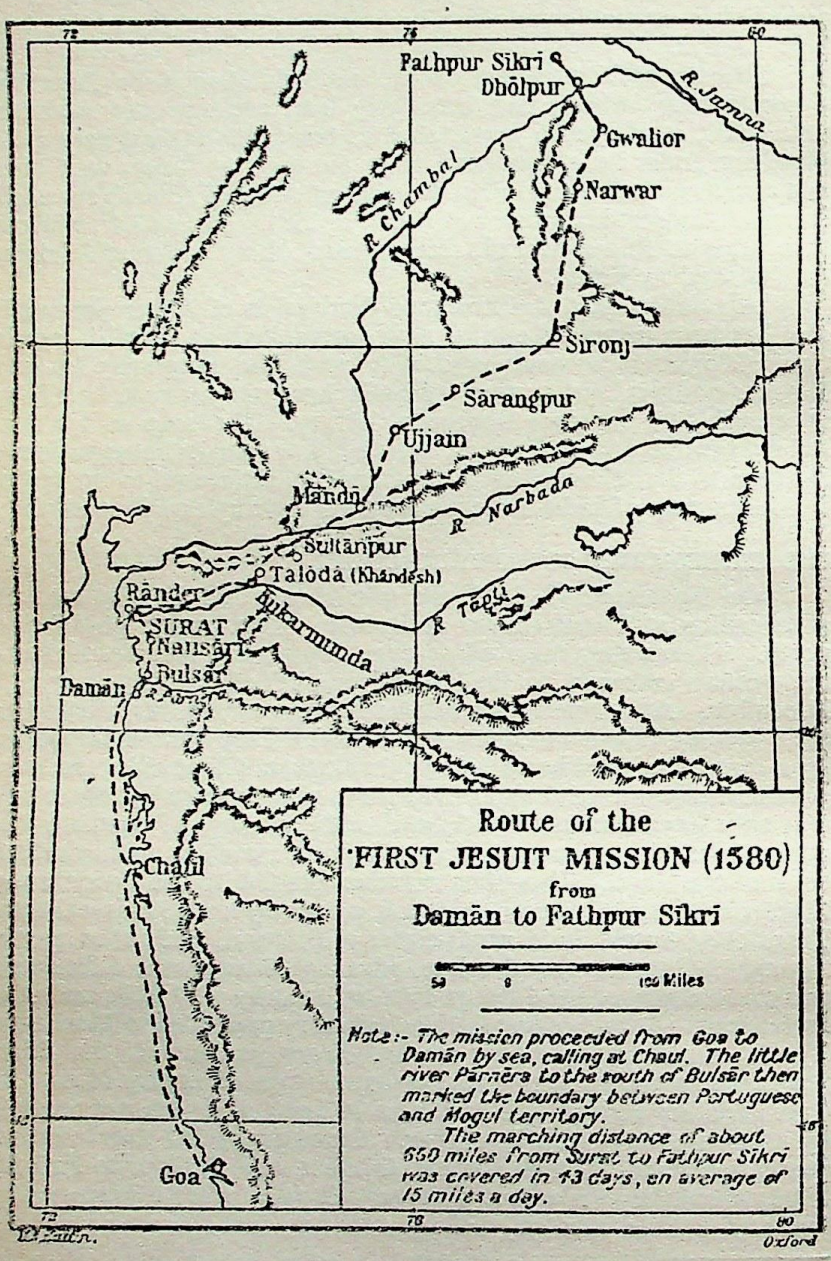

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AKBAR'S RECEPTION OF THE FATHERS

Akbar was so eager to meet his visitors that he had them brought direct to his presence and kept them talking until two o'clock in the morning. He assumed Portuguese costume, and offered them a large sum of money, but the priests refused to accept anything beyond bare maintenance. The interpreter, Dominic Perez, was instructed to attend to their wants. On the following day Akbar again received them in the private audience chamber (Diwan-i Khass), and, on March 3, was pleased to accept the gift of a magnificently bound copy of the Royal Polyglot Bible of Plantyn, printed in 1569-72 for Philip II of Spain.[1] At a later date (1595) he gave back that work with the other European books to the Fathers then at his court.[2] The emperor treated the sacred text with the profoundest reverence, removing his turban, placing each volume on his head, and kissing it devoutly. He also commanded his artists to copy pictures of Christ and the Virgin which the Fathers had with them, and directed a gold reliquary to be made. Afterwards, he visited with every mark of respect, the chapel which the Fathers were allowed to prepare in the palace, and made over his second son, Sultan Murad, then aged ten years, to Father Monserrate for instruction in the Portuguese language and Christian morals. The Jesuits describe the young prince as being very affectionate, of a good disposition, and excellent abilities.[3] The priests were allowed full liberty to preach and make conversions at the capital, and when a Portuguese at court died his funeral was celebrated by a procession marching through the town with crucifixes and lighted candles.

ATTITUDE OF THE MISSIONARIES

The attitude of the missionaries was so uncompromising and fanatical that nothing but the strong protection of the emperor could have preserved their lives. They made no pretence of sharing the sympathetic feeling for the religion of the Prophet of Arabia commonly expressed in these days. A letter dispatched on December 10, 1580, by Aquaviva to the Rector of Goa expresses their sentiments and declares that

'our ears hear nothing but that hideous and heinous name of

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a small town at present, was an important and famous place in ancient times. Further details will be found in Monserrate, pp. 551-9. The date of starting from Surat is as given by De Sousa. Monserrate states it as January 24; but in his account (p. 551 *n.*) there is some confusion of old and new styles. The new style was adopted by the Portuguese Government with effect from October 5/15, 1582 (Nicholas, *Chronology of History* (1835), p 32), and a year later in India. The change in England was made on September 3/14, 1752. The journey to the capital occupied 43 days. Monserrate, it should be observed, calls Gujarat 'Gedrosia'. He describes all the principal places. The Hindu temples everywhere had been destroyed by the Muhammadans (p. 559).

1. Identified by Goldie, p. 63. Maclagan (p. 50 *n.*) erroneously suggests other editions. See *Commentarius*, p. 562.

2. Pinheiro's letter of September 3, 1595; in Peruschi, pp. 60-71, and Maclagan, p. 69. The books included the *Laws of Portugal*, the *Commentaries* of Albuquerque, and sundry theological treatises.

3. 'Molto affettionato.....,di molto buon naturale, & di grande ingegno' (Peruschi, p. 8).

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Mahomet.....In a word, Mahomet is everything here. Antichrist reigns. In honour of this infernal monster they bend the knee, prostrate, lift up their hands, give alms, and do all they do. And we cannot speak out the truth lest, if we go too far, we endanger the life of the King.'[1]

Although they could not utter everything that was in their minds, they said much, and, as already mentioned, Monserrate's freedom gave offence even to Akbar.

As a matter of fact, their presence at court, the marked favour shown to them by the sovereign, and the licence of their language, helped to inflame the discontent which found expression in two formidable rebellions, undoubtedly dangerous to both the throne and life of Akbar. During the course of the early disputations held in Akbar's apartments, certain Muhammadans proposed that the rival claims of Islam and Christianity should be determined by the ordeal of fire. They suggested that a champion of Islam holding a Koran, and one of the priests holding the Gospels, should enter a fire, and that whichever came out unhurt should be regarded as the teacher of truth. Akbar liked the notion, and intimated to the Fathers that he would arrange for their safety, while one of the Mullas, whom he much disliked, would be burnt. But Aquaviva denounced the proposal as being impious and would not accept it.[2] At Easter time Akbar suggested privately that he might arrange to be baptized by travelling to Goa on pretence of preparing for pilgrimage to Mecca. We must now part from the Fathers for a time, and deal with other matters, including some of earlier date.

AKBAR AS PREACHER

At the end of June 1579 Akbar had introduced a startling innovation by displacing the regular preacher at the chief mosque in Fathpur-Sikri and himself taking his place in the pulpit on the first Friday in the fifth month of the Muhammadan year. The address (*khutbah*) usually given on a Friday is composed somewhat on the lines of the 'bidding prayer' used in English universities, and always includes a prayer for the reigning sovereign. Akbar, in order to emphasize the position of spiritual leader of the nation (*Imam-i-adil*) to which he laid claim, availed himself of certain alleged ancient precedents and resolved to recite the *Khutbah* himself. Faizi, brother of Abu-l Fazl and Poet Laureate, produced a sort of *Khutbah* in verse, as follows, which the emperor recited :

'In the name of Him who gave us sovereignty,
Who gave us a wise heart and a strong arm,
Who guided us in equity and justice,
Who put away from our heart aught but equity;—
His praise is beyond the range of our thoughts,
Exalted be His Majesty—"Allahu Akbar !" ' [Great is God !]

To those eloquent lines he added some verses of the Koran, expressing thanks for mercies and favours, and having repeated the

1. Goldie, pp. 77, 78.
2. The story appears in various versions, and the challenge was offered two or three times (due, o tre volte), as Peruschi observes (p. 37). Monserrate gives a full account of the first occasion, early in 1580 (pp. 564-6).

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fatiha, or opening section of the Koran, came down from the pulpit and said his prayers. According to Badaoni, he lost his nerve and broke down but the other historians do not support that statement. He repeated the experiment several times.[1]

Even Abu-l Fazl admits that the innovation was unpopular and aroused much uneasy feeling. Some people said that the emperor wished to pose as the Prophet of the incomparable Deity. Others hinted that he was not unwilling to be regarded as himself sharing in the Divine nature. The use of the ambiguous phrase *Allahu Akbar* gave colour to the most extreme criticisms, and, in spite of Akbar's disavowals, I am convinced that at times he allowed himself to fancy that in his own person he had bridged the gulf between the Finite and the Infinite. His recorded sayings prove conclusively that he rated very highly the kingly position.

'The very sight of kings', he said, 'has been held to be a part of divine worship. They have been styled conventionally the Shadow of God; and, indeed, to behold them is a means of calling to mind the Creator, and suggests the protection of the Almighty.'[2]

His learned and skilful flatterers, Abu-l Fazl, Faizi, and the rest, were only too willing to fill his mind with such notions, and he, after the manner of kings, swallowed flattery with pleasure. Abu-l Fazl vainly tries to deny the patent fact that Akbar regarded with disfavour the Muhammadan religion. Although the emperor did not wholly cast aside the mask of conformity until 1582, his faith in Islam had been completely shaken at least three years earlier. But he always held firmly to the great doctrine of the unity of God.

Before he made up his mind definitely to renounce Islam, he tried to follow a middle path, and to seek peace by constituting himself the supreme judge of all differences between the rival Muslim doctors. When he returned triumphant from Gujarat at the turning-point of his career, Shaikh Mubarak had gratified him by expressing the hope that the emperor might become the spiritual as well as the political head of his people. The hint given in 1573 had never been forgotten by either its author or the sovereign. Six years later, in 1579, the time was deemed to be ripe for the proposed momentous innovation which should extend the autocracy of Akbar from the temporal to the spiritual side, and make him Pope as well as King.

'INFALLIBILITY' DECREE OF SEPT. 1579

Ultimately, at the beginning of September 1579, Shaikh Mubarak

1. *A. N.*, ii. 396; Badaoni, ii, 276; *Tabakat*, in E. & D., v, 412. The version quoted is that in Lowe's tr. of Badaoni. The concluding words may be read as meaning that 'Akbar is God'. Some coins bear legends in the form 'Akbar Allah', which distinctly suggests his claim to divinity. The *fatiha* is this : 'Praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures; the most merciful, the King of the day of judgment. Thee do we worship, and of thee we beg assistance. Direct us in the right way, in the way of those to whom thou hast been gracious ; not of those against whom thou art incensed nor of those who go astray' (Sale). Examples of *Khutbah* composition are given in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*.

2. 'Happy Sayings', in *Ain*, vol. iii, p. 398. Guerreiro (*Relacam*, Spanish tr., ch. iii, p. 16) describes Akbar as being 'so proud and arrogant that he is willing to be worshipped as God'; 'es tan soberuio y arrogate, que consiete ser adorado como dios.'

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produced a formal document in his own handwriting, drafted in such a way as to settle that the emperor must be accepted as the supreme arbiter in all causes, whether ecclesiastical or civil. Probably it was suggested by the information then becoming available concerning the position of the Pope in Western Europe. We need not trouble about the technical discussions which raged round the interpretation of the legal terms, *Mujtahid* and *Imam-i-Adil*. It will suffice to say that Akbar was solemnly recognized as being superior in his capacity of Imam-i-Adil to any other interpreter (*mujtahid*) of Muslim law, and practically was invested with the attribute of infallibility. Both the rival party leaders, Makhdumu-l Mulk and Shaikh Abdu-n Nabi, as well as other eminent doctors learned in the law, were induced or compelled to set their seals to a pronouncement which their souls abhorred. This is the translation of the document, as preserved in the text of both Nizamu-d din and Badaoni.

'Petition

'Whereas Hindostan is now become the centre of security and peace, and the land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers, have immigrated and chosen this country for their home.

'Now we, the principal Ulama, who are not only well-versed in the several departments of the Law and in the principles of jurisprudence, and well acquainted with the edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for our piety and honest intentions, have duly considered the deep meaning, first, of the verse of the Koran :—

' "Obey God, and obey the Prophet, and those who have authority among you"; and secondly, of the genuine tradition :—

' "Surely the man who is dearest to God on the day of judgment is the Imam-i-adil; whosoever obeys the Amir, obeys Thee; and whosoever rebels against him, rebels against Thee";

'And thirdly, of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony: and we have agreed that the rank of Sultan-i-adil is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a Mujtahid.

'Further, we declare that the King of the Islam, Amir of the Faithful, Shadow of God in the world, Abul-fath Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar, Padshah Ghazi (whose kingdom God perpetuate !), is a most just, a most wise, and a most God-fearing king.

'Should, therefore, in future a religious question come up, regarding which the opinions of the Mujtahids are at variance, and His Majesty, in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom be inclined to adopt, for the benefit of the nation and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point, and should issue a decree to that effect—

'We do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.

'Further, we declare that should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it ; Provided always, that such order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Koran, but also of real benefit to the nation; and further,

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that any opposition on the part of his subjects to such an order passed by His Majesty shall involve damnation in the world to come and loss of property and religious privileges in this.

'This document has been written with honest intentions, for the glory of God and the propagation of the Islam, and is signed by us, the principal Ulama and lawyers, in the month of Rajab in the year nine hundred and eighty-seven (987).[1]

COMMENT

That document assured to Akbar, so far as any written instrument could have such effect, the utmost power that any man could claim to exercise within the limits of Islam. The decree had no concern with any other religion. Although it purported to have been devised for the propagation of the Muslim faith, and to recognize the authority not only of the Koran, but of the genuine traditions of the Prophet, yet, as Badaoni truly observes, 'the superiority of the intellect of the Imam was established, and opposition was rendered impossible.'[2]

It may be doubted if the House of Worship remained in use for long after the promulgation of the decree. Wrangling between the rival Muslim doctors became futile when the infallible autocrat could solve any problem at issue by a decisive word. Discussion, no doubt, still continued for years, but it seems to have been conducted generally in the private apartments of the palace, and not at the House of Worship in the gardens. The field of debate was widened, and representatives of all religions were henceforth welcomed.

The pretence or profession of a desire to define and propagate the teaching of Islam was soon dropped, and in the course of a year or two Akbar had definitely ceased to be a Muslim. As early as January 1580, when Aquaviva and his companions were travelling from Surat to Gujarat on their way to the capital, they had met the imperial courtiers, who told the escort that Akbar had forbidden the use of the name of Muhammad in the public prayers.[3] Afterwards he went much farther, and definitely renounced all faith in the Prophet, although he continued to perform occasional acts of conformity for political reasons.

AKBAR'S POLITIC HYPOCRISY

In September 1579 Akbar, although no longer a sincere believer

1. Badaoni, ii, 279. Rajab is the 7th month. The year 987 began on February 28, 1579.

2. The meaning and effect of the decree are absurdly misrepresented by Malleson in the following passage: 'The signature of this document was a turning-point in the life and reign of Akbar. For the first time he was free. He could give currency and force to his ideas of toleration and his respect for conscience. He could now bring the Hindu, the Parsi, the Christian into his councils. He could attempt to put into execution the design he had long meditated of making the interests of the indigenous princes the interests of the central authority at Agra. The document is, in fact, the Magna Charta of his reign.

'The reader will, I am sure, pardon me if I have dwelt at some length on the manner in which it was obtained, for it is the keystone of the subsequent legislation and action of the monarch, by it placed above the narrow restrictions of Islam' (p. 158).

3. De Sousa, *Oriente Conquistada*, ed. Lisbon, 1710, i, ch. ii, p. 160, as cited by Goldie, p. 65 *n*.

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in the efficacy of the prayers of Muslim saints, made a pilgrimage, as had been his annual custom, to the shrine at Ajmer.[1] The date, however, was not that of Muinu-d din's anniversary on which he had been accustomed to go. Abu-l Fazl candidly states that he made this special visit as 'a means of calming the public and enhancing the submission of the recalcitrants'. He never went again, but in the year following (1580) sent Prince Daniyal as his representative.

About this time Akbar, becoming alarmed at the widespread resentment aroused by his innovations, adopted a policy of calculated hypocrisy. When on his way back from Ajmer he caused a lofty tent (*bargah*) to be furnished as a travelling mosque, in which he ostentatiously prayed five times a day, as a pious Muslim should do. A little later, apparently in 1580, he carried his hypocritical conformity still farther. A certain Mir Abu Turab had returned from Mecca, bringing with him a stone supposed to bear an impression of the Prophet's foot. Akbar, knowing well that 'the thing was not genuine', commanded that the pretended relic should be received with elaborate ceremonial. He went out in person to meet it, and helped to carry the heavy stone for some paces on his shoulder.

'All this honour was done out of abundant perceptiveness, respect and appreciation, and wide toleration, in order that the reverence due to the simple-minded Saiyid might not be spilt on the ground, and that jovial critics might not break out into smiles. The vain thinkers and ill-conditioned ones who had been agitated on account of the inquiries into the proofs of prophecy, and the passing of nights (in discussion), and the doubts of which books of theology are full—were at once made infamous in the market of ashamedness', and so on, according to Abu-l Fazl. The make-believe, however, was too obvious to impose on any intelligent person. Indeed, Badaoni expressly states that when the emperor took the trouble of walking five *kos* to the shrine at Ajmer, 'sensible people smiled, and said :—"It was strange that His Majesty should have such faith in the Khwajah, while he rejected the foundation of everything—our prophet, from whose skirt hundreds of saints of the highest degree, like the Khwajah, had sprung." '[2]

We may be certain that the farcical reception of the sham relic must have excited still more outspoken ridicule.

The unworthy hypocrisy which Akbar condescended to practise failed to effect its purpose, and he found himself compelled to meet by force the violent opposition aroused by his rash proceedings.

Early in 1580 he got rid of both Shaikh Abdu-n Nabi, the late Sadr, and his opponent Makhdumu-l Mulk by sending them into exile under the form of a pilgrimage to Mecca. Both were allowed to return, but they did not survive long. Makhdumu-l Mulk died at Ahmadabad in 1582, leaving great riches and valuable books, which were all con-

1. He started early in September, marching leisurely and hunting on the way. He arrived at the shrine about the middle of October (*A. N.*, iii, 405).

2. For the mosque-tent see *A.N.*, iii, 407 *n*. The story of the stone is told, ibid., p. 411. Beveridge discusses in his note the date of the incident, which is placed later by Badaoni (ii, 320). For the remark that 'sensible people smiled' see ibid,. p. 280.

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fiscated. His sons several times suffered torture, and were reduced to abject poverty[1]. Two years later Abdu-n Nabi was murdered[2], presumably in pursuance of secret orders from the emperor. Akbar's hostility was terribly vindictive in some cases.

1. Badaoni, in E. & D., v, 536; Lowe, p. 321. The words translated by Elliot as 'several times underwent torture' are taken by Lowe in a figurative sense to mean 'being some time on the rack of distress'. Inasmuch as the deceased had taken cunning precautions to conceal his wealth, the use of torture is probable.

2. *Ain*, vol. i, p. 273; Badaoni, ii, 32.

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CHAPTER VII

REBELLION IN BENGAL AND BIHAR; THE KABUL CAMPAIGN AND ITS RESULTS; END OF THE FIRST JESUIT MISSION; REBELLION OF MUZAFFAR SHAH IN GUJARAT, ETC.

DISCONTENT IN BIHAR AND BENGAL

Khan Jahan, governor of Bengal, died in December 1578, and after a short interval was replaced by Muzaffar Khan Turbati (March 1579)[1]. Various officers were appointed to assist the new governor as Diwan (revenue department), Bakshi (paymaster, &c.), and Sadr (ecclesiastical and grants department). The offences which at various times had cost Muzaffar Khan his sovereign's favour were blotted out and he was now entrusted with one of the most responsible posts in the empire. Instructions from the court required the officials in Bihar and Bengal to enforce the unpopular regulations concerning the branding of horses for government service, and to secure the rights of the Crown by investigating the titles to *jagir* lands and resuming unauthorized holdings. At that time the imperial Diwan or Finance Minister was Khwaja Shah Mansur, an expert in treasury business, but over-fond of gain, and unsympathetic in temperament. The strict and apparently over-strict enforcement of the orders of the government by the local officials produced violent discontent among the Muhammadan chiefs in Bihar and Bengal. Special cases of severity to individuals increased the ill feeling, and it is said that the officials added fuel to the fire by their greed for money. Particular exasperation was caused by an interference with the local allowances payable to soldiers serving in the eastern provinces. Akbar had directed that the pay of men serving in Bengal should be raised by 100 per cent. and that of those serving in Bihar by 50 per cent. Shah Mansur took it upon himself to order that those allowances should be cut down to 50 and 20 per cent. respectively. The orders to that effect led to irritating demands for the refund of excess payments. In addition to all those material reasons for dissatisfaction, the Musalmans of Bihar and Bengal were profoundly alarmed by Akbar's vagaries in the matter of religion and his manifest alienation from Islam. His policy, represented in theory to be one of universal toleration (*sulh-i-kul*), was resented as being in substance an attack upon the Muhammadan religion. Subsequent proceedings proved that the malcontents were fully justified in their interpretation of the action taken by Akbar, who quickly developed a bitter hatred for everything connected with the name or religion of the Prophet, and allowed his 'universal toleration'

1. Muzaffar Khan had been in Bairam Khan's service. For his life see *Ain*, vol. i, p. 348, No. 37. Blochmann seems to be mistaken in attributing to him the old Jami or Kali mosque at Agra. According to Latif (*Agra*, p. 197), that building was erected by Mirza Muzaffar Husain, the grandson of Shah Ismail of Persia. The life of the Mirza is narrated in *Ain*, vol. i, p. 313, No. 8.

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to be perverted into a toleration of all religions except the Muhammadan on which he lavished insults and outrages. At the time of the rebellion in the east he had not gone so far as he did afterwards but he had already manifested his hostility to Islam, and the officers in Bihar and Bengal had good reason for fearing that he would become a thorough-going apostate. They therefore began to look to Muhammad Hakim, his younger half-brother at Kabul, as the orthodox head of Indian Muslims, and to conspire for placing him on Akbar's throne. The transparently insincere devices adopted by the emperor to keep up appearances as a Muhammadan could not deceive any person of ordinary intelligence. Early in 1580 Mulla Muhammad Yazdi, a theologian who had been in intimate converse with Akbar, ventured to issue a formal ruling (*fatwa*), in his capacity as Kazi of Jaunpur, that rebellion against the innovating emperor was lawful.[1]

REBELLION

The reasons above enumerated, which might be amplified largely in detail, brought about a sudden revolt of influential chiefs of Bengal in January 1580, when Wazir Jamil, Baba Khan Kakshal, and other officers rebelled openly.[2] Dissensions among the imperial officials encouraged the rebels to hope for success greater than their actual strength would have justified them in expecting. Muzaffar Khan, the governor, an arrogant man, was jealous of the Diwan and other officers appointed to help him as subordinate colleagues, some of whom were not men of high character.

In February 1580 Akbar received dispatches announcing the rebellion. He promptly sent Raja Todar Mall and other officers to suppress the disturbances, and attempted to remove the cause of discontent by the issue of conciliatory orders censuring the governor for indiscretion. They failed to effect their purpose. The rebellions acquired added force by the adhesion of Masum Khan of Kabul, jagirdar of Patna, commonly distinguished as 'the Rebel (*Asi*),' a nick-name given him by Akbar, and of his namesake known by the cognomen of Farankhudi. Those officers were largely influenced by the legal ruling given by Mulla Muhammad Yazdi, the Kazi of Jaunpur, that the apostasy of Akbar justified rebellion against him, as mentioned above. Masum Khan of Kabul, who was in communication with Akbar's brother, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, ruler of that province, may be considered the chief leader of the revolt. The royal arms in the early stages of the war were not successful. In April 1580 Muzaffar Khan, who had retired to Tanda, an indefensible place, was captured and killed, 'with all sorts of tortures'.[3] The equipage and treasure of the royal army fell into the hands of the rebels. Akbar dared not proceed in person to conduct the campaign in the eastern provinces

1. Mulla Muhammad Yazdi had shared with two Brahmans and Shaikh Taju-d din the honour of being drawn up to the top of the wall of the Fathpur-Sikri palace in order to hold confidential converse with Akbar (Badaoni, ii, 265-7). He was a bitter Shia.

2. *A. N.*, vol. iii, 417, 428; ch. 50, 51. For biography of Wazir or Wazir Beg Jamil see *Ain*, vol. i, p. 473, No. 290.

3. Badaoni, ii, 290.

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because he rightly felt that the really serious danger threatening him was that on the north-west, where his brother was preparing an invasion in communication with the Bengal insurgents for the purpose of winning for himself the throne of Hindostan. A successful invasion from Kabul, resulting in the occupation of Delhi and of Agra with its enormous store of treasure, would have meant the destruction of the empire which Akbar had built up with so much labour and skill. But if that invasion should fail, the rising in the east might be safely regarded as a mere provincial trouble to be adjusted sooner or later by the imperial officers.[1] Events proved the soundness of Akbar's judgement. The invasion from the north-west was repelled, and the eastern insurrections were suppressed in due course.

SUPPRESSION OF THE REBELLION

Raja Todar Mall was besieged in Mungir (Monghyr) for four months, until he was relieved by the gradual melting away of the rebel contingents. The Teliagarhi Pass, the 'gate of Bengal', was recovered by the imperialists, and the back of the rebellion was broken.

Akbar appointed his foster-brother, Mirza Aziz Kokah, to be governor of Bengal. The Mirza, a man of an insubordinate disposition, had been in disgrace and excluded from court for a long time. He was now recalled to favour, raised to the rank of a commander of 5,000, given the title of Khan-i-Azam, and entrusted with the honourable task of recovering the eastern provinces. Shahbaz Khan was recalled from a campaign in Rajputana, and sent to help the governor, It is evident that at this period Akbar was in a position of imminent danger. He could not afford to leave a noble so influential as Mirza Aziz Kokah sulking, nor could he fritter away strength in minor enterprises.

In order to conciliate the rebels Shah Mansur was removed for a short time from the office of Diwan or Finance Minister, and replaced, as a temporary measure, by Wazir Khan.[2]

Shahbaz Khan inflicted a severe defeat on one section of the insurgents between Ajodhya in Southern Oudh and Jaunpur in January 1581.[3] It is unnecessary to follow the further operations in detail. It may suffice to say that by 1584 the rebellion in both Bihar and Bengal had been generally suppressed. The partial subjugation of Orissa was deferred to a later date. Akbar exhibited his usual politic elemency in favour of several of the prominent rebel leaders, who sometimes abused his leniency and renewed their disloyal conduct.[4]

The Mullas, or religious teachers, who had instigated the insurrection, were sternly punished in an irregular fashion, without trial or public execution. Mulla Muhammad Yazdi, the Kazi of

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1 *A. N.*, iii, 434.

2. For life of Wazir (Vazir) Khan see *Ain*, vol. i, p. 353, No. 41. He was brother of Asaf Khan I, and had been governor of Gujarat.

3. Ibid., p. 486. The fight took place near Sultanpur-Bilahri, 25 *kos* from Ajodhya (Awadh). The neighbouring city of Fyzabad had not been built at that date.

4. Masum Khan Farankhudi was pardoned thrice. Soon after the last public exercise of clemency he was waylaid when returning from the palace at night and killed, probably in accordance with secret orders from Akbar (*Ain*, vol. i, p. 443, No. 157).

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Jaunpur, who had dared to give the ruling that rebellion was lawful, was sent for, along with his colleague, the Kazi of Bengal. Their boat 'foundered' in the river, and sundry other Mullas suspected of disaffection were 'sent to the closet of annihilation', by one way or another.[1] Akbar never felt any scruple about ordering the private informal execution or assassination of opponents who could not be condemned and sentenced publicly without inconvenient consequences. In such matters his action resembled that of the contemporary Italian princes.

'SETTLEMENT' OR ASSESSMENT OF LAND REVENUE

In the early years of the reign, while Akbar's dominions were still comparatively small, the assessment of the land revenue, or government share of the produce, had been made annually on the strength of a rough estimate which was submitted to and passed by the sovereign.

In the fifteenth year of the reign (1570-1) Muzaffar Khan Turbati, then Diwan, or Finance Minister, assisted by Raja Todar Mall, at that time his subordinate, prepared a revised assessment based on the returns made by the provincial *Kanungos*, and checked by ten chief Kanungos at head-quarters.

In the 24th and 25th regnal years (1579-80), the inconveniences of annual 'settlements' or assessments having become apparent, Khwaja Shah Mansur introduced a system of decennial or ten years' 'settlement', the assessment being based on the average of ten years, namely the 15th to the 24th regnal years inclusive, no term of duration being fixed. Abu-l Fazl, who was not a revenue expert, is rather obscure in his description, because he seems to say that a tenth of the total of ten years was fixed as the annual assessment, and then to state that, as regards the last five years of the period above named, 'the superior crops were taken into account in each year, and the year of the most abundant harvest accepted'. But the text is uncertain.

If the best year was taken as the standard, the assessment must have been severe ; while, if Abu-l Fazl may be believed, 'the people were thus made contented and their gratitude was abundantly manifested'. Unfortunately little if any definite evidence exists concerning the actual facts.

Raja Todar Mall was associated with the Khwaja in the imperial commission, but when he was obliged to go eastwards in order to suppress the Bengal rebellion which broke out in January 1580, the whole burden of the work fell upon Shah Mansur, a highly skilled accountant.[2]

TWELVE SUBAS FORMED

About the same time, 1580, the enlarged empire was divided into twelve provinces or viceroyalties, generally known as Subas, and a regular establishment of high officials was fixed for each province. The original twelve Subas were : Allahabad, Agra, Oudh, Ajmer, Ahmadabad (Gujarat), Bihar, Bengal, Delhi, Kabul, Lahore (Panjab), Multan and Malwa. When subsequent annexations took place, Kashmir

1. Badaoni, ii, 285.
2. *Ain*, Book III, Ain 15, in vol. ii, p. 88; *A.N.*, iii, 413.

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was included in Lahore, Sind in Multan, and Orissa in Bengal. The conquests in the Deccan towards the close of the reign added three new Subas, Berar, Khandesh, and Ahmadnagar, bringing up the total to 15.[1]

The superior staff of each province comprised : the Diwan (finance); Bakhshi (pay department, &c.); Mir Adal ('doomster', to pronounce sentence on persons condemned by a Kazi); Sadr (ecclesiastical and grants department); Kotwal (police); Mir Bahr (shipping, ports, and ferries); and Wakia-navis (record department).

The viceroy, who was usually known as Subadar in later times, was called Sipahsalar or Commander-in-Chief in Akbar's day.

The arrangements made by Shah Mansur formed the basis of all subsequent Mogul administration, and have left some trace even to this day.

The tragic fate of the Khwaja in the year following his reforms will be narrated presently.

A.D. 1581, A CRITICAL YEAR

The year 1581 may be regarded as the most critical time in the reign of Akbar, if his early struggles to consolidate his power be not taken into account. When the year began he was undisputed master of all the great fortresses in northern India, and had extended his dominion, east and west from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, and southwards as far as the Tapti river. But the revolt in Bihar and Bengal which had broken out at the beginning of 1580 was still far from being completely crushed. In the course of that year the rebels began to aim at something more than a mere provincial insurrection. They sought for an orthodox Muslim sovereign and plotted to replace the impious Akbar by his half-brother, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, the ruler of Kabul, who was practically independent, although supposed to owe fealty to the emperor of Hindustan. They were not troubled by the thought that the man whom they desired to substitute for their gifted monarch was a drunken sot, cowardly and irresolute, incapable of governing the empire acquired and consolidated by the genius of Akbar. It sufficed for them to know that Muhammad Hakim was reputed to be sound in doctrine. Accordingly, the Masums and other rebel leaders in the eastern provinces conspired with several influential personages at court to invite the Kabul prince to invade India and wrest the throne from its blasphemous occupant. They promised their nominee ample support and a bloodless victory.

The Bengal rebels obviously were at a great disadvantage in being separated from the territories of Muhammad Hakim by many hundreds of miles of country strongly held by Akbar and under his effective control. Their hopes of success rested on two things only, namely, a vigorous offensive in adequate force from Kabul threatening Delhi and Agra, and the seduction of high officials capable of paralysing the imperialist defence by reason of their position. If the conspirators had had on their side a single man of commanding ability

1. The list is as given by Abu-l Fazl in *Ain*, Book III, Ain 15, vol. ii, p. 115. See also *A. N.*, iii. 413.

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they might have succeeded, because Akbar's conduct had excited bitter hostility in the hearts of most Muhammadans of influence, while his Hindu supporters might not have been strong enough to maintain his authority. But Muhammad Hakim was a contemptible creature, wholly incapable of meeting his brother either in statecraft or in the field, and the rebellion in the east failed to produce any leader of real eminence. The court officials who felt inclined to play the part of traitors were dominated by the craft and genius of their master. They were powerless unless the claimant to the throne could justify his pretensions by decisive military success, and that he failed to attain.

Akbar learned at an early date the nature of the conspiracy, and prepared to crush it by a combination of guile with force.[1]

A.D. 1580. TREASONABLE CONSPIRACY AGAINST AKBAR

The leader of the conspiracy at court was Shah Mansur, the Finance Minister, whom Akbar had raised from a humble position as a clerk, in recognition of his exceptional skill in dealing with accounts.[2] Letters from him to Muhammad Hakim were intercepted. Akbar placed the traitor under surveillance for a month and suspended him from office, replacing him temporarily by Shah Kuli Mahram. Steps were taken to scatter the conspirators and prevent them from combining. Akbar then reinstated Shah Mansur, who, however, renewed his communications with Kabul. His correspondence was again seized. Shah Mansur was then finally removed from office and imprisoned.[3]

In December 1580 an officer of Muhammad Hakim named Nuru-d din made a raid into the Panjab, which was repulsed, as

1. The history of the Kabul campaign rests upon the testimony of three authors, all of whom took part in the expedition; namely (1) Father Monserrate; (2) Abu-l Fazl, in the *Akbarnama*; and (3) Nizamu-d din, in the *Tabakat*. Particulars of their works will be found in the Bibliography (App. D). The treatise by Monserrate is entitled to be considered the primary authority, as being by far the fullest account of the transactions, based on notes written up each evening while his recollection of the events was fresh by a learned, able, and conscientious man. He gives numerous material facts not mentioned by any other writer. The *Akbarnama* account, the next in value, is tolerably detailed, but the narrative is disfigured by the author's usual faults, and leaves obscure many incidents clearly related by the Jesuit. Nizamu-d din's abstract of the events is meagre. The principal matter of interest in it is the assertion that Shah Mansur was hanged on the strength of evidence, partially forged. Badaoni, in the main, copies from the *Tabakat*, adding one or two details. The notice of the campaign in Firishta is slight and of no independent value.

Monserrate, Abu-l Fazl, and Firishta agree in ignoring the story about the alleged forgery, and in treating Shah Mansur as a traitor deservedly punished. Badaoni follows the lead given by Nizamu-d-din and amplifies his statement on the incident, which will be discussed more fully in subsequent notes.

As usual the three contemporary authorities do not always agree. Mr. Beveridge has been good enough to send me most of the proof-sheets of volume iii of his translation of the *Akbarnama*, not yet published, which contains the account of the Kabul expedition. The Latin text of Monserrate's treatise, edited by Father H. Hosten, S.J., in 1914, is still practically unknown to nearly all students of Indian history. It has been largely used in the composition of this chapter.

2. 'Xamansurus (hoc enim erat nomen, conjuratorum duci) (*Commentarius*, p. 576).

3. The exact dates of those events do not seem to be recorded, and there is some obscurity about the occasions. Shah Kuli Mahram seems to have taken the place of the Khwaja on one occasion and Wazir Khan on another.

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also was a second inroad under the command of Shadman, who was killed. When his baggage was examined more documents were found incriminating Shah Mansur and other high officials. Mirza Muhammad Hakim in person then invaded the Panjab with 15,000 cavalry. He made overtures to Yusuf, commandant of the northern Rohtas,[1] asking him to surrender the fortress, which were rejected with indignation. The prince then advanced to Lahore, and camped in a garden outside the city, hoping that the gates would be opened to him. Man Singh, the governor, however, was faithful to his charge and refused to commit treason. Muhammad Hakim then retired to his own territory. He had been led on by the counsels of his maternal uncle, Faridun, who was convinced that the country would rise in his favour. Notwithstanding the care taken by the invaders to abstain from pillage, the expectations of Faridun were completely falsified by the event, and not a man stirred to help the Mirza, whose force by itself was obviously inadequate to withstand the might of Akbar. Speedy retreat was imperative. Muhammad Hakim fled in such haste that he lost 400 men who failed to swim across the Chinab.

THE MARCH OF THE ARMY

Akbar, who had hoped to avoid war with his brother, was reluctantly compelled to decide that the time had come to defend his throne by arms. He made his preparations for an advance in overwhelming strength with the utmost forethought and prudence,[2] assembling a force of about 50,000 cavalry, at least 500 elephants, and an unnumbered host of infantry. He advanced eight months' pay from the imperial treasury.[3] His army, which was at least three times more numerous and ten times more powerful than that of his brother,[4] was mustered near the capital.

On February 8, 1581,[5] Akbar marched. As a precaution he took with him Shah Mansur who had been released from custody. The emperor was accompanied by his two elder sons, Prince Salim, then in his twelfth year, and Prince Murad, who was about a year younger. Father Monserrate, tutor to Murad was in attendance, by Akbar's express command. Suitable measures were taken for the administration of the capital, the provinces, and chief cities of the empire. A few ladies of the harem travelled with the camp, which was arranged with well-ordered splendour. The huge multitude, including innumerable camp followers and dealers in every commodity, moved with admirable precision along the great northern road through

1. Now in the Jhelum (Jihlam) District, in 32° 55′ N., and 73° 48′ E. The fortress was built by Sher Shah.
2. 'Bellum Chabulicum quod magna cum animi constantia et miro consilio, Hachimo fugato Zelaldinus [Jalalu-d din] confecit' (*Commentarius*, p. 535).
3. *Tabakat*, in E. & D., v, 421.
4. Bartoli, p. 53.
5. The date, according to Monserrate, was 'sext. Idus Feb.', which his editor correctly interprets as February 8. Akbar formed his camp at Fathpur-Sikri on the 6th, waited there for two days (*biduo*, p. 579) until everything was in order, and actually marched on the 8th. That circumstance explains the statement in *A.N.*, iii, 495, that Akbar 'set off' on Monday, Muharram 2, which undoubtedly was equivalent to February 6.

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Mathura (Muttra) and Delhi. Father Monserrate was astounded at the low prices which prevailed, notwithstanding the immense numbers of men and animals, more especially of elephants.[1] He ascribes the extraordinary plenty to the care and foresight of Akbar, who had personally seen to the collection of supplies. The dealers employed for the commissariat had been relieved from the payment of all dues or customs.[2]

When the camp was in the neighbourhood of Sonpat, Malik Sani, a confidential servant of Muhammad Hakim, arrived and offered his own services to the emperor. The fact that the visitor accepted the hospitality of Shah Mansur, who was already so deeply compromised, was regarded as additional evidence of the minister's treason. About the same time letters purporting to have been sent by Muhammad Hakim to Shah Mansur were intercepted. This third seizure of treasonable correspondence left Akbar in no doubt concerning the guilt of Shah Mansur, who was again arrested.

FEB. 27, 1581. EXECUTION OF KHWAJA SHAH MANSUR

The army then moved on through Panipat and Thanesar to Shahabad, midway between Thanesar and Ambala (Umballa).[3] Near Shahabad Shah Mansur was solemnly hanged on a tree adjoining the sarai of Kot Kachhwaha.[4] The story of this memorable execution is best told in the words of Father Monserrate, who was with the camp, and wrote up his notes each evening.

'The army', he writes, 'arrived at Shahabad, where Shah Mansur, by order of the King, was hanged on a tree, and so paid the just penalty for his perfidy and treason. The thing was done in this manner. The King commanded the officers of the guards and of the executioners as well as certain chief nobles, to halt at that place with Shah Mansur. He directed Abu-l Fazl to expound in the presence of those witnesses the benefits which the King had conferred upon the condemned man from his boyhood. The speaker was further instructed to reproach him with his ingratitude, to denounce his treason, and to prove that Shah Mansur, convicted on the evidence of letters in his own handwriting and in that of Muhammad Hakim, was rightly sentenced to be hanged by order of the King. He was also commanded to urge the criminal to undergo his punishment with a stout heart, accepting it as only his due. He was further instructed to convince those present that the King had planned no injustice against Shah Mansur, and to warn them to abide by their duty.

1. The number of elephants actually with the force was 500 (Monserrate, p. 582), not 5,000 as Bartoli puts it (p. 53). The army comprised people of many nationalities. At that time the strength of the Imperial Service Troops, as distinguished from contingents, was 45,000 cavalry, 5,000 elephants, and an unnumbered host of men on foot. The expeditionary force included part of the Imperial Service Troops, besides considerable contingents, making up the total stated in the text.

2. *Commentarius*, p. 581.

3. Shahabad is now in the Karnal District (30° 10′ N., 76° 52′ E.). The name is disguised as 'Baadum' in *Commentarius*, p. 590. The correct name is given in the *Tabakat* (E. & D., v, 422).

4. 'Ex arbore suspensus', not 'crucified' (lo fece subito mettere in croce, & morire), as Peruschi (p. 23); nor 'impaled', as in Beale. Kot Kachhwaha is named in *A.N.*, iii, 503. Beale gives the date as Feb. 27=23 Muharram, A.H. 989.

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'Abu-l Fazl, as representing the King, performed the above duty to a nicety.[1] When the culprit was dead, they returned to the camp, which was not far off. The King openly testified by the sadness of his countenance that he grieved over the man's fate.

'But by his execution the whole conspiracy was extinguished, and the sword-point was withdrawn from the throats of all who adhered to the King. Throughout the whole camp, the punishment of the wicked man was approved with rejoicing. No internal sedition being now to be feared, Akbar anticipated the successful issue of the war, which he accomplished by the favour of God. Muhammad Hakim, when he heard of what had happened, repented his action and thought of peace.'

COMMENT ON THE EXECUTION

The execution of Shah Mansur has been denounced by writers of authority as 'a judicial murder', or 'a foul murder', and attributed to the machinations of Raja Todar Mall. Neither Father Monserrate nor Abu-l Fazl give any support to such charges. Both authors treat the punishment as deserved and say that it was acclaimed by general rejoicing.[2] The belief that the execution was a judicial murder rests upon the following passage in the *Tabakat* :

'When the Emperor was waited upon at Kabul by the confidential servants of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, he made inquiry into the case of Khwaja Shah Mansur, and it appeared that Karmu-lla, brother of Shahbaz, had colluded with others to concoct letters, and that he had forged the last letter on the evidence of which Khwaja Mansur was executed. After this was discovered, the Emperor often regretted the execution of the Khwaja.'[3]

It will be observed that Nizamu-d din distinctly affirms the forgery of only the *last* set of letters, those seized near Sonpat towards the end of February 1581, which induced Akbar to decide on the execution. Badaoni, whose work was based on the *Tabakat*, extends Nizamu-d din's statement so as to cover *all* the letters, saying that Akbar 'found out that Karamu-llah, brother of Shahbaz Khan, together with other Amirs had concocted all this forgery and deception, and that the last letter also, which had been the cause of his being put to death, was a forgery of the Amirs. So the

1. 'Quod Abdulfasilius, qui Regis personam sustinebat, ad ungeum perfecit' (p. 591). Compare the case of Essex and Bacon, twenty years later.

2. Abu-l Fazl, although not quite so definite in his judgement as Father Monserrate, states as one among the criminal's faults that he lacked 'a little loyalty to the lord of the universe'.

3. E. & D., v, 426. Nizamu-d din evidently believed in the genuineness of the letters taken from Shadman's baggage. He writes : 'When Kanwar Man Singh defeated Shadman, he obtained from Shadman's portfolio three letters from Mirza Muhammad Hakim: one to Hakimu-l Mulk, one to Khwaja Shah Mansur, and one to Muhammad Kasim Khan *Mir-bahr*; all in answer to letters of invitation and encouragement. Kanwar Man Singh sent these letters to the Emperor, who ascertained the contents, but kept the fact concealed' (ibid., p. 422). Hakimu-l Mulk was sent to Mecca for life as being a person 'not to be trusted in matters of religion and faith'. He refused to come back when sent for (Badaoni, p. 293). He was a physician (*Ain*, vol. i, p. 542).

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Emperor was very much grieved about the execution of Shah Mansur.'[1]

After careful study of the various versions of the incident, I am of opinion that in 1580 genuine correspondence passed between the Mirza and the Khwaja. Monserrate's detailed account shows that Akbar was unwilling to take strong action on those documents, and that it was the third discovery in 1581 which induced him to harden his heart and order the execution. The Khwaja was extremely unpopular, and the truth seems to be that his enemies, who were determined to compass his destruction, forged the *last* batch of letters in order to force Akbar's hand. The documents seized on earlier occasions were genuine. I believe that Shah Mansur really had been guilty of sending letters of invitation to Muhammad Hakim in 1580, and that he actually was the head of the treasonable conspiracy, as stated by Monserrate. The suggestion that Raja Todar Mall was concerned in the alleged forgery plot does not seem to be supported by any evidence of value.

Abu-l Fazl suppresses the information about the unpleasant duty assigned to himself, which is known only from the pages of Monserrate.

Akbar's grief appears to have been caused by annoyance at the unnecessary loss of a skilled financier rather than by remorse for a judicial murder. According to Abu-l Fazl : 'The appreciative monarch often uttered with his pearling tongue, "From that day the market of accounts was flat and the thread of accounting dropped from the hand." '

Probably the emperor's unwillingness to punish the traitor was due to his fear of losing the services of an irreplaceable expert more than to anything else. In the course of his long reign he was often obliged to accept the services of men on whose loyalty he could not depend. For instance, he continued to utilize Kasim Khan as being his best engineer, although he, too, had sent an invitation to the Mirza. It is evident that several of Akbar's officers tried to keep on terms with both parties, as English statesmen did when Jacobite plots were being arranged. Akbar relied on himself alone, and was always confident that he could detect treason and defeat it one way or another.

AKBAR'S MARCH TO THE INDUS

After the execution Akbar continued his march to Ambala and Sirhind. On reaching Pael (Payal), the next stage beyond Sirhind,[2] he heard the pleasant news that his brother had withdrawn from the Panjab. The cloud of anxiety disappeared from his countenance, and he gave vent to his high spirits by taking a drive in a two-horsed chariot. The news, however, did not induce him to change his plans. He was determined to pursue his fugitive opponent, and to dictate terms of peace in Kabul.

He therefore marched on, crossing the Sutlaj and Bias by bridges of boats. He avoided the direct main road through Lahore, in order that he might keep close to the base of the hills.[3] He camped at

1. Badaoni, ii, 303.
2. Pael, a mahal of Sirhind (*Ain*, vol. ii, 295; iii, 69).
3. Alexander the Great, when operating at the same rainy season, did likewise.

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Kalanaur, in the extensive and charming gardens which he had caused to be made in honour of the scene of his accession to the throne. The Ravi was crossed by a bridge of boats, but when the army reached the Chinab boats were scarce, and the transit of the whole force in such ferry-boats as were available occupied three days. Yusuf, who had held Rohtas against the invader, gave his sovereign a splendid banquet when the army reached the fortress in his charge. After quitting Rohtas Akbar pushed on towards the Indus.

The ardour of his passion for theological discussion is illustrated by the curious anecdote that at this time Father Monserrate thought it proper to present the emperor with a treatise on the Passion, which excited a lively argument. On arrival at the bank of the Indus Akbar was delayed for fifty days. The construction of a bridge at that season was impracticable, and the passage of the flooded stream could have been easily prevented by a small force of resolute men. The Mirza's reasons for allowing his brother to make his arrangements for the transit undisturbed and to cross without opposition are not recorded.

ADVANCE TO KABUL

The chief officers of the imperial army manifested a mutinous spirit while encamped on the bank of the Indus. For one reason or another, all, or almost all, were unwilling to cross the river, and urged their opinions at several councils of war.[1] Akbar amused his leisure with hunting. Monserrate, as a priest and man of peace, advised Akbar not to press the quarrel with his brother to extremity. But the emperor decided to go on. He sent Prince Murad, accompanied by experienced officers, across first with several thousand cavalry and five hundred elephants. Two days after he had dispatched his young son on his dangerous duty, Akbar characteristically spent many hours of the night discussing with Monserrate a variety of geographical and theological problems. The report of the conversation occupies several quarto pages.[2]

About July 12, Akbar himself crossed the Indus, and was followed in due course by the army which was to accompany him. A standing camp was left behind.[3] Some alarm was caused by the arrival of a messenger who reported a disaster to Murad's force but more accurate accounts received later showed that the young prince had been saved from defeat by the timely arrival of a reserve under the command of Man Singh. Prince Murad, notwithstanding his extreme youth, took part in the fight (August 1), and, jumping down from his horse, seized a lance and declared that he would not yield an inch of ground whatever might happen.[4]

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1. *A. N.*, ch. lxi, vol. iii, p. 522. Abu-l Fazl is more detailed than Monserrate in his account of the councils. He was near losing his life because his enemies falsely accused him of supporting the malcontent officers (p. 527). Akbar ordered a fort to be built at Attock (Atak Benares) (Ibid., p. 601).

2. *Commentarius*, pp. 604-8.

3 He left the main camp with an immense quantity of baggage on the banks of the Indus, and gave the command of that spot to Kasim Khan, in order that he might subdue the refractory spirits there and construct a bridge' (*A.N.*, iii, 523). I understand that the principal standing camp was on the Indian side of the river.

4. *Commentarius*, p. 610. The date was August 1 (*A.N.*, iii, 536).

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Akbar encamped near the junction of the Kabul river with the Indus and waited until all his troops had crossed safely, an operation which consumed much time. He diverted himself by labouring in the workshops, and by renewed debates on Christian theology. He then marched to Peshawar, which had been evacuated and burnt by Muhammad Hakim. While staying there he further gratified his ruling passion by paying a visit to the Gor Katri Jogis, who occupied the building now used as the offices of the tahsildar, or sub-collector.[1]

Prince Salim entered the Khyber Pass in advance of his father, halting at Ali Masjid, and reaching Jalalabad in safety. Prince Murad entered the city of Kabul (August 3), which was abandoned by Muhammad Hakim, who fled into the hills.[2]

Akbar issued a proclamation reassuring the inhabitants, and made his entry into his grandfather's capital on Friday, Rajab 10, corresponding with August 9, 1581. He stayed there only seven days, being anxious to return home, and cherishing hopes that he might be able to manage an attack on Kashmir as an interlude. He was obilged, for the time being, to drop the proposed enterprise against the mountain kingdom, because his army was weary and the season too far advanc-Muhaed.[3]

DISPOSAL OF KABUL; AKBAR'S RETURN HOME

The Muhammadan historians represent Akbar as having restored the government of the Kabul province to his brother directly. But the Mirza had never come in to make personal submission to Akbar, and there can be no doubt that Father Monserrate is correct in stating that the emperor made over Kabul to his sister, the wife of Khwaja Hasan of Badakhshan, when she came in to see him. Akbar informed her that he had no concern with Muhammad Hakim, whose name he did not wish to hear; that he made over the province to her; that he would take it back when he pleased; that he did not care whether his brother resided at Kabul or not; and that she should warn Muhammad Hakim, that in the event of his misbehaving again he must not expect a repetition of the kindness and clemency now shown to him.[4] The orders were recorded in writing. Apparently the lady did not attempt to retain the country in her own charge. She seems to have tacitly allowed the Mirza to resume the government.

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1. 'Eo quidem tempore, exustis tectis, soli cineres videbantur' (*Commentarius*, p. 612). For the 'Gorkhatri' monastery see *I.G.* (1908), xx, 125; *A.N.*, iii, 528. The spelling Gor Katri' is correct. The site is not that of Kanishka's *stupa* (*Ann. Rep. A. S. India*, 1908-9, p. 39 *n.*).

2. Murad's entry is recorded in the *Tabakat*, E. & D., v, 424. The historian Nizamu-d din rode out to his camp, doing 75 *kos* in a day and a night. See also *A. N.*, iii, 538.

3. 'Septem vero diebus Chabuli .....constitit' (*Commentarius*, p. 618). 'A week' (Badaoni, p. 303). 'Twenty days' (*Tabakat*, in E. & D., v, 425). From 29 Amardad to 2 Shahriyur (*A.N.*, iii, 540, 542). That would give only 6 days, even if Amardad was a month of 32 days. For design on Kashmir see *Commentarius*, p. 620.

4. *Commentarius*, p. 618. The lady was own sister of Muhammad Hakim and half-sister of Akbar. Her name is variously given as Najibu-n nisa. Fakhru-n niza, and Bakhtu-nisa. The last form seems to be correct. The variants probably are due to misreadings of bad writing (Jahangir, R. & B., i. 144 *n.*; Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, 322).

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Akbar celebrated his victory by distributing alms to 3,000 poor people at Ali Masjid, and offering up thanksgivings according to Muslim ritual at that place.

But he would not allow the white mosque tent to be pitched. While he was on the outward march and the issue of his enterprise was uncertain he had used it regularly. He never hesitated to show outward conformity with the requirements of Musalman law when he could gain any political advantage by complaisance. The emperor now was able to cross the Indus near Attock by a bridge of boats, the work of his clever chief engineer, Kasim Khan, the builder of the fort at Agra.[1] The other rivers were crossed in the same manner, with the exception of the Ravi which proved to be fordable.

Kunwar Man Singh was placed in charge of the Indus province.[2]

Akbar arrived at the capital on December 1, 1581, and celebrated his achievements by magnificent public rejoicings. The whole undertaking had been completed within ten months. Although the actual fighting was on a small scale, the results won by the expedition were of the highest value.

RESULTS OF THE EXPEDITION : FEB.—DEC. 1581

In February Akbar's life and throne seemed to be in imminent danger. Subtle traitors surrounded his person; rebels disputed his authority in the eastern provinces; a hostile army, led by his half-brother, an apparently formidable pretender to the crown, had invaded the Panjab, threatening the safety of the imperial capital; and no man could tell what might be the result of the struggle between the brothers. The extensive range of the preparations made by the emperor, and the care with which he conducted his advance show that Akbar fully realized the magnitude of the danger threatening him. The execution of Shah Mansur effectually cowed the conspirators at court; the imperial officers gradually curbed the rebellion in Bengal; the personal dread inspired by Akbar's name and character held waverers to their duty; the Hindu chiefs remained loyal; and the overwhelming numerical superiority and equipment of the army employed rendered effective military opposition impossible. Thus, in December, Akbar could feel that he had put all enemies under his feet, that his life and throne were secure, and that he could do what he pleased in religion and all other matters of internal administration. The success of the Kabul expedition gave him an absolutely free hand for the rest of his life, and may be regarded as the climax of his career. His power was now established so firmly that he was able to take extraordinary liberties with his people and to defy criticism with absolute impunity.

FATHER AQUAVIVA; OUTRAGE ON PORTUGUESE

Father Aquaviva, who had been left at Fathpur-Sikri while the Kabul expedition was in progress, had spent his time in the practice of rigid austerities and unsparing mortification of the body. When Akbar had won the campaign he sent for Aquaviva, who fell dangerously ill at Sirhind. But he survived, and had a happy meeting with the emperor and Father Monserrate at Lahore. When he told Akbar

1. *Commentarius*, p. 620. 2. *A. N.*, iii, 545, 546.

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that hostilities between his officers and the Portuguese of Daman were going on, the emperor professed to be shocked at the news. Akbar's policy with regard to the Portuguese at this time was tortuous and perfidious.

As early as February 1580, at the very moment when the missionaries were approaching his court in response to the friendly invitation addressed to the viceroy and other authorities of Goa, he had organized an army 'to capture the European ports', under the command of one of his most trusted officers, his foster-brother Kutbu-d din Khan, with whom the imperial officials of Gujarat and Malwa were directed to co-operate.[1] We learn for the first time from Monserrate how the war thus initiated had been caused, and how, as he puts it, the ordinary obscure quarrels between the Muhammadans and Portuguese developed into avowed hostilities. Quarrels never ceased, because the Portuguese claimed to control the sea and refused to allow any imperial ship to proceed to Mecca or elsewhere in safety unless provided with a pass. Such a position naturally was intensely galling to the emperor and his officers, but their lack of a sea-going fleet and of all knowledge of maritime affairs precluded them from effective remedy.[2]

When Gulbadan Begam was going on pilgrimage in 1575, she had bought the necessary pass by ceding to the Portuguese a village called Butsar, situated near Daman. After her return, when she was no longer dependent on the hated Christians, she directed the imperial officers to retake the village. When they tried to do so they were repulsed with loss. The Portuguese, in retaliation, detained a Mogul ship. At that time the fleet commanded by Diogo Lopes Coutinho was lying in the Tapti near Surat. A party of young men who had landed in Mogul territory for sport, believing themselves to be in friendly country were attacked, and nine of them taken prisoners. They were brought to Surat and executed because they refused to apostatize. Their stout-hearted leader, Duarte Pereyra de Lacerda, deserves to be commemorated by name. The governor sent the victims' heads to the capital as being a presumably acceptable present to his master. The affair became generally known but Akbar pretended not to have seen the heads, and professed regret that hostilities had broken out.

KUTBU-D DIN'S ATTACK ON DAMAN, APRIL 1582

Kutub-d din Khan, acting on the official imperial orders of 1580, assembled an army of 15,000 horse, and cruelly ravaged the Daman territory. On April 15, 1582, when he attacked Daman itself, he was gallantly repulsed by the garrison and navy under the command of Martin Alfonso de Mello, Fernao de Castro and other officers. The Fathers, having been informed of those events, complained to Akbar, who falsely swore that he had no knowledge of the war, alleging that Kutbu-d din Khan, as a senior official of high rank, had acted on his own initiative. The emperor said that he could not well censure his

1. *A. N.*, iii, 409, 410 *n.* The fact, it should be observed, rests on the authority of Abu-l Fazl, not on that of the missionaries.

2. Mr. Radhakumud Mookerji makes the most he can of Akbar's marine in his *History of Indian Shipping*, Book II, ch. ii (Longmans, 1912), but the most is not much.

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viceroy for acts done with the intention of serving the public interest. Nevertheless, when Akbar, yielding to the remonstrances of the Fathers, sent orders recalling his troops from Daman, his commands were obeyed instantly. About the same time a treacherous attack on Diu was defeated by clever stratagem.

The Fathers were disgusted at the clear evidence of the duplicity of Akbar, who pretended a desire for the friendship of the King of Spain, to whom Portugal was then subject, while actually ordering hostilities against the Portuguese. Moreover, their Jesuit superiors had sent urgent letters requiring the missionaries to return, as they did not seem to have any prospects of success. The missionaries themselves were eager to go, being wholly unable to accept Akbar's denial of the facts about the war, and feeling conscious that they were not in a position to do any good.

PROJECTED EMBASSIES TO EUROPE

While still at Lahore the emperor had mentioned to Aquaviva a project for sending an embassy to the King of Spain, accompanied by one or other of the Fathers. He seems to have been largely influenced by a desire to communicate the news of his own conquests to the European powers.[1] After his return to the capital he resumed the subject, and proposed to invite the King of Portugal to join him in a league against the Turks, and also intimated a desire to send an envoy to the Pope. He exhibited much interest in the Pontiff's position, and renewed his theological inquiries. He avowed explicitly that he was not a Muhammadan, and that he no longer paid any regard to the Muslim formula of the faith (*Kalima*). His sons, he remarked, were at liberty to adopt whatever religion they might choose.

Ultimately it was arranged that Aquaviva should stay and take over his colleague's duty as tutor to Prince Murad.[2]

THE LAST OF THE DEBATES ON RELIGIONS

Akbar now resumed for a short time the theological debates, which had been interrupted by the war. One night he assembled in the private audience chamber the leaders of both Muhammadans and Hindus as well as the Fathers, and renewed the old discussions about the relative values of the Koran and the Bible. He said that he wished the controversy to be continued on stated days in order to discover which religion was the truer and sounder. The next evening he held another meeting at which the two elder princes and sundry vassal chiefs were present. But after that occasion the attendance gradually dwindled, until the Fathers alone came. They, too, soon found that it was not worth their while to attend, Akbar being preoccupied with his scheme for promulgating a new religion of his own. In practice he inclined

1. At Jalalabad he gladly received the congratulations of Father Monserrate hoping that he would report to Spain the success of the campaign. 'Est enim gloriae percupidus' (*Commentarius*, p. 619).

2. *Commentarius*, pp. 622, 625-9. The spelling of the Portuguese names follows Father Hosten. 'Ad haec se non esse Agarenum [*scil.* "descendant of Hagar"=Muslim], profess est, nec Mahameddis symbolo [*scil.*, the *kalima*, as on p. 630], quicquam tribuere. .....Se similiter filiis integrum relinquere, ut quam malint legem accpipiant' (p. 628).

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more and more to the observance of Hindu rites and customs.[1] Thus the debates on religions which had begun in 1575 came to an end in 1582. They seem to have been usually conducted in the House of Worship for about four years and afterwards in the private apartments of the palace. In all probability, as has been suggested above, the House of Worship had been pulled down before the Kabul campaign.

ABORTIVE EMBASSY TO EUROPE; DEATH OF AQUAVIVA

Akbar arranged that his envoy to Europe should be Sayyid Muzaffar, with Father Monserrate as his colleague, and that Abdullah Khan, the Persian Shia who had fetched the Fathers from the coast, should not proceed farther than Goa. After many delays the persons so selected started on their long and arduous journey in the summer of 1582. The roads were everywhere infested with robbers, and Monserrate was often in danger of death by reason of Muslim hostility. It would take too much space to relate his adventures in detail. He arrived safely at Surat on August 5, 1582 and learned the painful news that two Christian young men had been executed there on the previous day. The local authorities had rejected an offer of a thousand gold pieces made by the Jain merchants as ransom for the lives of the victims.

Sayyid Muzaffar, who had been forced into the expedition against his will, deserted and concealed himself in the Deccan. Abdullah Khan accompanied Monserrate to Daman and Goa.

A suitable ship not being available that season the authorities at Goa decided that the embassy must wait until the year following. Abdullah Khan, however, never sailed, and ultimately returned to court.

Meantime, Aquaviva had remained at Fathpur-Sikri. But he was thoroughly weary of the Protean changes exhibited by Akbar,[2] and had become sorrowfully convinced that he could do no good by staying on. He obtained his release with much difficulty, and left the court early in 1583, arriving at Goa in May. Two months later he was murdered by a Hindu mob, incensed at the fanatical destruction of their temples by the priests. Akbar was much grieved when he heard the news. Aquaviva and his four companions who perished with him are venerated by members of the Roman Church as martyrs, and were solemnly beatified by the Pope in 1893.

Aquaviva had steadfastly refused to accept from Akbar wealth in any form, beyond the means barely sufficient for meagre sustenance. When leaving he begged as a final boon that he might be allowed to take with him a family of Russian slaves—father, mother, two sons, and certain dependants—who had been among Muhammadans so long as to be Christians in name only. Notwithstanding the strong opposition of the Queen-Mother, Akbar granted his friend's request. 'Those souls', Bartoli observes, 'were the only treasure which he brought

1. Nam cum in dies magis et magis, gentilibus faveret, et eorum postulatione bubulas carnes in macello vaenire prohiberet; indignum esse existimarunt cui Evangelicas margaritas, pedibus obculcandas et proterendas traderent' (ibid., p. 634).

2. 'At vero Rodolfus, tum Regis inconstantiae pertaesus, qui se, in plures figuras quam Proteus vertebat' (*Commentarius*, p. 637).

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back from the Mogul realm to Goa after an absence of three years and a half.'[1]

FAILURE OF THE MISSION TO AKBAR

Thus ended the first Jesuit Mission. It was a failure. Concerning which disappointment Father Monserrate wrote in sadness of heart :

'It may be suspected that Jalalu-d din [Akbar] was moved to summon the Christian priests, not by any divine inspiration, but by a certain curiosity, and excessive eagerness to hear some new thing, or a design to devise something novel for the destruction of souls. Because, if this work had been of God, it could not have been hindered by any inconveniences or obstacles. But, inasmuch as it was not of God, it collapsed and melted away of itself, even against the resistance of the King.'[2]

REVISION OF SADR AND KAZI DEPARTMENTS

Akbar, while on his return march, had been able to devote some attention to matters of internal administration. The importance of the office of Sadr-i sudur as it existed in the time of Akbar's predecessors and in the early years of his reign was explained in a former chapter. As time went on and Akbar's alienation from Islam became more and more accentuated, he watched with ever increasing jealousy the grant of heritable revenue-free lands to Muhammadans, reputed to be specially learned or pious. Such grants were known by either the Turki name of *sayurghal* or the Persian designation of *madad-i maash*, meaning 'subsistence allowance'. The bestowal of grants of that kind after due investigation and on proper conditions was one of the most important duties of the Sadr-Sudur. After the removal of Shaikh Abdu-n Nabi from office in 1578 (986), the post was shorn of its ancient dignity. Now in November 1581, on the day he crossed the Ravi, Akbar abolished it altogether, substituting for the one central dignity six provincial officers, as follow : (1) Delhi, Malwa, and Gujarat; (2) Agra, Kalpi, and Kalanjar; (3) Hajipur to the Sarju or Ghaghra (Gogra) river ; (4) Bihar ; (5) Bengal ; (6) Punjab.

At the some time a head or principal Kazi was appointed for each of the larger cities, to supervise the minor judicial officers. The emperor hoped that these arrangements would check delay, fraud, and bribery, and at the same time benefit the exchequer.[3]

REBELLION OF MUZAFFAR GUJARATI, 1583-91

During the progress of the wars in Bengal and the expedition to Kabul, the province of Gujarat wss much disturbed by the revolt

1. Bartoli, p. 83. The story of the martyrdom is in many books, but is most conveniently read in Goldie. Bartoli gives a list of old books dealing with the subject.

2. *Commentarius*, p. 638.

3. *A.N.*, iii, 546. The account in Badaoni, p. 304, differs. On the office of Sadr see Abu-l Fazl, *Ain*, Book II, Ain 19, with Blochmann's commentary in *Ain*, vol. i, pp. 268-74. *Sayurghal* lands were heritable, and so differed from fiefs for service (*jagir* or *tuyul*). But there was nothing to hinder the sovereign from resuming at will a grant of any kind, and Akbar freely exercised his power in that respect.

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of Muzaffar Shah, the ex-king of that country. He had escaped from surveillance in 1578, and taken refuge at Junagarh in Kathiawar until 1583, when he collected discontented followers of Shihab Khan, the recalled viceroy, and started a formidable rebellion, which lasted for about eight years. When Itimad Khan was appointed viceroy in 1583 he was lucky enough to be assisted by Nizamu-d din Ahmad, the historian, in the capacity of *Bakhshi*, who proved himself to be a most energetic and officient officer. In September 1583 Muzaffar took Ahmadabad, and assumed the title and state of king. In November he treacherously killed Kutbu-d din, the distinguished imperial officer who had surrendered to him, and he occupied Bharoch. The alarming news from the west obliged Akbar to return from Allahabad to the capital in January 1585. He had meantime appointed Mirza Khan (Abdurrahim, Bairam Khan's son), better known by his later title of Khan Khanan, to the government of Gujarat. The pretender was severely defeated by much inferior imperial forces at the battle of Sarkhej near Ahmadabad in January 1584, and again at Nadet or Nanded in Rajpipla. After many vicissitudes he was driven into Cutch (Kachh), where he received support from certain local chiefs. Nizamu-d din inflicted a terrible punishment on their territory by destroying nearly 300 villages and ravaging two parganas. He was then recalled.

Muzaffar continued to give trouble iu the wild regions of Kathiawar and Cutch until 1591-2, when he was captured. He committed suicide by cutting his throat, or any rate was reported to have done so. Abdurrahim got his title of Khan Khanan for his defeats of Muzaffar.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE 'DIN ILAHI', 'DIVINE FAITH', OR 'DIVINE MONOTHEISM'; FANTASTIC REGULATIONS; FOUNDATION OF ALLAHABAD; BEGINNING OF INTERCOURSE WITH ENGLAND, ETC.

ALAU-D DIN KHILJI'S PROJECTED OFFICIAL RELIGION

AKBAR'S long-cherished project of establishing throughout his empire one universal religion, formulated and controlled by himself, was avowed publicly for the first time in 1582. He was so well acquainted with history that it is possible that he may have been influenced by the example of Sultan Alau-d din Khilji, who at the beginning of the fourteenth century had allowed his vanity to be flattered by a similar mad scheme. Although the Sultan contemplated the enforcement of conformity by the power of the sword, while Akbar trusted to the influence of persuasion aided by bribery,[1] the parallel between the two cases is sufficiently close to warrant quotation of the historian's account of Alau-d din's proposal.

'One of the two schemes which he used to debate about he thus explained :—"God Almighty gave the blessed Prophet four friends, through whose energy and power the Law and Religion were established, and through this establishment of law and religion the name of the Prophet will endure to the day of judgement. Every man who knows himself to be a Musalman, and calls himself by that name, conceives himself to be of his religion and creed. God has given me also four friends—Ulugh Khan, Zafar Khan, Nusrat Khan, and Alp Khan—who, through my prosperity, have attained to princely power and dignity. If I am so inclined, I can, with the help of these four friends, establish a new religion and creed ; and my sword, and the swords of my friends, will bring all men to adopt it. Through this religion, my name and that of my friends will remain among men to the last day like the names of the Prophet and his friends."...Upon this subject he used to talk in his wine parties, and also to consult privately with his nobles.'

BOLD PROTEST OF THE SULTAN'S KOTWAL

Alau-d din was more fortunate than Akbar in finding among his councillors one man who had the courage and sense to offer reasoned opposition to a proposition born of overweening vanity.

1. 'But His Majesty was at last convinced that confidence in him as a leader was a matter of time and good counsel, and did not require the sword. And, indeed, if His Majesty, in setting up his claims and making his innovations, had spent a little money, he would easily have got most of his courtiers and much more the vulgar, into his devilish nets' (Badaoni, p. 323). At a later date, as will appear presently, he did spend some money on the propaganda. He disliked expense, except on certain personal whims, if it could be avoided.

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Alau-l Mulk, Kotwal of Delhi, and uncle of the historian who tells the story, promised to open his mind freely if His Majesty would be pleased to order the removal of the wine and the withdrawal of all listeners save the chosen four. The Sultan, tyrant though he was, had sufficient sense to accept the conditions and to allow his faithful friend to say what he thought, as follows :

'"Religion, and law, and creeds ought never to be made subjects of discussion by Your Majesty, for these are the concerns of prophets, not the business of kings. Religion and law spring from heavenly revelation ; they are never established by the plans and designs of man. From the days of Adam till now they have been the mission of Prophets and Apostles, as rule and government have been the duty of kings. The prophetic office has never appertained to kings, and never will, so long as the world lasts, though some prophets have discharged the functions of royalty. My advice is that Your Majesty should never talk about these matters...Your Majesty knows what rivers of blood Changiz Khan made to flow in Muhammadan cities, but he never was able to establish the Mughal religion or institutions among Muhammadans.[1] Many Mughals have turned Musalmans, but no Musalman has ever become a Mughal."

'The Sultan listened. and hung down his head in thought. His four friends heartily approved what Alau-l Mulk had said, and looked anxiously for the Sultan's answer. After a while he said,... "From henceforth no one shall ever hear me speak such words. Blessings be on thee and thy parents, for thou hast spoken the truth and hast been loyal to thy duty." '[2]

The incident is creditable alike to the councillor and to the Sultan. Akbar had not one friend equally faithful, unless the Jesuit Aquaviva be excepted, and he was not allowed a voice in the matter. Nor did Akbar listen kindly to unwelcome criticism of his claims to be the spiritual guide of his people. Men who ventured to express opinions contrary to his fancies in religious matters usually suffered for their honesty, and sometimes even unto death.

COUNCIL FOR PROMULGATION OF AKBAR'S OFFICIAL RELIGION

The best account of the formal promulgation of Akbar's political religion is that given by the Jesuit author, Bartoli, on the authority of his missionary brethren. He writes :

'Akbar, after his return from Kabul, feeling himself free from the great terror due to fears concerning the fidelity of his vassals and anxiety about the rebels in Gujarat,[3] began to bring

1. In the thirteenth century the State religion of the Mongol Khans was Shamanism, which is defined as 'a name applied loosely to the religion of the Turanian races of Siberia and north-eastern Asia, based essentially on magic and sorcery... The Siberian Shaman works his cures by magic, and averts sickness and death by incantations' (Chambers's *Encyclop.* (1906), s.v. Shamanism). Monserrate, following Rodericus Gonsalvius, believed that the Mongol religion practised by Timur in his youth, before his conversion to Islam, consisted in the adoration of the sun, moon, stars, and fire (*Commentarius*, p. 699).

2. *Tarikh-i Firoz Shah*, in E. & D., iii, 168, 169.

3. In Bengal, rather than in Gujarat, where the trouble was of later date (1583).

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openly into operation the plan which he had long secretly cherished in his mind. That was to make himself the founder and head of a new religion, compounded out of various elements, taken partly from the Koran of Muhammad, partly from the scriptures of the Brahmans, and to a certain extent, as far as suited his purpose. from the Gospel of Christ.

'In order to do that he summoned a General Council, and invited to it all the masters of learning and the military commandants of the cities round about ; excluding only Father Ridolfo, whom it was vain to expect to be other than hostile to his sacrilegious purpose—a fact of which more than enough proof had been given already.

'When he had them all assembled in front of him, he spoke in a spirit of astute and knavish [*malvagio*] policy, saying :—

' "For an empire ruled by one head it was a bad thing to have the members divided among themselves and at variance one with the other. That is to say, he referred to the discord between the many kinds of [religious] laws observed in the Moghul territory ; some being not only different from, but hostile to others ; whence it came about that there are as many factions as there are religions.

' "We ought, therefore, to bring them all into one, but in such fashion that they should be both 'one' and 'all' ; with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion while gaining whatever is better in another. In that way, honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the peoples, and security to the empire.

' "Now, let those who are present express their considered opinion ; because he would not move until they had spoken."

'Thus he spake ; and the men of note, especially the commandants, who had no God other than the King, and no law other than his will, all with one voice replied, "Yes ; inasmuch as he who was nearer to heaven, both by reason of his office and by reason of his lofty intellect, should prescribe for the whole empire gods, ceremonies, sacrifices, mysteries, rules, solemnities, and whatever else was required to constitute one perfect and universal religion."

'The business being thus closed, the King sent one of the Shaikhs, a most distinguished old man,[1] to proclaim in all quarters that in a short time the [religious] law to be professed throughout the Mogul empire would be sent from the Court ; and that they should make themselves ready to take it for the best, and accept it with reverence, whatever it might be.'

PROTEST BY RAJA BHAGWAN DAS

That account asserts that the resolution of the Council was passed unanimously, but we learn from Badaoni, who probably was present, that one feeble dissentient voice was heard, although

1. No doubt Abu-l Fazl's father, Shaikh Mubarak, who lived until 1593. Bartoli, pp. 75-7.

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the speaker failed to argue the matter out in a manly way, as Alau-l Mulk had done with the fierce Sultan nearly three centuries earlier.

'At a council held for the renovating of the religion of the empire, Rajah Bhagwan Das said :—"I would willingly believe that Hindus and Musalmans have each a bad religion, but only tell us what the new sect is and what opinion they hold, so that I may believe." His Majesty reflected a little and ceased to urge the Rajah. But the alteration of the decisions of our glorious Faith was continued. And "the innovation of heresy" (*ihdas i bid'at*) was found to give the date.'[1]

The interesting fact that a formal council was held to sanction the promulgation of the proposed new religion is known from the testimony of Bartoli and Badaoni only, and has escaped the notice of modern authors. We know nothing about the missionary tour assigned to Shaikh Mubarak and presumably undertaken by him. It is certain, however, that the success attained by the propaganda was very small.

PROTEST BY KUNWAR MAN SINGH

Some years later, Kunwar Man Singh. adopted son of Raja Bhagwan Das, practically repeated his father's sentiments. For the report of that incident also we are indebted to Badaoni, who says, under date December 1, 1587, when Man Singh had just been appointed to the government of the eastern provinces of Bihar, Hajipur, and Patna, that Akbar was sharing a 'cup of friendship' with the Khan Khanan and Man Singh.

'His Majesty brought up the subject of "Discipleship", and proceeded to test Man Singh. He said without any ceremony :—

' "If Discipleship means willingness to sacrifice one's life, I have already carried my life in my hand : what need is there of further proof ? If, however, the term has another meaning and refers to Faith, I certainly am a Hindu. If you order me to do so, I will become a Musalman, but I know not of the existence of any other religion than these two."

'At this point the matter stopped, and the emperor did not question him any further, but sent him to Bengal.'[2]

That anecdote shows that even four or five years after the promulgation of the new religion so-called a good deal of uncertainty as to its meaning still existed.

ASSERTION OF AKBAR'S SPIRITUAL SUPREMACY

The truth is that Akbar's pretended 'religion' consisted essentially in the assertion of his personal supremacy over things spiritual as well as things temporal. Its 'onely begetter' was Shaikh Mubarak, who, when Akbar came home in 1573 after the victorious campaign in Gujarat, had greeted his sovereign with the expression of the

1. Transl. by Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, p. 198; and by Lowe, p. 323. Lowe followed his predecessor without material change.
2. Badaoni, p. 375. Lowe's version agrees with Blochmann's.

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wish that he should become the spiritual as well as the temporal guide of his people. The idea germinated in Akbar's mind, but its development was hindered by wars and other exigencies. In September 1579 the emperor acted on Mubarak's hint, and assumed the primacy of the Muslim faithful by means of the 'infallibility decree.' At that time he kept professedly within the limits of Islam, and gave at least lip-service to the authority of the Koran and tradition. He still went on pilgrimage, and was in many respects a conforming Musalman. But in his heart he had rejected Islam, Prophet, Koran, tradition and all. As early as the beginning of 1580, the Fathers, when on their way to the capital, were told that the use of the name of Muhammad in the public prayers had been prohibited ; and during the course of that year 'the four degrees of devotion to His Majesty were defined. The four degrees consisted in readiness to sacrifice to the Emperor, Property, Life, Honour and Religion. Whoever had sacrificed these four things possessed the four degrees ; and whoever had sacrificed one of these four possessed one degree. All the courtiers now put down their names as faithful disciples of the Throne.'[1]

In a passage preceding the account of the 'infallibility decree' of September 1579, Badaoni states that 'in these days, when reproach began to spread upon the doctrines of Islam, and all questions relating thereto.....base and low men of the higher and lower classes, having accepted the collar of spiritual obedience upon their necks, professed themselves his disciples. They became his disciples through the motives of hope and fear, and the word of truth could not proceed out of their mouths.'[2]

AKBAR TOTALLY REJECTED ISLAM

Abu-l Fazl and certain Muhammadan authors in modern times have tried to make out that Akbar always continued to be a Muslim, although it is admitted that he discarded the ceremonial of the Prophet's religion. They regard his 'Divine Faith' or 'Divine Monotheism' (*Din* or *Tauhid Ilahi*) as being a mere reformed sect of Islam.[3] That opinion is erroneous and opposed to a mass of evidence.

I see no reason whatever to disbelieve Badaoni's statement referring to a time about A. D. 1592, when he says :

'Ten or twelve years later things had come to such a pass that abandoned wretches, such as Mirza Jani, Governor of Tattah, and other apostates, wrote their confession to the following effect—this is the form :—

"'I, who am so and so, son of so and so, do *voluntarily, and with sincere predilection and inclination, utterly and entirely renounce and repudiate the religion of Islam* which I have seen and heard of my fathers, and do embrace the 'Divine Religion' of Akbar Shah,

1. Badaoni, p. 299. The date is fixed by the following paragraph which refers to Muharram 989 (February, 1581).
2. Ibid., p. 277; Blochmann, in *Ain*, vol. i, p. 185, with some variation, but nearly the same sense.
3. E.g. Mr. Yusuf Ali in *J. of E. I. Assoc.*, July 1915, p. 304.

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and do accept the four grades of entire devotion, viz., sacrifice of Property, Life, Honour, *and Religion.*"

'And these lines—than which there could be no better passport to damnation—were handed over to the Mujtahid [*scil.* Abu-l Fazl] of the new religion, and became the source of confidence and promotion,'[1]

The Jesuit letters are full of emphatic expressions showing that both at the time of the First Mission (1580-3) and that of the Third Mission (1595 to end of reign) Akbar was not a Muslim. He not only rejected the revelation of Muhammad, but hated the very name of the Prophet. While it would be tiresome to cite all the relevant passages, two brief quotations from the Jesuit writers may be given. Peruschi, writing on the basis of Aquaviva's or Monserrate's letters of 1582, states roundly that 'the King is not a Muhammadan' ;[2] while Monserrate reports a conversation between himself and Akbar early in 1582, when the emperor declared not only that he was not a Musalman, but that he did not pay any heed to the Muslim formula of the faith.[3] Similarly Badaoni observes that 'after the short space of five or six years [*scil.* from 1579], not a trace of Muhammadan feeling was left in his heart.'[4]

Blochmann correctly states that the development of Akbar's views led him to the 'total rejection' of Islam, and 'the gradual establishment of a new Faith combining the principal features of Hinduism and the fire-worship of the Parsis.'[5] There were other elements in it also, but for the present purpose the points to be emphasized are that Akbar *totally* rejected the fundamental doctrines of Islam, excepting monotheism, and invented a *new* religion, hostile to and irreconcilable with that of Muhammad. The demand that a disciple should renounce his religion (*din*) was inconsistent with his continuing to be a Muhammadan.

ABU-L FAZL'S OFFICIAL ACCOUNT

The official account of the Divine Faith is given by Abu-l Fazl in Ain No. 77 of the *Ain-i Akbari,* which begins with a preamble in a Sufic strain to the effect that all religions have much in common, and that God and man are one in a mystic sense. The author then, in pursuance of his father's teaching, proceeds to expound the doctrine that a people seeking guidance to truth 'will naturally look to their king, on account of the high position which he occupies, and expect him to be their spiritual leader as well ; for a king possesses, independent of men, the ray of divine wisdom, which banishes from his heart everything that is conflict-

1. Badaoni, p. 314. The differences between Lowe's version as quoted and Blochmann's as in *Ain,* vol. i, p. 194, are merely verbal, not affecting the sense. The italics are mine.

2. 'Il Re non e Moro' (Peruschi, Rome ed., p. 30; and Maclagan, p. 52.)

3. 'Ad haec se non esse Agarenum, professus est : nec Mahamedis symbolo, quicquam tribuere.' The word *symbolum* means the *kalima,* 'there is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is his messenger' (*Commentarius,* pp. 628, 630). Monserrate wrote up his notes each evening.

4. Blochmann, in *Ain,* vol. i, p. 178; Lowe, p. 263, with verbal variation, but the same meaning.

5. *Ain,* vol. i, p. 209.

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ing. A king will therefore sometimes observe the harmony in a multitude of things, or sometimes, reversely, a multitude of things in that which is apparently one ; for he sits on the throne of distinction, and is thus equally removed from joy or sorrow.'

In Akbar the peoples of India had been given a king of the ideal kind.

'He now is the spiritual guide of the nation, and sees in the performance of this duty a means of pleasing God. He has now opened the gate that leads to the right path, and satisfies the thirst of all that wander about panting for truth.

'But, whether he checks men in their desire for becoming disciples, or admits them at other times, he guides them in eaeh case to the realm of bliss. Many sincere inquirers, from the mere light of his wisdom, or his holy breath, obtain a degree of awakening which other spiritual doctors could not produce by repeated fasting and prayers for forty days.'

Abu-l Fazl then goes on to give instances of Akbar's gifts of healing and other miraculous powers.

INITIATION

The ceremony of initiation was performed personally by Akbar in this manner :

'When a novice bears on his forehead the sign of earnestness of purpose, and he be daily inquiring more and more, His Majesty accepts him, and admits him on a Sunday, when the world-illuminating sun is in its highest splendour. Notwithstanding every strictness and reluctance shown by His Majesty in admitting novices, there are many thousands, men of all classes, who have cast over their shoulders the mantle of belief, and look upon their conversion to the New Faith as the means of obtaining every blessing.

'At the above-mentioned time of everlasting auspiciousness, the novice with his turban in his hands, puts his head on the feet of His Majesty. This is symbolical, and expresses that the novice, guided by good fortune and the assistance of his good star, has cast from his head conceit and selfishness, the root of so many evils, offers his heart in worship, and now comes to inquire as to the means of obtaining everlasting life. His Majesty, the chosen one of God, then stretches out the hand of favour, raises up the suppliant, and replaces the turban on his head, meaning by these symbolical actions that he has raised up a man of pure intentions, who from seeming existence has now entered into real life. His Majesty then gives the novice the *Shast*, upon whch is engraved "the Great Name", and His Majesty's symbolical motto, "*Allahu Akbar*". This teaches the novice the truth that

"the pure *Shast* and the pure sight never err".'

The exact nature of the *shast* taken is not recorded. At the time of initiation members of the Divine Faith also received a likeness of the emperor which they wore in their turbans.[1] The 'great name'

[1] Jahangir, R.B., i, 60; Badaoni, in *Ain*, vol. i, p. 203. The candidates used to be introduced by Shaikh Ahmad, the Sufi of Lahore, whom Jahangir promoted.

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is one or other of the epithets or names of God. Commentators differ concerning the one which is to be regarded as pre-eminent. Which was selected by Akbar does not appear. The giving of the *shast* and the communication of the 'great name' seem to be imitated from Hindu procedure. A *guru*, or spiritual preceptor, always whispers into his pupil's ear a secret *mantra* or formula. The ambiguity of the phrase *Allahu Akbar*, which may mean either 'God is great' or 'Akbar is God', has been already noticed. Many people believed that Akbar dared to regard himself as divine, and, although he warmly repudiate the imputation, it was not without foundation. His recorded sayings prove that he fully shared the views expressed by Abu-l Fazl concerning the closeness of the relation between kings, in virtue of their office, and the Deity.

OTHER CEREMONIAL

Abu-l Fazl concludes his notice of the Divine Faith by the following description of certain ordinances observed by members of the Order, which may be transcribed verbatim:

'The members of the Divine Faith, on seeing each other, observe the following custom. One says, "*Allahu Akbar*"; and the other responds, "*Jalla Jalaluhu*".[1] The motive of His Majesty in laying down this mode of salutation is to remind men to think of the origin of their existence, and to keep the Deity in fresh, lively, and grateful remembrance.

'It is also ordered by His Majesty that, instead of the dinner usually given in remembrance of a man after his death, each member should prepare a dinner during his lifetime, and thus gather provisions for his last journey.

'Each member is to give a party on the anniversary of his birthday, and arrange a sumptuous feast. He is to bestow alms, and thus prepare provisions for the long journey.

'His Majesty has also ordered that members should endeavour to abstain from eating flesh. They may allow others to eat flesh, without touching it themselves; but during the month of their birth they are not even to approach meat. Nor shall members go near anything that they have themselves slain, nor eat of it. Neither shall they make use of the same vessels with butchers, fishers, and bird-catchers.

'Members should not cohabit with pregnant, old, and barren women; nor with girls under the age of puberty.'[2]

A later passage gives a special rule about funerals, as follows:

'If any of the *darsaniyyah* disciples died, whether man or woman, they should hang some uncooked grains and a burnt brick round the neck of the corpse, and throw it into the river, and then they should take out the corpse, and burn it at a place where no water was.

'But this order is based upon a fundamental rule which His

1. The words, of course, refer to the emperor's names or titles, 'Jalalu-d din Akbar'. *Jalla jalaluhu* means in Arabic, 'glorious is his glory', or 'resplendent is his splendour'; an implied resemblance between Akbar and the sun probably being hinted at.

2. *Ain*, vol. i, p. 166.

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Majesty indicated, but which I cannot here mention.[1]

'People should be buried with their heads towards the east, and their feet towards the west. His Majesty even commended to sleep in this position.'[2]

The last-quoted rule appears to have been prescribed for general compliance. It had the double purpose of honouring the rising sun and offering an insult to Muhammadans who turn towards Mecca, which lies westwards from India.

NEW REGULATIONS

A torrent of new regulations poured forth from the secretariat after the Council of 1582, many being issued in 1583 and 1584. Fresh batches of fantastic orders appeared during the years from 1588 to 1594, but at present only a small number of the earlier proclamations can be noticed. Members of the Divine Faith, as being disciples of His Majesty, were expected to pay particular attention to every edict. The organization of the adherents of the *Din Ilahi* was that of an Order rather than of a church. The creed, so far as there was one, inculcated monotheism with a tinge of pantheism; the practical deification of the emperor as the viceregent of God, filled with special grace; and the adoration of the sun, with subsidiary veneration of fire and artificial lights. The partial prohibition of animal food was due more especially to the Jain influence, already described.

It is impossible to mention all the silly regulations that were issued, and the exact chronological order of the issues has not been recorded fully. A few samples must suffice.

No child was to be given the name of Muhammad, and if he had already received it the name must be changed. New mosques were not to be built, nor were old ones to be repaired or restored. Later in the reign mosques were levelled to the ground.

The slaughter of cows was forbidden, and made a capital offence, as in a purely Hindu state. In 1583 (A.H. 991) abstinence from meat on more than a hundred days in the year was commanded. This order was extended over the whole realm, and [capital] punishment was inflicted on every one who acted against the command. Many a family suffered ruin and confiscation of property.[3] Those measures amounted to a grave persecution of the large flesh-eating Muslim population.

Ideas concerning the millennium and the expected appearance of a Mahdi, or Saviour, being then in the air, and the year 1,000 of the Hijra approaching, arrangements were made for the compilation of a history of the thousand years, and for the use on coins of a millenary (*alfi*) era.

Beards were to be shaved.

Garlic and onions, as well as beef, were prohibited, in accordance with Hindu prejudices.

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1. Ibid., p. 207. *Darsaniyyah* refers to the *darsan*, or sight of Akbar on his throne. I do not understand the symbolism.
2. Ibid., p. 206.
3. Badaoni, p. 331; Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, p. 200. The clause about the confiscation of property comes from the corrections on p. xii of Lowe's translation.

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The *sijdah*, or prostration, hitherto considered lawful only in divine worship, was declared to be the due of the emperor.

Gold and silk dresses, forbidden by Muhammadan rule, were declared to be obligatory at the public prayers. Even the prayers themselves, the fast of Ramazan, and the pilgrimage to Mecca were prohibied.

The study of Arabic, of Muhammadan law, and of Koranic exegesis was discountenanced, the specially Arabic letters of the alphabet were banned—and so on.[1]

The whole gist of the regulations was to further the adoption of Hindu, Jain, and Parsee practices, while discouraging or positively prohibiting essential Muslim rites. The policy of insult to and persecution of Islam, which was carried to greater extremes subsequently, was actively pursued even in the period from 1582 to 1585.

Notwithstanding the fine phrases about general toleration which occupy so large a space in the writings of Abu-l Fazl and the sayings of Akbar, many acts of fierce intolerance were committed.

In the year 1581-2 (A.H. 989) a large number of Shaikhs and Fakirs, apparently those who resisted innovations, were exiled, mostly to Kandahar, and exchanged for horses, presumably being enslaved.[2]

A sect of Shaikhs, who had the impudence to call themselves Disciples, like the followers of His Majesty, and were generally known as Ilahis, were sent to Sind and Kandahar, and given to merchants in exchange for Turkish colts.[3]

THE FAILURE OF THE 'DIVINE FAITH'

The number of adherents of the so-called Divine Faith, Akbar's political sham religion, was never considerable. Blochmann has collected from Abu-l Fazl and Badaoni the names of eighteen prominent members, Raja Birbal being the only Hindu in the list. The herd of unnamed and unrecorded followers probably never numbered many thousands. In order to complete the subject, it may be noted that in September 1595, Sadr Jahan, the Mufti of the empire, with his two sons, took the *shast*, joined the Faith, and was rewarded with a 'command of 1,000'. At the same time sundry other persons conformed and received 'commands' ranging from 100 to 500. Father Pinheiro, writing from Lahore on September 3, 1595, mentions that in that city the royal sect had many adherents, but all for the sake of the money paid to them.[4]

No later contemporary account of the *Din Ilahi* has been found.

The organization cannot well have survived the murder of Abu-l Fazl, its high priest, so to say, and, of course, it ceased to exist with the death of Akbar.

The whole scheme was the outcome of ridiculous vanity, a

1. See Bartoli, p. 78; Badaoni, pp. 310-16.
2. Badaoni, p. 308.
3. Ibid, p. 309.
4. 'Questo Re fa lui da se una setta, e si fa chiamar profeta. Ha di gia molta gente, che lo seguita, ma tutto e per danari, che gli da' (Peruschi, p. 69; Maclagan, p. 70). Maclagan's less forcible English is translated from the Latin version; I have used the original Italian text, published in 1597. For biography of Miran Sadr (Cadr) Jahan see *Ain*, vol. i, p. 468, No. 194.

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monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy. Its ignominious failure illustrated the wisdom of the protest addressed by the Kotwal to the Sultan of Delhi some three centuries earlier, and the folly of kings who seek to assume the role of prophets.

The Divine Faith was a monument of Akbar's folly, not of his wisdom. His actions throughout his reign exhibited many illustrations of both qualities.

We now leave for a time the consideration of Akbar's religious vagaries and proceed to narrate sundry political events and certain minor incidents, some of which are illustrative of the emperor's strangely compounded character.

BURSTING OF LAKE AT FATHPUR SIKRI

An alarming accident occurred at Fathpur-Sikri at some time in 1582. A great lake, six miles or more in length and two in breadth, had been constructed to the north of the ridge for the purpose of supplying the town and palaces with water, which was raised and conveyed by an elaborate system of waterworks. An amphitheatre used as a polo ground and arena for elephant fights was arranged on the margin. In hot weather pleasure parties were glad to make themselves comfortable by the edge of the broad sheet of water. Such a party, consisting of the princes and their friends, was assembled one day in 1582, engaged in playing chess, cards, and other games, when suddenly the embankment burst and everybody on the spot was in imminent danger of being swept away by the torrent. But, although many of the houses below the ridge were destroyed along with their inhabitants, the members of the court with their attendants were fortunate enough to escape, excepting only one leopard keeper. In memory of that signal deliverance Akbar expended vast sums in alms, and ordained that flesh should not be brought to his table on that date.[1]

AKBAR'S AMBITIOUS DESIGNS

Akbar's successful demonstration of force against his brother had convinced him of his invincibility and encouraged him to develop the projects of far-extended conquests which had long occupied his ambitious soul. Akbar's lust for dominion was never satisfied. He

1. Chalmers, MS. transl. of *A.N.*, ii, 289. He puts the accident shortly after the murder of Masum Khan Farankhudi, which occurred in the twenty-seventh regnal year (Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, 444). That year began March 11, 1582 (=Safar 15, A.H. 990), as stated in E. & D., v, 246. Chalmers dates the death of Masum on Safar 23=March 19, and states that the embankment burst in the hot season of the same year. But he adds that, the accident having occurred on Akbar's birthday according to the solar calendar [*scil.* October 15 by official reckoning], the custom of weighing the emperor on his solar as well as his lunar birthday was introduced. October 15 cannot be reckoned in the hot season. Evidently there is a mistake somewhere. I cannot find the passage in Mr. Beveridge's proof-sheets. Latif (*Agra*, p. 159) agrees that the lake burst in the 27th year, in A.D. 1582. He erroneously adds that no lives were lost. For description of the lake and waterworks see E. W. Smith, *Fathpur-Sikri*, part iii, pp. 38-40. The breach in the dam must have been repaired, because in 1619 Jahangir held an entertainment on the bank of the lake, which was then seven *kos*, or nearly fourteen miles in circumference (Jahangir, R.B., ii, 66). The bed of the lake was finally drained under the orders of Mr. James Thomson, Lieut.-Governor of the North-West Province from 1843 to 1853 (Latif, p. 160).

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longed with intense fervour to extend his rule over all the nations and kingdoms lying within the possible range of his sword, and even allowed himself to dream the mad dream that he might be the spiritual as well as the temporal lord of a vast empire with one religion, and that he might thus combine the parts of emperor, pope, and prophet.

The drunken brother in Kabul, although much frightened, had never made personal submission, and Akbar desired to bring him definitely to heel. He also wished to annex the turbulent hill region of Badakhshan, the scene of perpetual conflicts between the princes of Kabul and the chiefs of the Uzbegs. He hoped, when firmly established in Kabul and Badakhshan, to win back the ancestral territories of Transoxiana (Turan), from which his grandfather Babur had been expelled early in life; and lastly, he meditated the subjugation of Bijapur and the other kingdoms of the Deccan plateau.[1] There is no direct evidence that Akbar knew or cared anything about the Dravidian kingdoms of the far south, but he may have hoped to carry his arms to the extremity of the peninsula.

The immense empire of Vijayanagar, occupying all the southern parts of the peninsula, was shattered by the combined forces of the Muhammadan Sultans of the Deccan at the battle of Talikota in 1565, while Akbar was fighting for his crown and life against the rebel Uzbeg chiefs. No echo of the crash of the mighty edifice of the Vijayanagar empire seems to have reached the ears of the ruler of northern India. After the revolution consequent on the battle of Talikota, the considerable Hindu princes who continued to rule at Chandragiri and elsewhere seem to have been unknown to and ignorant of the northern empire and its ambitious sovereign. The only trace of communication between Akbar and the far south is a trivial anecdote that an envoy from the Raja of Cochin once came to court and gave a magic knife to the emperor, who professed to believe in its virtues.[2]

FOUNDATION OF ALLAHABAD, NOV., 1583

In pursuance of his ambitious plans, Akbar decided to secure the important strategical position at the confluence of the Jumna with the Ganges. The spot from time immemorial has been one of the most sacred places of pilgrimage and known to Hindus as Prayag or Payag. It does not appear to have been fortified.[3] In October 1583 Akbar travelled from Agra to the confluence, proceeding most of the way by river. He began the building of the fort, which still exists, in November; and, in accordance with his regular practice, hurried on the work so that it was completed in a remarkably short time. A great city, the modern Allahabad, grew up in the neighbourhood of the fortress.[4] The rapidity of Akbar's building operations much impressed

1. *A. N.*, iii, 616.
2. *A.N.*, ii, 499.
3. Jhusi, on the opposite side of the Ganges, seems to have been the old Hindu fortress. It was important in the fourth and fifth centuries A.C.
4. Ilahabas is the Hindu form of the name, and still in common use. Some writers assert that Akbar gave that name, but it is more probable that he employed the Persian form Ilahabad.

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Father Monserrate, who cites instances of quick construction at Fathpur-Sirki.[1]

The disturbances in Gujarat, already noticed, obliged the emperor to return to the capital and forgo his intention of visiting the eastern provinces.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES

The year 1584 was marked by two interesting domestic events, the marriage of the emperor's eldest son, Prince Salim, and the birth of a daughter. The lady selected to be the young prince's first consort was a daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das of Jaipur and a sister by adoption of Kunwar Man Singh. The wedding was celebrated in February with exceptional magnificence. Many Hindu customs were followed and the Raja gave the bride a dowry of immense value, including a hundred elephants.[2] The name of the princess was Man Bai, and her husband gave her the title of Shah Begam. He was deeply attached to her, and twenty years later records her death in touching language :

'What shall I write of her excellences and goodness ? She had perfect intelligence, and her devotion to me was such that she would have sacrificed a thousand sons and brothers for one hair of mine.'

She did her best to keep her son Khusru in order, and when Madho Singh, one of her brothers, brought disgrace on the family, the high Rajput spirit led her to end her life by an overdose of opium. She lies buried near her rebellious son in the Khusru Bagh at Allahabad.[3]

The daughter, Aram Bano Begam, was born towards the close of the year, and died unmarried forty years later in the reign of Jahangir.[4]

DEATH OF DASWANTH, THE PAINTER

The death of the famous artist Daswanth, which occurred at some time in the twenty-ninth regnal year, apparently in 1584, deserves notice as a tragic incident in itself, and as being one of the few closely dated events in the history of Indian art. Daswanth was the son of a Kahar, or palanquin-bearer, but his lowly position could not conceal his innate genius. He used to draw and paint figures even on walls, and had devoted his whole life to his art. Some accident brought him to the notice of Akbar, who recognized his ability, and had him taught by his own former drawing-master, Khwaja Abdu-s samad. In a short time he excelled his teacher, and became, in the judgement of many critics, the first master of the age, a worthy rival of the best Persian and Chinese artists. Unhappily his genius was clouded by

1. *Commentarius*, p. 642, 'Mira celeritate, plurimis adhibitis architectis, fabris, et operis exaedificat et absolvit.'

2. *A.N.*, iii, 678; Badaoni, p. 352.

3. Jahangir (R. & B.) i, 55; Beveridge in *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, pp. 599-607. She committed suicide in May 1604, not in 1605. The *Takmil* describes her suicide under the forty-ninth regnal year, 1604-5, and erroneously ascribes it to 'a quarrel with one of her rivals' (E. & D., vi, 112). The authority of Jahangir is better ; he must have known the facts, although his text misdates the event. Her name is given in *I.G.* (1908), xiv, 184.

4. Jahangir (R. & B.), i, 36.

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insanity. One day he stabbed himself with a dagger, and died two days later.[1]

A SUTTEE PREVENTED

A romantic adventure, characteristic of Akbar at his best, shows that even when he was past forty he retained the activity and chivalrous spirit of his youth. Jaimall, a cousin of Raja Bhagwan Das, who had been sent on duty in the Eastern Provinces, rode hard to comply with urgent orders, and died near Chausa from the effects of the heat and over-exertion. His widow, a daughter of Udai Singh, the Mota or Fat Raja, refused to commit suttee, as demanded by the custom of the family. Her son, also named Udai Singh, and other relatives insisted that, willing or unwilling, she must burn. Early one morning Akbar heard the news while in the female apartments of the palace, and resolved to prevent the sacrifice. Throughout his reign he insisted on the principle that no widow should be forced to burn against her will. He jumped on a swift horse and rode to the spot, unattended, although some of his personal staff galloped after him as soon as they learned of his disappearance. He was in time, and his unexpected arrival stopped the proceedings. At first he was disposed to execute the guilty parties, but on consideration he granted them their lives and merely imprisoned them for a short period.[2]

FATHER T. STEVENS, THE FIRST ANGLO-INDIAN, 1579.

Direct intercourse between England and India began in October 1579, when the Reverend Father Thomas Stevens or Stephens, a Jesuit, born in Wiltshire and educated at Winchester and Oxford, landed at Goa. So far as is known he was the first Englishman to land and reside in India. He remained at or near Goa for forty years, engaged in his work as Christian priest and missionary. He made himself thorough master of the local Konkani tongue, called Lingua Canarim by the Portuguese, and composed a grammar of it, which was printed at Goa in 1640, after the author's death. That is the first grammar of an Indian language compiled by a European author. Father Stevens also wrote in the same language a huge poem, designed for the religious instruction of converts, which contains more than 11,000 strophes, and is considered to possess high literary merit.

Shortly after his arrival at Goa he wrote to his father a long letter, dated November 10, giving a detailed description of the incidents and sights of the voyage. That letter, which was published by Hakluyt in 1589, seems to have become known before it was printed, and to have stimulated English interest in the mysterious land of India, which obviously offered rich possibilities of commerce, abundantly realized in the following century.[3]

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1. *A.N.*, iii, 659; *Ain*, vol. i, p. 108; *H.F.A.*, pp. 455, 470.
2. *A.N.*, iii, 595; abstract version in E. & D., vi, 69. For the relationship of the Rajputs concerned see *Ain*, vol. i, pp. 427-30. The exact locality and date of the incident are not stated. Abu-l Fazl's narrative, as usual, is lacking in clearness and precision. His meaning is, I think, correctly stated in the text.
3. F.M. Mascarenhas, 'Father Thomas Estevao, S.J.' [*Ind. Ant.*, vii (1878), pp. 117, 118]; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Supplement (1909), vol. xxii, p. 1227. The letter is printed in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, ed. MacLehose, vol. vi, pp. 377-85, and

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MISSION OF JOHN NEWBERY, &C., 1583.

In 1581 Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to a small company entitled the 'Company of Merchants to the Levant', the region of the eastern Mediterranean. Two years later the Company sent out John Newbery, a London merchant, on the first British trading adventure in India. Newbery, who took with him as assistants William Leedes, a jeweller, and James Story, a painter, was accompanied by Ralph Fitch, another London merchant, who volunteered because he desired to see the world.[1] They sailed in the *Tyger* for Tripoli in Syria, whence they journeyed to Aleppo, and so overland through Bagdad to Ormuz, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. At Ormuz the Englishmen were put in prison by the Portuguese governor, and after a time were shipped for Goa to be disposed of by the higher authorities there. At Goa, too, they were imprisoned, and found much difficulty in obtaining their release on bail through the good offices of Father Stevens. James Story, who was welcomed by the Jesuits as an artist capable of painting their church, settled down in Goa, married a half-caste girl, opened a shop, and gave up all thought of returning to Europe. His three companions, finding themselves in danger of being tortured as suspected heretics, forfeited their bail and escaped secretly. They made their way into the Deccan, visited Belgaum, Bijapur, Golkonda, Masulipatam, Burhanpur, and Mandu. No doubt they did some trading during their wanderings, but nothing on that subject has been recorded. From Mandu they travelled across Malwa and Rajputana, through Ujjain and Sironj, and so to Agra, 'passing many rivers, which by reason of the rain were so swollen that we waded and swam oftentimes for our lives.'

Fitch, the only member of the party who returned to Europe, has recorded a brief description of Agra and Fathpur-Sikri as he saw those cities in the rainy season of 1585, which has been already quoted in Chapter IV.

FATE OF THE TRAVELLERS

The narrative does not state the date on which the adventurers arrived at Fathpur-Sikri, but it must have been either in July or early in August, because Akbar started on August 22 for the north, and he had taken Leedes into his service before that day. Newbery and Fitch stayed at the capital until September 28, when they parted. Newbery took the road for Lahore, intending to travel overland through Persia to either Alleppo or Constantinople. As head of the expedition he directed Fitch to proceed to Bengal and Pegu, holding out hopes that in the course of two years he might find an English ship.

Fitch duly accomplished his travels in the eastern kingdoms,

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also in Purchas. It does not give any material information about trade. Stevens was about thirty years of age when he arrived in India, and about seventy when he died in 1619.

1. *Ralph Fitch, England's Pioneer to India and Burma, his Companions and Contemporaries, with his remarkable Narrative told in his own words*, by J. Horton Ryley; London Unwin, 1899. The extracts from that useful and well-illustrated work are given in modern spelling, except the quotation from Queen Elizabeth's letter, which is given in the old spelling, save that *v* and *j* are used instead of *u* and *i*.

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and arrived safely at home in 1591. Newbery was never heard of again.

Fitch's meagre narrative, which is mainly concerned with the obvious peculiarities of the country and people, as noted in most books of travel, and possibly copied in part from other authors, is chiefly of interest because of its early date. He quitted India at Sunargaon, now an insignificant village in the Dacca District but at that time an important port.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S LETTER TO AKBAR

When the expedition left England early in 1583 Queen Elizabeth had given Newbery letters of recommendation to both the Indian monarch and the emperor of China. She knew Akbar's name, and addressed him as 'the most invincible and most mightie prince, lord Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaya'. She requested politely that the bearers of her letter, as being her subjects, might be 'honestly intreated and received'. She further asked that 'in respect of the hard journey which they have undertaken to places so far distant, it would please your Majesty with some libertie and securitie of voiage to gratify it, with such privileges as to you shall seem good'; and concluded by promising that 'wee, according to our royall honour, will recompence the same with as many deserts as we can'.[1]

Although the grammar of the missive leaves something to be desired, the meaning of the letter is plain enough. The document is of high interest as being the earliest communication between the governments of India and England, and also as proving that Akbar's name and fame had reached the isles of the west as early as 1583. Probably any slight knowledge of him that penetrated to the court of Queen Elizabeth had been derived from the letters of Father Stevens. Fitch renders no account whatever of the reception of the party by Akbar, nor does he give any important information concerning the emperor or his court. The only really vivid descriptions of Akbar and his court are those recorded by the Jesuits, who were skilled observers and competent writers.

ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES, 1585

Early in the thirtieth regnal year, which began on March 11, 1585, important administrative changes were made. Shihab Khan received the government of Malwa; Raja Bhagwan Das, Raja Todar Mall, Abu-l Fazl, and other officers were promoted.

Amir Fathullah of Shiraz, an intimate friend of the emperor, and a man of great learning, who held office as a Sadr, was given the title of Aminu-l Mulk, and was directed, with the assistance of Raja Todar Mall, to examine the old revenue accounts, which had not been checked since the time of Muzaffar Khan in 1574. The proceedings were guided by an elaborate code of rules, approved by Akbar, and set forth at length by Abu-l Fazl. Those rules provided for assessments on the average of a series of years, for an equitable settlement

1. Fitch, p. 44. Elizabeth evidently knew of Akbar only as the sovereign of Gujarat, which he had conquered ten years earlier. Probably she had never heard of Agra or Fathpur-Sikri.

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of the arrears due from each ryot or cultivator, and for the protection of collectors from unjust demands and penalties.[1]

Badaoni expresses the official position of Amir Fathullah by saying that he was associated with Raja Todar Mall in the office of Vizier.

THE ABSORPTION OF KABUL

The death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim of Kabul towards the end of July 1585, at the age of thirty-one, from the effects of chronic alcoholism, finally freed Akbar from anxiety concerning rival claims to the throne, and enabled him to incorporate Kabul definitely as a province of the empire. No question of formal annexation arose, because the territory ruled by the Mirza, although in practice long administered as an independent State, had been always regarded in theory as a dependency of the crown of India. The campaign of 1581 had rendered the dependence more of a reality than it had been for many years. The decease of Muhammad Hakim at an early age, leaving only minor children, settled the question, and the province passed quietly under the rule of imperial viceroys. Akbar, on receiving the news of his brother's death, sent Man Singh on in advance with some troops to maintain order until he himself could arrive. He was, no doubt prepared for what had happened, as it was obvious that the Mirza's constitution could not long resist the violence done to it by his vicious habits.[2]

The necessary arrangements were rapidly completed, so that Akbar was able to march in the autumn,[3] and to proceed quickly along the northern road which he had traversed four years earlier. He was not to see Agra or Fathpur-Sikri again for thirteen years. The queen-mother joined the camp in November, and early in December Akbar pitched his tents at Rawalpindi. While he was staying there Man Singh came in and reported the arrival of the Mirza's sons, as well as of the turbulent Faridun and many other men of note, including Farrukh Beg, afterwards famous as one of the best painters at Akbar's court. Faridun was detained under surveillance, and ultimately sent to Mecca.[4]

Before the death of Muhammad Hakim, Abdullah Khan, the Uzbeg chief, had made himself master of all Badakhshan. The dread of an Uzbeg invasion was the principal reason for Akbar's long-continued residence at Lahore.

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1. *A.N.*, iii, 687-93, in much detail. For life of Amir Fathullah see Blochmann's note, *Ain*, vol. i, p. 33. Badaoni (pp. 325, 326) gives interesting anecdotes about him. He was a staunch Shia and would not have anything to do with the Divine Faith. He was too useful to be persecuted for his independence.

2. Akbar's prescience is indicated in *A.N.*, iii, 702.

3. *A.N.*, iii, 705, '11 Shahriyar', the sixth month of year beginning 11 March. Beveridge gives the equivalent date as August 22, which is not necessarily inconsistent with the statement of Fitch (p. 99) that 'Here in Fatepore we staid all three until the 28 of September 1585 [o.s.].....I left William Leades the jeweller in service with the King Zelabdim Echebar in Fatepore'. Leedes must have been accepted for service prior to August 22, and have remained at Fathpur-Sikri on the imperial establishment after Akbar's departure.

4. *A.N.*, vol iii, ch. lxxxiv, p. 713. For Farrukh, known as the Calmuck (Kalmak), see *H.F.A.*, p. 470.

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DESIGNS ON KASHMIR

Akbar's pride was much offended by the conduct of Yusuf Khan, the Sultan of Kashmir, who had always evaded compliance with suggestions that he should come to court and do personal homage to the emperor. At the close of 1581 he had tried to compromise by sending Haidar, his third son, to court, but that concession did not satisfy Akbar, who demanded from the ruler himself the obedience and submission of a vassal.[1] The Sultan always hoped that the difficulties of invading his country would save him from the necessity of forefeiting his independence. In February 1585, while still trying to escape the painful humiliation of personal vassalage, he had sent his elder son Yakub to Fathpur-Sikri[2], but even that act of complaisance did not suffice. Akbar, who was resolved to put an end to the pretensions of the Sultan of Kashmir to pose as an independent sovereign, directed the assemblage of an army for the purpose of coercing him.[3]

1. 'H.M. asks nothing from the princes of the age beyond obedience, and when they render this he does not exert the might of sovereignty against them' (*A.N.* vol. iii, ch. lxv, p. 550).
2. Ibid., ch. lxxix, p. 676.
3. Ibid., ch. lxxxv, p. 715. Abu-l Fazl offers his usual sophistry in defence of the aggression.

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CHAPTER IX

WARS ON NORTH-WESTERN FRONTIER; ANNEXATION OF KASHMIR AND SIND; SECOND JESUIT MISSION; REGULATIONS; ANNEXATION OF BALOCHISTAN AND KANDAHAR, ETC.

DEFEAT OF ZAIN KHAN AND RAJA BIRBAL BY THE YUSUFZI, 1586

Akbar moved from Rawalpindi to Attock (Atak-Benares), so that he might occupy a position favourable for the control of the operations against Kashmir and also against the Afghans of the Yusufzi and Mandar tribes, who had been very troublesome. Zain Khan Kokaltash, who was commissioned to chastise the tribesmen, began by entering the Bajaur territory to the westward, while other officers were sent into the Samah plateau—the home of the Mandar tribe—lying between Peshawar and the Suwat (Swat, Suwad) river. Zain Khan having asked for reinforcements, Raja Birbal was sent up with orders to march through the Samah and enter the Suwat country. Hakim Abu-l Fath was also directed to enter the same region in the neighbourhood of the Karakar Pass further east. Ultimately, all the three commanders united their forces at Chakdara, just inside the Suwat boundary, and on the north side of the Suwat river. Violent disputes then broke out between the generals, Raja Birbal being unwilling to recognize Zain Khan as his superior. Zain Khan, the only one of the three who had any knowledge of the military art, advised that Chakdara should be held in strength while the tribesmen were being reduced by punitive expeditions. The Raja and the Hakim, on the other hand, agreed that they were not required to occupy the country and that they should make their way back to Akbar at Attock. The advice given by Zain Khan that the withdrawal should be effected through the Malakhand Pass was ignored, and his colleagues resolved to retire through the Karakar and Malandarai defiles.

They soon found reason to regret their rash decision. The retirement through the Karakar Pass, which had been ill-managed, was grievously harassed by the tribesmen; but after passing the crest of the Malandarai Pass further south the retirement became a rout. Nearly 8,000 of the imperialists, something like half of the force, perished, and only a shattered remnant rejoined Akbar at Attock in the middle of February 1586.

Both Zain Khan and the Hakim survived. Raja Birbal was killed. He seems to have frankly run away in a vain attempt to save his life.[1]

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1. 'Nearly eight thousand men were killed, and Raja Birbal, who fled for his life, was slain' (*Tabakat*, in E. & D., v, 451). 'Bir Bar also, who had fled from fear of his life, was slain, and entered the row of the dogs in hell, and thus got something for the abominable deeds he had done during his lifetime' (Badaoni, tr. Blochmann, in *Ain*, vol. i, p. 204; tr. Lowe, p. 361, with same purport). The statements as to the number of casualities are widely discrepant (*A.N.*, iii, 732 *n.*).

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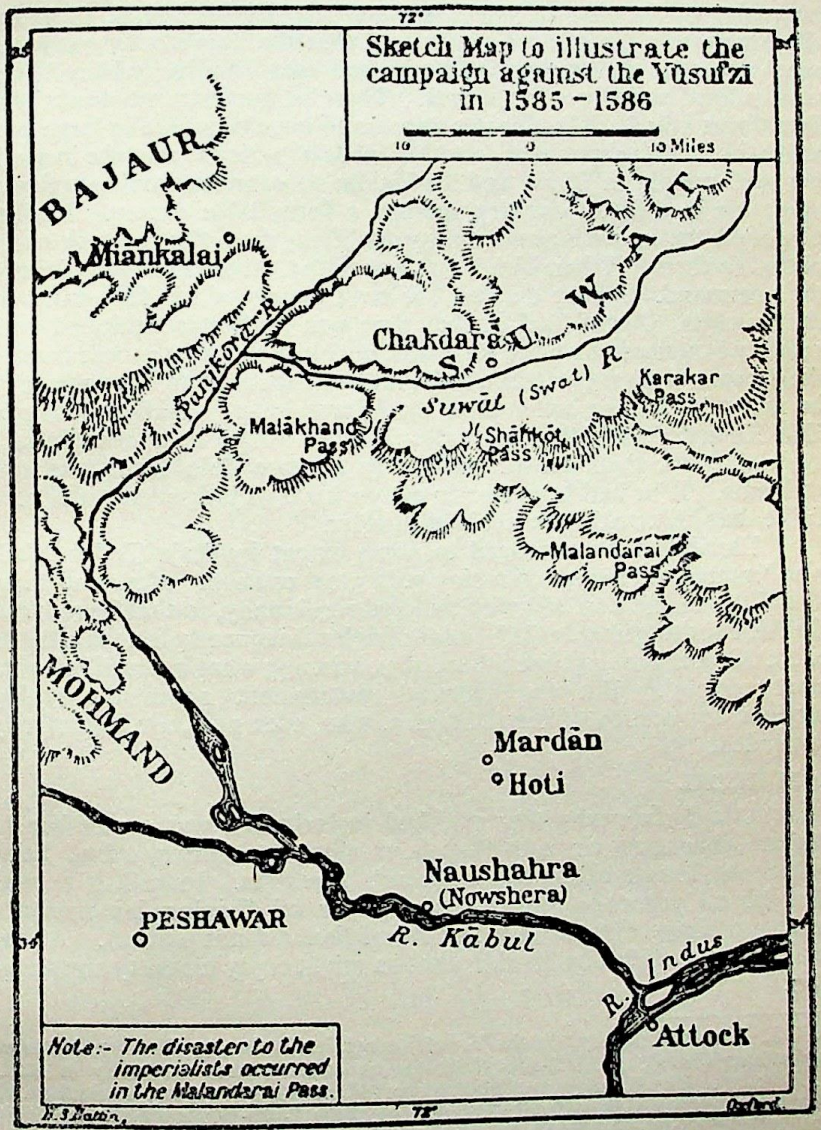

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Akbar grieved bitterly over the loss of his old friend, and was particularly distressed because his body could not be found and cremated according to the rites of Hinduism and the 'Divine Faith', of which the Raja was a disciple. The accident that the Raja's body was never recovered gave rise to stories that he had escaped alive, which Akbar was inclined to believe for a time. There is, however, no doubt that Birbal was killed. The disaster appears to have been due in large part to his folly and inexperience. Akbar made a serious mistake in sending such people as Birbal and the Hakim to command military forces operating in difficult country, against a formidable enemy. Neither possessed the knowledge nor ability qualifying them for the task committed to them. When Birbal was appointed, Abu-l Fazl had claimed the command. Akbar decided the rival claims of his favourites by drawing lots. Abu-l Fazl at that time was no better equipped with military experience than the Raja was, but his subsequent proceedings in the Deccan wars suggest that, if the lot had happened to fall upon him, he might have done better than the Hindu jester.[1] Akbar censured Zain Khan and the Hakim, but rather for their failure to recover Birbal's body than for their defeat. So far as appears Zain Khan was not to blame. If he had been free to act on his own judgement, it is probable that he would have avoided disaster.

The defeat was avenged to some extent by Raja Todar Mall, who 'entered the mountain region with great caution. Here and there he built forts and harried and plundered continually, so that he reduced the Afghans to great straits.' Man Singh subsequently fought a battle in the Khyber Pass against other tribes, winning what is described as 'a great victory'.[2] But the imperial government never thoroughly subdued any section of the tribesmen, who, even now, are imperfectly controlled.

RAJA BIRBAL

Raja Birbal, who thus perished ingloriously, was a member of Akbar's innermost circle of friends, rivalling in intimacy Abu-l Fazl, whom the Jesuits called the emperor's Jonathan. Indeed, it is said that Birbal possessed the uncanny power of divining his master's secrets, a dangerous gift to which Abu-l Fazl did not pretend. Akbar loved to have Birbal by his side, that he might enjoy his witty conversation.

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1. The best account of the Yusufzi campaign is that by Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan* (1888), pp. 259-65. The leading contemporary authority is *A.N.*, iii, 719 seqq. The Karakar and Malandarai (Malandri) Passes, not marked on all maps, are shown on Standford's *Sketch Map of the North-Western Frontier* (1908). The order of the passes from east to west is Karakar, Shahkot, Malakhand. The Malandaraj Pass lies to the south of the Karakar. Elphinstone did not know the position of the passes (5th ed., p. 519 *n.*). The Afghans of Suwat (Swat) deny that the imperialists ever succeeded in crossing to the north of the Suwat River, and assert that the disaster occurred in the Shahkot Pass, but they seem to be mistaken (Raverty, op. cit., p. 262 *n.*). Abu-l Fazl has written much insincere nonsense about the defeat (*A. N.*, iii, 735). Yusufzi, not Yusufzai, is the correct form.

2. *Tabakat*, in E. & D., v, 451. Nizamu-d din does not give the date of the victory gained by Man Singh, who did not succeed his adoptive father Bhagwan Das as Raja until November 1589. Elphinstone gives 1587 as the year in which Jalala was defeated by Man Singh (5th ed., p. 520).

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Birbal, originally a poor Brahman named Mahesh Das, was born at Kalpi about 1528, and consequently was fourteen years older than Akbar. He was at first in the service of Raja Bhagwan Das, who sent him to Akbar early in the reign. His gifts as musician, poet, story-teller, and conversationalist soon gained him high favour, with the title of Kabi Rai, or Hindu poet laureate. He is sometimes described in English books as a 'minister' or even as 'prime minister', but erroneously. He is not recorded as having held any important office, although he was occasionally employed on special missions, and enjoyed the rank and pay of a 'commander of 2,000'. The proximity of his beautiful house in the palace of Fathpur-Sikri to the stables has suggested the hypothesis that he may have been Master of the Horse. At one time, in the eighteenth year of the reign, Nagarkot or Kangra had been assigned to him as his *jagir* or fief, but he does not seem ever to have obtained possession of it. He then received the title of Raja Birbal. He actually enjoyed the *jagir* of Kalanjar in Bundelkhand later in his life.[1]

He was devoted to the cult of the sun, and his influence supported that of the Parsees in inducing Akbar to give much prominence in practice to solar worship. He took an active part in the discussions about religions, and is the only Hindu named as having become a member of the Divine Faith order. No complete work by Birbal is known to exist. Tradition credits him with numerous verses and witty sayings still quoted. A collection of facetious tales, in which he and Akbar figure as the principal personages, is commonly sold in the bazaars of Bihar.

He was hostile to the Sikhs, whom he considered to be heretics. They consequently regard his miserable death as the just penalty for his threats of violence to Arjun Singh, their revered Guru.[3] Akbar did not agree with Birbal concerning the merits of the Sikh religion, the doctrines of which seemed to the emperor deserving of high commendation.[3]

The exquisite structure at Fathpur-Sikri known as Raja Birbal's House was erected in 1571 or 1572 (S. 1629), and, according to tradition, was intended for his daughter's residence. The beauty and lavishness of the decoration testify to the intensity of Akbar's affection for the Raja.[4]

The troubles on the frontier had 'originated in a fanatical

1. 'The castle of Kalanjar, which had been in that dog's jagir' (Badaoni, p. 369).

2. Mahesh Das was the personal name of the Raja. Badaoni (ii, 164 and Errata) calls him Brahma Das, probably because when he was in the Jaipur service he used to sign his compositions as Brahm Kabi. His title Birbal is often written Birbar or Birbar. See Grierson, *The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*, Calcutta, 1889, being a Special Number of *J.A.S.B.*, part i, 1888, No. 106, p. 35; and Blochmann in *Ain*, vol. i, No. 85, p. 404. The story concerning Birbal and Guru Arjun Singh, too long to quote, is in Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Oxford, 1909, vol. iii, pp. 15-17.

3. Macauliffe relates interesting anecdotes concerning the transactions between Akbar and the Guru (op. cit., pp. 81-4).

4. E.W. Smith, *Fathpur-Sikri*, part ii, pp. 1-15, with numerous plates; part iii, p. 5.

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spirit, which had sprung up, many yaars before, among this portion of the Afghans. A person named Bayazid had then assumed the character of a prophet; had set aside the Koran, and taught that nothing existed except God, who filled all space and was the substance of all forms. The Divinity despised all worship and rejected all mortifications; but he exacted implicit obedience to his prophet, who was the most perfect manifestation of himself. The believers were authorized to seize on the lands and property of infidels, and were promised in time the dominion of the whole earth.'

THE ROSHANIYYA OR 'ILLUMINATI' SECT

They called themselves Roshaniyya (Roshani), or 'Illuminati'. That attractive creed, which should have met with Akbar's approval on its merits, captivated the tribesmen of the Sulaiman hills and Khyber Pass. The Yusufzi, who adhered to its tenets for a time, had renounced them when they fought Zain Khan and Birbal. Bayazid, the founder of the sect, who died in A.D. 1585, had been succeeded by a son named Jalala, a boy of fourteen. Notwithstanding his youth the new prophet proved to be a most troublesome enemy. He kept up the fight with the imperialists for years, and in 1600 captured Ghazni. He was killed soon afterwards, but the religious war was continued by his successors during the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan. When the sectarian fervour died out the vigorous tribal spirit enabled the clans to maintain their independence, which they still enjoy to a large extent.[1]

ANNEXATION OF KASHMIR, 1586

The campaign against Kashmir proceeded concurrently with the operations against the tribesmen. The command of the force intended for the subjugation of the mountain kingdom was entrusted to Kasim Khan, Raja Bhagwan Das, and certain other officers. Early in 1586 Sultan Yusuf Khan, distrusting his ability to make effectual resistance, had met and conferred with the imperial generals, but Akbar ordered the advance to continue. Yusuf Khan then blocked the Buliyas Pass on the Baramula route, to the west of the capital, a position from which it was not easy to dislodge him.[2] Rain and snow fell, supplies ran short, and the invading force was confronted with difficulties so great that the commanders decided to patch up a peace and retire. They granted easy terms, stipulating that the name of the emperor should be recited in the *Khutba* and stamped on the coins; the mint, saffron cultivation, shawl manufacture,[3] and game

1. Elphinstone, ed. 5, pp. 517-21; Badaoni, p. 360, as corrected on p. xii. The word "Tajik' given by Elphinstone on p. 521, *n.* 1, as a synonym for Roshaniyya is a misreading for *Tariki*, 'heretics'; see Raverty, p. 598.

2. 'I believe, therefore, that the Vitasta Valley below Varahamula [Baramula] was held as an outlying frontier tract as far as the present Buliasa [Sanskrit, Bolyasaka]. It is exactly a few miles below this place that ascending the valley the first serious difficulties are encountered on the road. An advanced frontier-post could scarcely have occupied a strategically more advantageous position' (Stein, tr. *Rajatarangini* (1900), vol. ii, p. 403). The name of the pass is given nearly correctly as 'Bhuliyas' in *Tabakat*, E. & D., v, 452; and wrongly as 'Phulbas' in Badaoni, tr. Lowe, p. 363. The reading depends on the dots and the vowel-points. Buliyas is about forty miles by road westward from Baramula.

3. *Ab-resham* seems to mean shawls, rather than silk.

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laws being placed under the control of imperial officers designated for the charge of those departments of the administration. Akbar, while disapproving of the treaty, which had been negotiated under the influence of the news concerning the defeat of Zain Khan and Raja Birbal, did not formally withhold his consent.

The Sultan and his son, Yakub Khan, came into his camp and surrendered. The Sultan was imprisoned. His life is said to have been guaranteed by Raja Bhagwan Das, who about this time stabbed himself with a dagger, though not fatally. He recovered quickly under the care of the court surgeons.[1] The official explanation of the incident is that the Raja committed the act in a fit of insanity. Badaoni, on the contrary, asserts that, Akbar having intended to violate the safe-conduct and execute the Sultan, the Raja, on hearing of the perfidious design, stabbed himself in order to vindicate his Rajput honour. That charge, so discreditable to Akbar, is not to be lightly believed, and may, I think, be safely rejected as untrue, because the historian who makes it certainly was misinformed concerning the fate of the Sultan and his son, as will be shown presently. Badaoni evidently sympathized with the Kashmir princes, and was willing to believe that they had received from Akbar treatment even more harsh than that which they actually endured.

Meantime, Yakub Khan, who had been granted a petty stipend of thirty or forty rupees a month, became alarmed, and finding that Akbar, in practical disregard of the treaty, was preparing for a fresh invasion of his country, fled from the imperial camp and prepared to resist. Muhammad Kasim Khan, the engineer-in-chief, who was now appointed to command the attack, advanced from the south through Bhimbhar, and across the Pir Panjal (Pantsal) range.[2] The efforts of Yakub Khan not being vigorously supported by his people, the imperialists were able to enter Srinagar, the capital, without encountering serious opposition. Further attempts at resistance had no better success, and Yakub Khan, who had regarded himself as the lawful successor of his captive father, was compelled to surrender.

Kashmir was then definitely annexed, organized under imperial officers, and attached as a Sarkar to the Suba or province of Kabul. It remained under that form of administration until the disintegration of the empire in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Yusuf Khan and his son were exiled to Bihar, where they were imprisoned under the charge of Man Singh, the governor. A year or so later Yusuf Khan was released from confinement and appointed to a 'command of 500', a rank carrying a salary ranging from 2,100 to 2,500 rupees a month, and inadequate to the dignity of a deposed sovereign. He served in that capacity under Man Singh for several years. The time and manner of his death do not appear to be recorded. His son paid his respects to Akbar when the emperor visited Kashmir. Badaoni undoubtedly is in error when he asserts that both father and

1. *A.N.*, iii, 745; Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, p. 333.
2. He realined the road, which became the regularly used imperial highway into Kashmir. Bhimbhar is at the foot of the hills.

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son perished miserably in a Bihar prison.[1] The treatment of the ex-rulers of Kashmir cannot be described as being generous, but it was not quite so bad as Badaoni represents it.

PRINCE KHUSRU; RAJAS MAN SINGH AND BHAGWAN DAS

In 1587[2] Man Singh's sister bore to Prince Salim a boy, Prince Khusru, destined to a miserable life and a secret death. Man Singh, who was relieved as governor of Kabul by Zain Khan, was appointed to the government of Bihar, Hajipur, and Patna. A little later, after his reputed father's death, the great province of Bengal was added to his charge. Man Singh, who succeeded Bhagwan Das as Raja in 1589, and held the high rank of 'commander of 5,000', which was raised subsequently, and contrary to precedent, to that of 'commander of 7,000', remained in charge of Bengal, with little interruption, until the closing days of Akbar's life, but resided for a considerable time at Ajmer, leaving the provincial administration in the hands of deputies. He established his official capital at Akmahal or Akbarnagar, the modern Rajmahal. His buildings are now in ruins, and lie buried in jungle. He is reported to have ruled his extensive dominions, in which he was practically almost independent, 'with great prudence and justice'.[3] He died in the ninth year of Jahangir's reign.

Man Singh's father, or more accurately 'adoptive father', Raja Bhagwan Das of Amber or Jaipur, had done the emperor good service from an early time in the reign, and had fought bravely by his sovereign's side in the hotly contested skirmish of Sarnal. When he died in November 1589, at Lahore, he was a 'commander of 5,000', and bore the lofty title of Amiru-l umara, or Premier Noble.

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1. From this point the proofs of Mr. Beveridge's translation of volume iii of the *Akbarnamah* are no longer available. For the life of Sultan Yusuf Khan see *Ain*, vol. i, p. 478, No. 228. Abu-l Fazl states that 'Yusuf was released from prison, and received a *jagir*, so that he might learn better manners, and appreciate the kind treatment he had received' (*A.N.*, text, iii, 549; cited in E. & D., v, 454 *n.*). His statement is supported by the Dutch author, van den Broecke, whose *Fragmentum Historiae Indicae* was based on a 'genuine chronicle'. He says that :—'Rex [*scil.* Yakub Khan, the son] vivus in potestatem venit, sed venia ab Achabare impetrata, annuum stipendium una cum Parente, haud satis pro dignitate, accepit' (De Laet, 1st issue, p. 200; 2nd issue, p. 192). Lethbridge translates :—'The king was taken alive, but was pardoned by Akbar. He received a pension, as did his father; but not sufficient to maintain his dignity' (*Calcutta Review*, 1873, p. 193). Badaoni alleges that the Kashmir princes 'were both of them imprisoned in the cell of affliction, and by the sickness of melancholy and spleen they were released from the prison of the body' (Lowe, pp. 364, 365). Clearly that statement is untrue. The error, presumably, was due to incorrect information rather than to wilful perversion of the truth.

2. Khafi Khan dates the birth of the prince two years later in A.H. 997 (Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, p. 310).

3. Stewart, *History of Bengal* (1813), p. 189. Man Singh was, strictly speaking, the brother's son, not the son of Bhagwan Das, who had three brothers, namely, Surat Singh, Madho Singh, and Jagat Singh. Man Singh was the son of the last named (Tod, 'Annals of Amber', chap. i; in *Annals of Rajasthan*, popular ed., vol. ii, p. 286 *n.*) Inasmuch as Man Singh is ordinarily regarded as the son of Bhagwan Das, and certainly was his successor, he must have been adopted by him as a son. I do not know of any actual record of the supposed adoption, except that Tod (loc. cit.) calls him the 'adopted son' of his predecessor. Tod says that abundant materials for the life of Man Singh existed at Jaipur. See Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, pp. 339-41, No. 30.

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RAJA TODAR MALL

Five days before the death of Raja Bhagwan Das, Akbar lost another valued friend in the person of Raja Todar Mall, who had risen, by reason of his virtues and abilities, from the humble position of a clerk to the highest official rank in the empire, that of Vakil. He was an old man and failing when he died. He was born in Oudh at a small town or village named Laharpur, and, after serving in subordinate offices, received his first important commission by being entrusted with the revenue assessment ofGujarat in the eighteenth year of the reign (1573-4). He proved himself to be a good and valiant soldier when serving in Bengal with old Munim Khan, into whom he infused some of his own superabundant energy. When in Gujarat for the second time he vigorously attacked Sultan Muzaffar, and in 1577-8 received his reward by being appointed Vizier. During the Bengal rebellion of 1580 he held Mungir (Monghyr) gallantly against the insurgents, and in 1582-3 was appointed Diwan. He is specially remembered for his share in the assessment of the land revenue which he undertook in that capacity. He compelled Hindus to learn Persian by requiring that the revenue accounts should be prepared in that language and character, and so qualified his countrymen for more responsible employment under a Muhammadan government. In 1589, when Akbar paid a hurried visit to Kashmir, Todar Mall was left in charge of Lahore, at that time the capital, where he died in November.

Abu-l Fazl, who did not altogether like him, and censured him for religious bigotry and a vindictive disposition, declares that he was incomparable in courage, administrative skill, and freedom from avarice. 'There was no cupidity in his administration'.[1] On the whole, he was, perhaps, the ablest officer in Akbar's service.

AKBAR IN KASHMIR AND KABUL, 1589

Akbar seized an early opportunity for a hasty visit to the fascinating valley of Kashmir, which he had coveted for so long, and now described as his 'private garden'. The emperor, starting from Lahore on April 22, 1589, arrived at Srinagar about the end of May. He entered the hill country from Bhimbhar and crossed the Pir Panial (Pantsal) range by the improved though still bad road which his engineer-in-chief had constructed, and then spent a few days in the valley. Prince Murad and the ladies, who had been left at Bhimbhar at the foot of the hills, were directed to meet the emperor at Rohtas near Jhelum. Akbar travelled by the Baramula route and through the Hazara District, then known as Pakhli, to Attock. In compliance with amended instructions his family met him there instead of at Rohtas. Thence the emperor proceeded to Kabul, where he spent two pleasant months, often visiting the gardens and places of interest. While there he received the news of the deaths of Rajas Bhagwan Das and Todar Mall. On November 7, he started for India, leaving Kabul in charge of Muhammad Kasim, the engineer.[2]

1. *A. N.*, iii, 223. For biography of Todar Mall see Blochmann in *Ain*, vol. i, pp. 351, 620, No. 39.

2. *Tabakat*, in E. & D., v, 457. Pakhli was the name of the Sarkar or District lying between the Kashmir frontier and Attock (*Ain*, book ii, vol. ii, p. 390), equiva-

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AKBAR'S DESIGNS ON SIND

Akbar—in pursuance of his deliberate policy directed to the object of bringing every province of northern India under his sway, as a necessary foundation for still more ambitious enterprises—now took steps for the subjugation of southern Sind, the independence of which was an offence in his eyes. Multan, lying to the north, and at present under the government of the Panjab, but naturally and historically belonging to upper Sind, had been regarded as an integral part of the empire of Hindostan since the time of Babur. The original province or Suba of Multan included three Sarkars or Districts, namely, Multan, Debalpur, and Bakhar.[1] The strong island fortress of Bakhar had been surrendered to Keshu Khan, an officer of Akbar's, in 1574, and had remained since then under imperial control.[2]

The emperor now desired to extend his dominion over southern Sind, or the principality of Thathah, as far as the mouths of the Indus, and so bring under his power the last remaining independent State of northern India.[3]

CONQUEST OF SIND, 1591

The conquest of Sind and Balochistan being regarded as a necessary prelude to the long meditated recovery of Kandahar, Akbar attached great importance to the operations, and chose one of his best officers to conduct them. He took no personal share in the campaign, and never visited any part of either Sind or Balochistan after his infancy.[4]

The officer selected to effect the conquest was Bairam Khan's son, Abdurrahim, who had received the title of Khan Khanan for his suppression of Sultan Muzaffar and the final reduction of Gujarat. In 1590 he was appointed Subadar of Multan, and directed to annex the principality of Thathah, then under the government of Mirza Jani the Tarkhan, who, like the ruler of Kashmir, had omitted to offer homage to his all-powerful neighbour and had committed the unpardonable sin of pretending to independence. The Mirza attempted to defend his

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lent to the ancient kingdom of Urasa (Stein, tr. *Rajatarangini*, vol. ii, p. 434), or the modern Hazara District. On the passes over the Pir Pantsal range see ibid., pp. 392-400.

1. *Ain* (transl. Jarrett), vol. ii, pp. 325-36. Debalpur is commonly, though incorrectly, written Dipalpur. It is now a large village in the Montgomery District, situated in 30° 40′ N. and 73° 32′ E. Bakhar is the Bukkur of *I.G.* The name is sometimes written Bhakhar or Bhakkar. The fortress stands on a rocky island in the Indus between Sakhar (Sukkur) and Rohri (Rurhi), and is situated in 27° 43′ N. and 68° 56′ E.

2. The correct name of the officer appears to be Keshu Khan, as in *I.G.* (1908), s.v. Bukkur. It is sometimes written Gesu, Gisu, or Kisu. See *Tarikh-i M'asumi* in E. & D., i, 240; Raverty, *Notes*, p. 595.

3. Thathah (Raverty), Tatta (*I.G.*), Nagar Thato, &c., ; situated in 24° 45′ N. and 67° 58′ E., and now included in the Karachi (Kurrachee) District. The town, at present small and unhealthy, was a populous and busy mart in Akbar's time and throughout the seventeenth century. It decayed during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

4. The story that in 1591 he revisited Umarkot, his birth-place, which has found its way into the latest edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer* and many other modern publications, is baseless fiction, 'as every history that has ever been written shows'. Raverty, *Notes* p. 601; *I.G.* (1908), s.v. Umarkot.

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country and fought two engagements, in which flotillas of boats (*ghurabs*) on the Indus took part. He lost both fights and was obliged to surrender, giving up both Thathah and the fortress of Sihwan (1591). He was treated without harshness, and after his appearance at court was granted his former dominions as a fief of the crown. He was appointed a 'commander of 3,000', and joined the ranks of the adherents of the Divine Faith, making a formal renunciation of Islam. Jani Beg accompanied Akbar in the expedition to the Deccan, and after the fall of Asirgarh in January 1601 died of delirium tremens, like so many of his notable contemporaries.[1]

DESIGNS ON AND MISSIONS TO THE DECCAN

Akbar, who had always cherished the hope of being able some day to bring under his sway the Sultanates of the Deccan, which had been formed out of the fragments of the Bahmani empire, now began to see his way towards the accomplishment of his ambitious design. The whole of northern India, including Balochistan, Afghanistan, and Kashmir, had either been subdued or was on the point of being reduced to obedience. The emperor felt that he was sufficiently secure in the north to justify an adventurous policy in the south. If fortune should favour him and his life should be prolonged he might afterwards undertake the conquest of Turan, the regions in Transoxiana where his ancestors had ruled long ago. But the Uzbegs were strong in that direction, and that project must wait, whereas the Sultanates of the Deccan were comparatively weak and always at variance one with the other.

Akbar resolved as a preliminary measure to send missions to the rulers of the Deccan, in order to ascertain whether or not they would be willing to accept his suzerainty without putting him to the trouble of fighting and defeating them. Accordingly, in August 1591,

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1. The fullest and best account of the conquest of Sind is that in the *Tarikh-i-M'asumi* or *Tarikhu-s Sind* by Mir Muhammad M'asum of Bakhar, who took an active part in the operations. The author resembled Nizamu-d din in being both a gallant commander and an accomplished writer (E. & D., i, pp. 247-52). Raverty also tells the story from the original authorities (*Notes*, p. 601). For the life of Mirza Jani Beg, of the Arghun clan, with the title of Tarkhan, see Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, pp. 361-5. Blochmann traces his descent through Arghun Khan (*d.* A.H. 690=A.D. 1291) back to Chingez Khan, but Raverty declares that to be a mistake. The ancestor referred to (according to him) was not Arghun Khan of the lineage of the great Khan, but a person named Amir Arghun, who died about A.D. 1275 (*Notes*, p. 580 *n.*). Sihwan (Sehwan of *I.G.*), a town and fortress of immense antiquity, is situated in 26° 26′ N. and 67° 54′ E., and is now included in the Larkanah (Larkana of *I.G.*) District of Sind. The Indus sometimes approaches the town, but was some miles distant from it in Akbar's days. The town is generally called Siwistan in the Persian histories, and has been often confused by English writers with the totally different place, Siwi or Sibi, in Balochistan to the SE. of Quetta, situated in about 29° 30′ N. and 68° E. (See Raverty, *Notes*, esp. pp. 556, 602 and India Office map of 32″ to mile). Sihwan or Siwistan belonged to the Thathah province. Siwi or Sibi was a dependency of Kandahar, and was annexed on Akbar's behalf by Mir Muhammad M'asum in February 1595. It thus became part of the Kabul Suba. The Thathah province, including Sihwan, was added to the old Multan Suba.

For the two-, or sometimes three-masted ships called *ghurabs* ('grabs') see R. Mookerji, *Indian Shipping*, Longmans, 1912, p. 251 and plate; Yule and Burnell, *Glossary*, s.v. Grab. The tonnage ran from about 150 to 300 tons. *Ghurab* means a 'raven'; compare 'corvette'.

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he dispatched four missions, severally directed to Khandesh, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Golkonda. The emperor's first objective was Khandesh, the small kingdom in the valley of the Tapti, then ruled by a prince of the Faruki dynasty, named Raja Ali Khan, who is described as 'a man of great talent, just, wise, prudent, and brave.'[1] He recognized the superiority of the Mogul power, and showed indications of willingness to acknowledge Akbar's suzerainty. His capital was Burhanpur,[2] which still survives as a considerable town, possessing a valuable trade in cotton, with wire-drawing and silk-weaving industries. The chief importance of Raja Ali Khan's territory lay in the fact that it included the mighty fortress of Asirgarh, commanding the main road to the Deccan, and justly regarded as one of the strongest and best equipped fortresses in Europe or Asia.[3] Shaikh Faizi, Abu-l Fazl's brother, the most notable of the four envoys, accordingly was sent to Burhanpur, with instructions to proceed later to the court of Burhan Shah, or Burhanu-l Mulk, king of Ahmadnagar, to whom a special ambassador was also sent. Ahmadnagar, after Khandesh, was the most accessible of the Deccan sultanates. Akbar, as will appear subsequently, never advanced farther.

AKBAR'S SECOND VISIT TO KASHMIR. CONQUEST OF ORISSA, 1592

In August, 1592 Akbar started on a hunting expedition along the banks of the Chinab, intending to pay a second visit to Kashmir. While on his way he received news that a nephew of his governor in the valley had rebelled and set up as Sultan on his own account. A little later the emperor was greeted by a pleasanter dispatch announcing the victories of the Khan Khanan in Sind, and he accepted the information as a good omen of the speedy suppression of the Kashmir rebellion. He was not disappointed in his expectations, and before he entered the hills from Bhimbhar had the satisfaction of inspecting the rebel's head which his officers had sent in. He stayed only eight days in the valley, amusing himself with sport, and then departed, as on the previous occasion, by the Baramula Pass, and on through the Hazara District (Pakhli) to Rohtas. He thence returned to Lahore, where intelligence reached him that Raja Man Singh had defeated the Afghan chiefs in Orissa and annexed that country. The new province, although imperfectly subdued, was attached to the Suba of Bengal, and continued to be part of the empire until 1751, when Allahvardi (Alivardi) Khan was compelled to surrender it to the Marathas.

Akbar's arms were thus successful on all sides, and he was able to contemplate with the assurance of victory further adventures in the Deccan.

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1. *Bombay Gazetteer* (1880), Khandesh, p. 247.
2. The name is written as Brampour or in other corrupt forms by the older European writers.
3. Asirgarh is written Asirgad in the *Bombay Gazetteer*. Educated Hindus in the Deccan and on the Bombay side pronounce as *d* or *dh* the cerebral letters which are pronounced as *r* or *rh* in northern India. The difference of spelling sometimes disguises names familiar in literature in their northern form. 'The title of Raja, which was inoffensive to Akbar, had been used by the founder of the dynasty, Raja Ahmad or Malik Raja' (Haig, *Ind. Ant.*, 1918, p. 144).

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DEATH OF SHAIKH MUBARAK; AZAM KHAN, 1593

In 1593 the campaign in Gujarat was ended by the suicide of Muzaffar Shah, as already mentioned. In August the emperor's old friend, Shaikh Mubarak, father of Abu-l Fazl and Faizi, and the real founder of the Divine Faith, died at an advanced age. He was a man of profound learning after the Asiatic manner, and so much of a philosopher that he had changed his theological views several times.

Azam Khan, Aziz Koka, governor of Gujarat, who had never been on cordial terms with Akbar since innovations in religion had been introduced, disobeyed a summons to come to court, left his province, and departed for Mecca without permission. Strange to say, when he returned to India in the autumn of 1594, he not only became reconciled with the emperor, but actually enrolled himself as a disciple of the Divine Faith. It is said that he was fleeced so shamelessly by the harpies of the Mecca shrines that he found orthodoxy too expensive. One of his daughters was married to Prince Murad, who succeeded him as governor of Gujarat. Another daughter was married later to Prince Khusru. The subsequent life of Aziz was marked by various vicissitudes. He died in his bed, in the nineteenth year of Jahangir's reign.[1]

WAR IN THE DECCAN DECIDED ON; NIZAMU-D DIN AHMED, 1593

At or about the close of 1593 the envoys to the Sultans of the Deccan returned with reports unsatisfactory to Akbar, who was disappointed to learn that Burhanu-l Mulk, the ruler of Ahmadnagar, had not sent suitable tribute, his gifts being limited to some fifteen elephants, with certain textiles, and a few jewels. The paucity of his offerings was understood to imply that he desired to maintain his independence. Akbar regarded the assertion of independence by any ruling prince within the reach of his arm as a personal affront to be expiated by ruthless conquest.[2]

War was decreed in consequence, and at first Prince Daniyal was nominated for the supreme command of the invading army, which included 70,000 horse. On second thoughts, after holding a Council, Akbar revoked the commission to his son, and appointed the Khan Khanan (Abdurrahim) as commander-in-chief of the expedition.

At this point the historical narrative (*Tabakat-i Akbari*) of Nizamu-d din Ahmad, Bakhshi of the empire, ends abruptly. The accomplished author had hopes of continuing the story, but at the end of October 1594 he died, aged forty-five, after a short illness. His friend Badaoni has recorded a touching tribute to his memory, and avers that in the city of Lahore there was scarcely any one, whether of high or low degree, who did not recall his gracious qualities and lament his premature decease.[3] Certainly he was one of the most estimable of Akbar's officers.

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1. Blochmann gives a full biography, *Ain*, vol. i, pp. 325-7, No. 21. His title is sometimes written as Khan-i 'Azam.
2. Terry compares the Great Mogul to 'a huge pike in a great pond, that preys upon all his neighbours' (ed. 1777, p. 148).
3. Badaoni, p. 411.

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Before completing the history of Akbar's extensive annexations in the north-west, we must revert to the subject of his relations with Christianity and his orders concerning religious matters.

RENEWED INTERCOURSE WITH GOA THROUGH LEO GRIMON

After the departure of Father Aquaviva in the spring of 1583 nothing more is heard of dealings with Christian priests until 1590, when a Greek sub-deacon, named Leo Grimon, on his way back to his native country, returning from we know not where, happened to appear at the imperial court in the Panjab, and so gave an opportunity for renewal of the intercourse with Goa, of which Akbar gladly took advantage.

The emperor issued fresh invitations to the authorities at Goa asking them again to send him teachers of the Christian faith, and using language far stronger than that which he had employed in 1579. His words, no doubt dictated by himself, seem to indicate that in 1590 he may have had some thoughts of becoming a Christian. Everything known about the invitation, the reply made by the civil and ecclesiastical officials of Goa, and the complete failure of the mission sent has been recorded by Du Jarric and reproduced in English by Maclagan.[1] The documents are so full of personal interest and throw so much light on the puzzling character of Akbar that they must be transcribed almost in full. Certain phrases especially striking are printed in italics, and Maclagan's notes, so far as they have been utilized, are distinguished by his initials.

PASS GRANTED TO THE SUBDEACON LEO GRIMON

The pass or *parwana* granted to the sub-deacon was as follows :

'Order of His Highness, Muhammad, great King and Lord of the Fosliera (*sic*),[2] to all the Captains, Viceroys, Governors, rulers, and other officers of my realm :—

'"I would have you know that I have shown much honour and favour to Dom Leo Grimon, willing thereby that you should do likewise, inasmuch as I hope to obtain by his means certain other learned Fathers from Goa, *by whom I trust to be restored from death unto life through their holy doctrine, even as their Master Jesus Christ, coming from Heaven to Earth, raised many from the dead and gave them life.*

'"On this occasion I am summoning the most learned and

1. pp. 60-4. The letters were first published by Father Spitilli in Italian at Rome in 1592. Guzman (1601) and Du Jarric (1608) copied from him. I have not seen Spitilli's rare tract. Peruschi (Roma, 1597, p. 4) dismisses the Second Mission in a few words :—'E similmente alcuni altri [Padri] ne furno mandati poi nell' anno 1591; ma per diverse occasioni se ne ritornorno, e non si pote fare effetto alcuno'; or in English, 'And likewise some other Jesuit Fathers were sent later in the year 1591; but on account of various happenings they came back and were unable to gain any result.' The story of the mission is told by Du Jarric in book ii, chap. xii; Latin version, vol. ii, pp. 524-9.

2. The superscription evidently has been imperfectly copied. Akbar never called himself simply Muhammad. The word 'Fosliera' in the French, and 'Domini Follierii' in the Latin text of Du Jarric is obscure. E.D.M. (p. 60) suggests 'Fasli era', but qu.?

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virtuous of the Fathers, by whom I would be taught many things concerning *the faith of the Christians* and *of the royal highway whereon they travel to God's presence.* Wherefore I order my officers aforesaid to bestow great honour and favour both on Dom Leo Grimon and on the Fathers for whom I am sending, in all the towns of my realm through which they shall pass, granting them an escort to conduct them safely from town to town, providing them with all that is necessary for themselves and their beasts, and all else they need, at my charges : and you shall be responsible for their safe arrival and shall take heed that they lose nothing which they have with them.

' "I order also my Captain Khankhanan (*mon Capitaine Canchena*)[1] to forward them safely to my Captain Raizza (?), who with the other Captains shall do likewise until they reach my court. I enjoin also Giabiblica (?), the Captain of Cambay, to furnish whatsoever they need in going or coming.[2] I also forbid my customs officers to take anything from the said Fathers, whose baggages they shall let pass without toll : and the aforesaid shall pay heed to my commandment, troubling the said Fathers neither in their persons nor in their property. If they make any complaint you shall be severely punished, even to the danger of your heads. Moreover I desire that this my order be carried out in respect both of their persons and of their goods, that they may pass freely through my towns without paying tax or toll and be well guarded on their road.

' "They shall be conducted from Cambay to Ahmadabad, and thence to Paian (Pattan), and thence to Gelu? (Jalor), from Gelu to Guipar (?), and from Guipar to Bikanir,[3] whence they shall go to Bitasser (? Jalasir), from Bitasser[4] to Multan, and from Multan to Lahore where we reside. For this is the route by which I would have the Fathers come. Whom I hope by God's aid to see shortly at this Court, when they shall be received by me and mine as their worth deserveth.' "

Letter from Akbar to the Fathers of the Society at Goa.

'In the name of God.

'The exalted and invincible Akbar to those that are in God's grace and have tasted of his Holy Spirit, and to those that are obedient to the spirit of the Messiah and conduct men to God. I say to you, learned Fathers, whose words are heeded as those of men retired from the world, who have left the pomps and honour of earth : Fathers who walk by the true way : I would have your Reverences know that *I have knowledge of all the faiths of the world, both of various kinds of*

1. 'Mirza 'Abdu-r rahman Khan, son of Bairam Khan and commander in Gujarat' (E.D.M.). Maclagan used the French original of Du Jarric. I have chiefly consulted the Latin version in the India Office Library. The book is of extreme rarity in either form.

2. 'Raizza' is 'perhaps Rai Singh of Bikanir' (Blochmann, *Ain*, i, 357). I am unable to identify 'Giabiblica', unless he be Raja 'Ali Khan of Khandesh (Blochmann, *Ain*, i, 327).' [E.D.M.]. The Raja was killed in 1596.

3. Gelu = ? Jalotra on meridian 72° nearly due N. of Patan. 'Guipar' might be Kharopar, further N. I doubt if the party went round to the east by Jalor anp Jodhpur. They may have travelled due N. through Pokharan.

4. Bitasser = ? Kalasar, N. of Bikaner. The names are hopelessly corrupted apparently.

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heathen and of the Muhammadans,[1] *save only that of Jesus Christ which is the faith of God and as such recognized and followed by many.* Now, in that I feel great inclination to the friendship of the Fathers, I desire that by them I may be taught this faith.

'There has recently come to our Court and royal Palace one Dom Leo Grimon, a person of great merit and good discourse, whom I have questioned on sundry matters and who has answered well to the satisfáction of myself and my doctors. He has assured me that there are in India (*scil.* Goa) several Fathers of great prudence and learning, and if this be so Your Reverences will be able immediately, on receiving my letter, to send some of them to my Court with all confidence, so that in disputations with my doctors I may compare their several learning and character, and see the superiority of the Fathers over my doctors; whom we call Qazis,[2] and whom by this means they can teach the truth.

'If they will remain in my Court, I shall build them such lodging that they may live as nobly as any Father now in this country,[3] and when they wish to leave, I shall let them depart with all honour. You should, therefore, do as I ask, and the more willingly because I beg of you the same, in this letter written at the commencement of the moon of June.'

When perusing this letter we should remember that it is translated from the French of Du Jarric, who probably used either a Portuguese or an Italian version of the Persian original. It reads as if the sub-deacon had had a hand in some parts of the phrasing.

Anyhow it, or something very like it, reached the persons to whom it was addressed.

THE PROVINCIAL'S REPORT, NOV., 1590

The Provincial, in his report dated November of the same year, recites how nearly nine years had elapsed since the Great Mogul Akbar had sent a similar request, and states that the sub-deacon had brought with him liberal gifts for the poor of Goa which the donor had desired to be still more lavish than Grimon would accept.

The reporter goes on to say:

'And from what the sub-deacon tells us at Goa, it appears that this excellent emperor is most anxious to establish the fundamental truths of Christianity, and has induced the Prince his son, and his chief general to hold the same views.[4]

'On the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin [August 15],

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1. Compare Abu-l Fazl on himself:—'Without dishonourable curiosity I became acquainted with the tenets of all creeds, and my spirit was weary of their multitude' (*Ain*, vol. iii, p. 446).

2. 'Qazis' is an error. The word is written 'Cassises' by Botelho, and is 'not *qazi*=a Muhammadan judge, but from the Persian *kashish*, in Arabic *qasis*=a *mulla*, a Muhammadan doctor or priest' (Beveridge, in *J. and Proc. A.S.B.*, 1910, p. 456*n.*). In the Latin version of Du Jarric (vol. i, p. 211) the form used is 'Cacizes'.

3. 'In this country' may mean Goa. In Akbar's dominions there may or may not have been one or two priests in Bengal at that date, but there were no others.

4. The 'Prince' means Salim (Jahangir), then about twenty-one years of age. The 'chief general' would seem to indicate the Khan Khanan, but I am not certain that he is intended.

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he held a festival,[1] setting forth in an elevated situation the picture of the Virgin which Father Rodolfi and his companions had given him, and called on his relations and courtiers to kiss the picture with due reverence. They had asked that the Prince his son should do so and he consented with the greatest alacrity.

'The Emperor turned all the mosques of the city where he li- -d into stables for elephants or horses, on the pretence of preparation for war.[2] Soon, however, he destroyed the Alcorans (which are the turrets from which the priests call with loud voices on Muhammad),[3] saying that if the mosques could no longer be used for prayer there was no need for the turrets: and this he did in his hatred for the Muhammadan sect and in his affection for the Gospel. The subdeacon also said that the name of Muhammad was as hated at the Mughal's court as in Christendom, and that the Emperor had restricted himself to one wife, turning out the rest and distributing them among his courtiers. Moreover, that he had passed a law that no Muhammadan was to circumcise his son before the fifteenth year of his age, and that the sons should be at liberty on attaining years of discretion to embrace what religion they chose.'

THE PROVINCIAL'S REPORT, NOV., 1591

The Provincial, continuing his report in the year following, under date November 1591, informs his superior that the mission, consisting of two Portuguese Fathers, Edward Leioton (Leitanus) and Christopher di Vega,[4] with an assistant, had been dispatched from Goa and received at Lahore in 1591 :

'This embassy induced many, not only of the Fathers, but also of the students, to apply to be sent on the mission, and there were chosen for the purpose two Fathers and a Companion who reached the Emperor's Court in 1591, and were received with great kindness.'[5] Every kind of favour was shown to them, a house was given to them in the palace itself, necessaries were supplied, and a school was started in which the sons of nobles and the Emperor's own sons and grandson were taught to read and write Portuguese.[6]

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1. The festival of the Assumption, instituted by the Byzantine Emperor Maurice in A.D. 582, is celebrated on August 15 (*Encycl. Brit.*, latest ed., s.v. Assumption). Sir Harris Nocolas gives the date as August 25 in his Alphabetical Calendar of Saints' Days (*The Chronology of History*, 1833, p.127). The same author, in the Roman and Church Calendar (ibid., p. 106). gives the date as the 15th, which is correct.

2. See Peruschi, p. 27. 'Ha fatto rovinare tutte le moschee delli suoi paesi, e ne ha fatto stalle, e luoghi di vilissimi essercitii.' The fact of the desecration of mosques, amply proved by the Jesuit testimony, is confirmed independently by Badaoni, who states that 'mosques and prayer-rooms were changed into store-rooms, or given to Hindu *chaukidars* [watchmen]' (Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, p. 200; Lowe, p. 332). 'Akbar ordered the chief mosque at Asirgarh to be destroyed and replaced by an idol-temple' (Firishta, text, ii, 567, quoted by Haig, *Ind. Ant.*, 1918, p. 185).

3. 'Alcoran', an error for *minar* or *manar*, as in other writers of the time.

4. 'Leitam or Leitao is distinctly a Portuguese name. He may have joined the Society in India, for his name is not on Franco's list' (Hosten, *Jesuit, Missionaries in Northern India*, pamphlet, Catholic Orphan Press, Calcutta, 1907, p. 8).

5. The name of the lay companion is not known (ibid.).

6. The school probably was established for political rather than for religious purposes. The grandson was Khusru, then about four years of age. The sons,

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'But when the Fathers saw that the Emperor had not decided as they expected, to embrace the Christian Faith, they proposed to return to Goa, but were bidden by me not to do so: Father Edward Leioton (who is one of the Fathers that remained there) being expressly ordered not to return, but to remain where he was. Father Christopher di Vega, who returned with Father Leioton's consent, was sent back by me, as he was a great favourite with the Emperor, and was told not to come away except it were under an oath that he would return. And since the hearts of Kings are in God's hand we have decided with much inward waiting and firm hope of God's goodness to continue this mission. And now our priests are occupied, as above noticed, in teaching the youths to read and write Portuguese and in other such duties, awaiting a convenient opportunity for speaking more freely with the Emperor on religious subjects; a matter hitherto rendered difficult by the opposition of the generals who are with him and in whose absence no audience is usually granted. And as the conversion of the Emperor to the Catholic Faith is a matter of the greatest moment, it is necessary to proceed skilfully and gently in the matter.'

FAILURE OF THE MISSION

No printed record explains how, why, or exactly when the mission came to an abrupt conclusion. Its members were recalled and returned to Goa, at some time in 1592. It is known that their precipitate return was disapproved in Rome,[1] and it is probable that manuscripts may exist there which contain full explanations. The suspicion seems justifiable that the Fathers selected were not in all respects the right persons for the task entrusted to them, and that they may have been somewhat faint-hearted. The emperor, who was at the time deeply engaged in wars in Sind and on the frontier, seems to have temporarily lost interest in religious problems, and to have feared that he might endanger the success of his military operations if he went too far in complaisance to the foreigners whom his generals distrusted and disliked. Probably Akbar was never perfectly sincere when he used expressions implying belief in the Christian religion. It may be true that he preferred it, on the whole, to any other religion, but it may be doubted if he ever seriously intended to accept baptism and openly profess himself a follower of Christ.[2] His interest lay chiefly in the study of the subject now called 'Comparative Religion', and was prompted by intellectual curiosity rather than by an awakened con-

namely, Prince Murad, aged 21, and Prince Daniyal, aged 19, were not likely to pay much attention to lessons. The attendance of the princes, evidently, was merely formal.

1. Catrou, *Histoire generale de l' Empire du Mogol*, quarto ed., Paris, 1715, p. 108. The book is rare. I have used the India Office copy. Du Jarric (vol. ii, p. 529) expressly states that the Fathers were recalled :—'Omnes Goam, re infecta, revocati, redierunt.'

2. Referring to the time of the First Mission (1580-2), Badaoni states :—'His Majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion, and wishing to spread the doctrines of Jesus, ordered Prince Murad to take a few lessons in Christianity by way of auspiciousness, and charged Abu-l Fazl to translate the Gospel' (Lowe, p. 267; Blochmann, *Aín*, vol. i, p. 182).

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science. Grimon's statement that Akbar had confined himself to one wife, and distributed his other consorts among the courtiers is not directly confirmed from other sources. It is unlikely that the assertion should have been wholly baseless, because the other statements of fact attributed to Grimon are supported more or less by independent testimony. Probably Akbar really did repudiate some of the hundreds of women in his harem and distribute them among his nobles. His record renders it improbable that he should have gone so far as to restrict himself to one wife, when he was still under fifty years of age. He may have promised to do so or even asserted that he had made the sacrifice, but it does not follow that he actually kept such a promise or told the exact truth about a matter incapable of verification.[1]

A.H. 1000; MAHDIST HOPES; NOVEL REGULATIONS

The imagination of Akbar and of many of his contemporaries was much impressed by the thought that a complete millennium of lunar years since the Hijra or Flight of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina was about to be completed. The year 1000 of the Hijri Era corresponded with the period running from October 9, 1591 to September 27, 1592. For several years before the final year of the millennial period speculation had been rife concerning the changes which might be expected when the cycle of one thousand years should be ended. Some people, Akbar included, thought that Islam would no longer survive, and many looked for the appearance of a Mahdi or Guide, who should be the Saviour of mankind, and supersede the teaching of the ancient prophets. Even the fanatically orthodox Badaoni yielded to the allurements of Mahdist expectations. Akbar directed the compilation of a comprehensive work, to be entitled the *Tarikh-i Alfi*, the History of the Thousand Years.[2] In March 1592, when the thirty-seventh regnal year began, he marked the occasion by issuing special coins. People who desired the emperor's favour diligently shaved their beards. The next year (A.H. 1001) witnessed the issue of other new-fangled regulations, the particulars of which are not recorded; and in A.H. 1002, the thirty-ninth regnal year, equivalent to 1593-4, many more enactments of a novel kind appeared, not having any obvious connexion with the close of the millennial period. Among the more important were the following:

'If a Hindu, when a child or otherwise, had been made a Musal-

1. The following quotation from the 'Happy Sayings', recorded at some time late in the reign between 1576 and 1600, bears on the subject:

'To seek more than one wife is to work one's own undoing. In case she were barren or bore no son, it might then be expedient.

'Had I been wise earlier, I would have taken no woman from my own kingdom into my seraglio, for my subjects are to me in the place of children' (*Ain*, vol. iii, p. 398).

In A.D. 1587, the beginning of A.H. 995, Akbar had proclaimed that:

'No one was to marry more than one wife, except in cases of barrenness; but in all other cases the rule was—"One God, and one wife" ' (Badaoni, in Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, p. 205). Lowe renders, 'In any other case, the rule should be one man, and one woman' (p. 367), which seems to be the correct version. Akbar could hardly avoid taking some personal action in order to justify such a public act of legislation, so manifestly inconsistent with his earlier practice.

2. Badaoni, p. 327.

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man against his will, he was to be allowed, if he pleased, to go back to the religion of his fathers.

'No man should be interfered with on account of his religion, and any one was to be allowed to go over to any religion he pleased.

'If a Hindu woman fell in love with a Musalman, and entered the Muslim religion, she should be taken by force from her husband, and restored to her family.

'If any of the infidels chose to build a church, or synagogue, or idol-temple, or Parsee "tower of silence", no one was to hinder him.'[1]

The reader will not fail to observe the inconsistency between the second and third of the regulations quoted. The general principle of toleration admirably expressed in the second, while actually put in practice concerning religions other than Islam, was not acted on in matters concerning Muhammadan faith and practice. Akbar showed bitter hostility to the faith of his fathers and his own youth, and actually perpetrated a persecution of Islam.

About the same time multitudinous orders appeared dealing with every department of civil and military administration, as well as with the details of social life. 'To recount them all', Badaoni exclaims, 'would take a lifetime of more than the human span'. Many of the orders then issued may be read in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, but that book does not usually specify the chronological sequence of the regulations cited, and it is not always possible to identify in it the legislation promulgated in any particular year.

ANNEXATION OF BALOCHISTAN AND KANDAHAR

The year 1595 saw the completion of the conquests and annexations in the north-west effected by the arms of Akbar's officers or through diplomacy based on the terror of his name. In February of that year Mir Masum, the historian, who wielded the sword and the pen with equal facility, attacked the fort of Siwi to the south-east of Quetta (*ante*, p. 177), which was held by the Parni Afghans. The tribesmen, who mustered in force to defend their stronghold, were defeated in battle, and after consideration surrendered the place, with the result that all Balochistan, as far as the frontiers of the Kandahar province, and including Makran, the region near the coast, passed under the imperial sceptre.

A little later, in April, Kandahar itself came into Akbar's possession without bloodshed. As already mentioned, the Khan Khanan's campaign in Sind was intended as a prelude to an attack on Kandahar. But no attack was needed. The Persian governor, Muzaffar Husain Mirza, being involved in quarrels with relatives and in danger from the Uzbegs, asked Akbar to depute an officer to take over charge. The emperor, of course, complied gladly, and sent Shah Beg, who had been in the service of his brother at Kabul. The city thus peacefully acquired remained under the Indian government until 1622, when Jahangir lost it. Shahjahan regained it and held it from 1638 to 1649, when it was finally separated from the empire.[2]

1. Ibid., pp. 392, 393.
2. Raverty, *Notes*, pp. 600-3, from original authorities.

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CHAPTER X

THE THIRD JESUIT MISSION (1595); FAMINE (1595-8); WARS IN THE DECCAN; FALL OF AHMADNAGAR AND ASIR-GARH; LAST EMBASSY TO GOA (1601); THE JESUIT FATHERS; FOUNDATION OF THE ENGLISH AND DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANIES

THE THIRD JESUIT MISSION INVITED IN 1594

ONCE again, for the third and last time, in 1594, Akbar renewed his entreaties for instruction in the Christian religion, and begged the Viceroy at Goa to send him learned priests. The Viceroy was eager to accept the invitation. The Provincial of the Jesuits, remembering previous failures, was disposed to decline it, but ultimately yielded to Viceregal solicitation and consented to choose missionaries.

The best men who could be procured were chosen, namely Jerome Xavier, grand-nephew of St. Francis Xavier; Emmanuel Pinheiro, a Portuguese; and Brother Benedict a (of) Goes.[1] The Armenian who had been in attendance on Aquaviva at the time of the First Mission was again sent with them as interpreter. Father Jerome Xavier had already done evangelistic work for many years in India. He now gave himself up with unstinting ardour to his new duties, and stayed for twenty-three years at the Mogul court, continuing his labours long after Akbar had passed away. Father Pinheiro, whose fate it was to reside mostly at Lahore, was less in personal touch with the emperor than Jerome Xavier was. He devoted himself specially to the task of gathering a congregation of converts among ordinary people. The letters from him which have been preserved are rich mines of information for the historian. The third missionary, Benedict a Goes, who kept away from the court as much as possible, remained in India for eight years. In January 1603 he was sent to Tibet by his superiors, who believed that he would find there a more promising field for his labours. He penetrated to the confines of China, where he died in 1607.[2]

VALUE OF JESUIT REPORTS

The Persian histories fail us to a large extent as sources for the history of the last ten years of Akbar's life. Nizamu-d din's work closes in 1593, Badaoni's ends in August 1595, and the *Akbarnama* of Abu-l Fazl, which is obscure and sketchy in the later chapters, comes down to the beginning of 1602, the year of the author's death, which occurred more than three years prior to the decease of his sovereign. The minor authors who treat of the closing years of the reign supply only a meagre record. The reports of the Jesuits, which

1. Goes is a town in Central Portugal, to the east of Coimbra. Jerome Xavier was the grandson of a sister of the saint.
2. His adventures are related by Du Jarric, vol. iii, chaps. xxiv, xxv.

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extend into the reign of Jahangir, consequently have special value as authorities for secular history, in addition to their extraordinary interest as records of the personal relations between Akbar and his Christian teachers. As statements of fact they are eminently deserving of credit.

THE MISSIONARIES' JOURNEY

The missionary party which left Goa on December 3, 1594, did not reach Lahore until five months later, on May 5, 1595. The journey should not have occupied ordinarily more than two months, but the roads were extremely unsafe, and the Fathers were obliged to travel under the protection of a large and slowly-moving caravan. They passed, like the members of the Second Mission, through Ahmadabad and Patan, and thence crossed the desert of Rajputana, probably following the route laid down by imperial order for their predecessors. They describe most of the country between Cambay and Lahore as being sandy and desolate, offering great hindrances to travel; and they did not reach prosperous, fertile regions until they were within sixty leagues of Lahore. The heat and dust during the greater part of the journey were extremely trying. They had with them 400 camels, a hundred wagons, as many horses, and a huge multitude of poor folk on foot. Water was scarce and brackish, being often nearly as saline as sea-water, and supplies were inadequate. Akbar seems to have taken little pains on this occasion to arrange for the safe and commodious transit of his guests.

KIND RECEPTION OF THE MISSION

The travellers found in the extreme kindness of their reception compensation for the miseries of a long and dangerous journey in the height of the hot season. Akbar sent for them at the earliest possible moment, and was careful to assign to them a pleasant residence near the river, where they should not be disturbed by the noise of the city or the curiosity of unbidden visitors. He paid the Fathers extraordinary personal honour, such as he did not render even to ruling sovereigns, permitting the Jesuits not only to be seated in his presence, but to occupy part of the cushion on which he himself and the heir to the throne sat. They were not required to perform the ceremony of prostration, which was rigorously exacted even from feudatory princes.

It was impossible for the missionaries not to feel some confidence that the conversion of Akbar was imminent when they witnessed his reverential treatment of their sacred images and his devout participation in their services. He used to embrace images of Our Lord and the Blessed Virgin, and keep them a long time in his arms in spite of their heavy weight. One day he attended a Litany service, on bended knees and with clasped hands, like a Christian prince. On the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin, celebrated on August 15, he not only lent his own images—which were of the best kind procurable from Europe—but sent costly silken and golden hangings for the adornment of the chapel. Both Akbar and Prince Salim exhibited special devotion to the Virgin Mary. A Portuguese artist who had come with the Fathers was directed to copy a portrait of her which they possessed.

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Images of the infant Jesus and a crucifix were likewise copied by the court craftsmen.

The prince undertook to obtain from his father a suitable site for a church, and promised to provide the necessary funds or its erection.

AKBAR'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS ISLAM

Xavier and Pinheiro, writing from Lahore in August and September 1595, respectively, fully confirm the statements made four or five years earlier by Leo Grimon and the members of the Second Mission, as well as by Badaoni, concerning Akbar's hostility to Islam, and his religious attitude generally.

'The King', Xavier tells us, 'has utterly banished Muhammad from his thoughts [sbandito da se a fatto Mahometto]. He is inclined towards Hinduism [gentilita], worships God and the Sun, and poses as a prophet, wishing it to be understood that he works miracles through healing the sick by means of the water in which he washes his feet. Many women make vows to him for the restoration of health to their children, or for the blessing of bearing sons, and if it happens that they regain health, they bring their offerings to him, which he receives with much pleasure, and in public, however small they may be. The Hindus are in favour just now, and I do not know how the Muhammadans put up with it. The Prince, too, mocks at Muhammad.'[1]

Finheiro, having mentioned that an excellent site for a church close to the palace had been granted, proceeds to say :

'This King has destroyed the false sect of Muhammad, and wholly discredited it. In this city there is neither a mosque nor a Koran—the book of their law; and the mosques that were there have been made stables for horses and store-houses; and for the greater shame of the Muhammadans, every Friday it is arranged that forty or fifty boars are brought to fight before the King; and he takes their tusks and has them mounted in gold.

'This King has made a sect of his own, and makes himself out to be a prophet. He has already many people who follow him, but it is all for money which he gives them. He adores God, and the Sun, and is a Hindu [Gentile] : he follows the sect of the Jains [Vertei].'

Then follows a brief account of Jain tenets and practices. The writer goes on :

'We keep school here, attended by some sons of officers [*capitani*] of very high rank, and three sons of a King, who is in the service of the

1. Compare Badaoni, as translated by Blochmann :—'The real object of those who became disciples was to get into office; and though His Majesty did everything to get this out of their heads, he acted very differently in the case of Hindus, of whom he could not get enough; for the Hindus, of course, are indispensable; to them belongs half the army and half the land. Neither the Hindustanis nor the Moghuls can point to such grand lords as the Hindus have among themselves. But if other than Hindus came, and wished to become disciples at any sacrifice, His Majesty reproved or punished them. For their honour and zeal he did not care, nor did he notice whether they fell in with his views or not' (*Ain*, vol. i, p. 204; Lowes' version is not as good).

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aforesaid Akbar. Two of those pupils desire to be Christians, and ask for permission. The third is so far moved that he seems to be one of our devout pupils and to ask for the faith.'

The Father proceeds to give anecdotes of the pupils' behaviour, and concludes by begging for some relics to stimulate devotion, and by imploring the blessing of the General of the Order.[1]

AKBAR'S DESIGNS AGAINST THE PORTUGUESE

Akbar, although he really took keen interest in comparing the merits of rival religions and apparently felt a genuine admiration for Christian doctrine, was not influenced merely by intellectual curiosity and religious sentiment when he bestowed unprecedented personal favours on the reverend Fathers accredited to his Court. He was a crafty and tortuous politician as well as an attentive student of comparative religion. He regarded the existence of all the Portuguese settlements on the western coast, and especially that of Diu and Daman in his province of Gujarat, as an offence, and always cherished hopes of destroying the Portuguese dominion. He did not in the least realize the value of naval power, and so made no serious attempt to dispute the Portuguese command of the Arabian Sea. He erroneously believed it possible to capture the foreign settlements by land operations alone, and during the last thirty years of his reign never abandoned the hope of success in that project, until the rebellion of his eldest son and the deaths of the younger princes put a stop to all his ambitions. While petting the Fathers, whom he liked personally, and keeping up friendly communications with the authorities at Goa, his real intentions towards the Portuguese were hostile. He had tried in vain to conceal those intentions from Aquaviva and Monserrate in 1582, but in 1601, nearly twenty years later, he openly avowed his designs in conversation with his intimates. His friendly missions, sent avowedly with the innocent objects of acquiring religious instruction and purchasing European curiosities, had a sinister political purpose also, and were utilized as means of espionage. On the other hand, the Fathers, especially the members of the Third Mission, while thoroughly convinced believers in and enthusiastic missionaries of the faith, were not without guile. They sought to serve the interests of their country, as well as those of the Christian religion, and certainly were regarded by their astute superiors as being in some degree political agents for Portugal and Spain. His early direct attacks on the foreign settlements having failed, Akbar perceived that the subjugation of the Sultanates of the Deccan plateau was the necessary preliminary to a systematic assault in force on the European possessions along the coast.

He desired the subjugation of the Sultanates also for its own sake, because, as already observed, the mere existence of any independent power in territories accessible to his armies was an offence to him, and he loved the wealth and power acquired by his victorious arms. But

1. These passages are translated directly from the Italian or Peruschi (1597), which is more authoritative than the later Latin version used by Maclagan. Peruschi's statements are derived mostly from Monserrate for the First Mission and from Xavier and Pinheiro for the Third. The king referred to as being in the service of Akbar probably was a prince of Badakhshan, as pointed out by Maclagan.

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at the back of his mind he always had the further plan of driving his Christian friends into the sea, and there can be little doubt that his gushing courtesies to the Jesuit missionaries were in part designed to lull suspicion and divert attention from his ambitious projects. His son, Prince Salim, who became tired of waiting for the crown many years before his father was ready to lay it down,[1] was still more extravagant in his attentions to the reverend gentlemen; his object being to obtain Portuguese support in his intended fight for the throne. No person acquainted with the history and character of Salim, whether as prince under that name, or as emperor, under the title of Jahangir, can contemplate his pro-Christian antics without a smile. Sir Thomas Roe, who associated intimately with him for about three years (1616-18), roundly declared him to be an 'atheist'.[2] That judgement, perhaps, may be too harsh, but Salim certainly never had any real inclination to lead a Christian life, or the slightest intention of accepting baptism.

Akbar, accordingly, entered upon his wars in the Deccan with a fixed resolve to use his expected conquests on the plateau as a foothold for a further advance to the coast and the consequent subjugation of the European settlements.[3]

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1. As early as 1591, when Akbar was suffering for a time from stomach-ache and colic, he expressed suspicions that his eldest son had poisoned him. The second son, Murad, also cherished hopes of succeeding his father, and was watched by his brother's confidential servants (Badaoni, ii, 390).

2. Ed. Foster (Hakluyt Soc.), p. 313.

3. 'But that powerful king was intensely covetous (*maximopere inhiabat*) of Goa and the Portuguese dominions in India, with the regions adjoining, and hence often discussed the matter in conversation with his intimate friends. On a certain occasion, when talking of these things with the nobles, he said with great confidence and presumption, that when the expedition against the kingdom of the Deccan [*scil.* Khandesh and Ahmadnagar] was finished, Adil Khan [of Bijapur] would submit readily, and that he would then in continuance of the same operations (*eadem opera*) invade Goa and the whole Portuguese dominion.'

An anecdote follows of a Portuguese deserter who overheard the conversation and intervened by permission, speaking Persian. He quoted a proverb equivalent to the English saying that it is unwise to count chickens before they are hatched (Du Jarric, iii, 52). The author goes on (p. 53) to say :

'He [Akbar] always had this one design, namely, how he should defeat (*debellaret*) the Portuguese; and, therefore, often sent some of his people to Goa on pretence of an embassy, in order that they might ascertain what the Portuguese were doing and what forces they had. Especially at the season when Portuguese ships came to the coast, he would inquire what wares and what forces they brought.'

Abu-l Fazl observes in the course of his description of Gujarat that 'through the negligence of the ministers of state and the commanders of the frontier provinces, many of these *Sarkars* are in the possession of European nations, such as Daman, Sanjan, Tarapur, Mahim, and Base (Bassein), that are both cities and ports' (*Ain* vol. ii, p. 243). So Akbar, in his letter dated August 23, 1586, to Abdullah Uzbeg of Turan, writes explicitly :—'I have kept before my mind the idea that.....I should undertake the destruction of the Feringhi infidels who have come to the islands of the ocean.....They have become a great number and are stumbling-blocks to the pilgrims and traders. We thought of going in person and cleansing that road from thorns and weeds' (*A. N.*, iii, 757). That was between the First and Second Jesuit Missions.

Maclagan (pp. 108-10) gives ample proof that the Jesuits acted as political agents for the Portuguese authorities, and holds that 'it is even possible (see Noer, i, 489—i, 331 of Beveridge's transl.) that the Third Mission was undertaken mainly on political grounds, and that the Jesuit superiors had from the beginning little belief in the conversion of the Emperor'.

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DISSENSIONS

Akbar's preparations for the conquest of the Deccan had begun, as related in the last preceding chapter, by the dispatch of four missions designed to ascertain whether or not the Sultans would acknowledge his supremacy without fighting to maintain their independence. When those missions failed to win a diplomatic victory war was resolved on, and in 1593 the Khan Khanan (Abdurrahim) was commissioned to obtain by force the results which peaceful negotiation had failed to achieve. Meantime the Deccan powers continued to fight among themselves, as they had been accustomed to do. Burhanu-l Mulk, king of Ahmadnagar, had been succeeded by his son Ibrahim, who was defeated in 1595 by the army of Bijapur.

The operations of the Khan Khanan and of Prince Murad, who was associated with him in the command, were equally hampered by dissensions. The prince, who was governor of Gujarat, desired that the main advance should be made from that province, whereas his colleague recommended an invasion from Malwa. Ultimately, the two generals met at Chand, a fort thirty *kos* distant from Ahmadnagar, but the meeting was not cordial, and 'when the army moved, there was no unity of feeling'.

DEFENCE OF AHMADNAGAR BY CHAND BIBI

The generals, however, managed to invest Ahmadnagar, where the defence was encouraged by the obvious discord in the beleaguering force. A gallant lady, Chand Bibi, queen-dowager of Bijapur and sister of Burhanu-l Mulk of Ahmadnagar, undertook as regent to defend the city, and did so in heroic fashion with such effect that the imperialist generals agreed to accept terms, denounced by Abu-l Fazl as 'unworthy'.

It was agreed that a child named Bahadur, a grandson of Burhanu-l Mulk, should be recognized as King or Sultan of Ahmadnagar, under the suzerainty of the emperor, that jewels, elephants, and other valuables should be handed over, and that the province of Berar (Birar) should be ceded. Although the fortifications of the capital had been badly breached and there was reason to believe that a determined assault could have carried them, the imperialists consented to the treaty, which was signed (Isfandarmuz 17) early in 1596.[1] Thus ended the first stage in the Deccan war.

FAMINE AND PESTILENCE, 1595-8.

At this time the whole of Hindostan or Northern India suffered from a terrible famine, which lasted continuously for three or four years, beginning in 1595-6 (A.H. 1004). A contemporary historian records that :

'A kind of plague also added to the horrors of this period, and depopulated whole houses and cities, to say nothing of hamlets and villages. In consequence of the dearth of grain and the necessities of ravenous hunger, men ate their own kind. The streets and roads

1. E. & D., vi, 92-4.

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were blocked up with dead bodies, and no assistance could be rendered for their removal.'[1]

Relief measures were attempted under the control of a great noble, Shaikh Farid Bokhari, known later as Murtaza Khan, a man renowned for his personal generosity. But his efforts were of little avail, and the mortality must have been appalling. Unfortunately, Asiatic historians never take the trouble to ascertain or relate in detail the economic effects of grievous famines, or to trace their influence on the land revenue assessments and the financial administration generally. Firishta, whose well-known work is considered the best Persian summary of Indian history, does not even mention his famine, which accordingly is ignored by Elphinstone, who relied chiefly on Firishta. A famine so intense and prolonged as that which lasted from 1595 to 1598 or 1599 must have been intrinsically one of the most important events of the reign, and productive of far-reaching effects; but, if a minor historian had not happened to write the few lines quoted above, even the bare fact that such a calamity had occurred would not be on record.

The Jesuit reports of 1597 note that in that year Lahore suffered from a great pestilence which gave the Fathers the opportunity and intense satisfaction of baptizing many infants who had been abandoned.[2] Such a visitation is the usual concomitant of a severe famine.

FIRE AT LAHORE; AKBAR IN KASHMIR

On Easter Day (March 27, O.S.) of 1597, while Akbar sat on the terrace of his palace at Lahore celebrating the festival of the sun, fire came down from heaven and consumed a large part of the palace, which was built of timber, destroying a vast quantity of rich carpets, plate, jewellery, and other valuables, to such an extent that it is alleged that molten gold and silver ran down the streets like water.[3] In order to allow time for the necessary rebuilding of his palace, Akbar resolved to spend the summer in his 'private garden' of Kashmir, to which he had already twice paid hurried visits.

He brought with him to the valley Father Jerome Xavier and Benedict of Goes, leaving Pinheiro in Lahore to superintend the building of a church and to look after his congregation. The emperor was absent from Lahore for exactly six months, returning in Novem-

1. Nuru-l Hakk, ibid., p. 193. Abu-l Fazl characteristically glozes over the calamity in language which gives no notion whatever of the severity of the visitation. 'Forty-first year of the reign [*scil.* 1596-7] *Famine.*' [Text, vol. iii, p. 744]. 'In this year there was little rain, and the price of rice rose high. Celestial influences were unpropitious, and those learned in the stars announced dearth and scarcity. The kind-hearted Emperor sent experienced officers in every direction, to supply food every day to the poor and destitute. So, under the Imperial orders, the necessitous received daily assistance to their satisfaction, and every class of the indigent was entrusted to the case of those who were able to care for them' (E. & D., vi, 94). That statement is substantially false. The opportunity for offering one more morsel of flattery to his master appealed to Abu-l Fazl far more strongly than the sufferings of nameless millions.

2. Maclagan, p. 71. The Jesuits firmly believed that the souls of children so baptized went straight to heaven.

3. Ibid., and *A.N.* in E. & D., vi, 132, but the passage is not translated at length; Du Jarric, ii, 558.

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ber. Father Jerome soon afterwards wrote a long letter describing his experiences and giving some account of the charms of the valley. The famine did not spare it, and hard necessity compelled mothers to expose their infants, many of whom the priests picked up and baptized wholesale, in the full assurance that by so doing they secured infant salvation and eternal bliss for the souls of the little ones.[1]

A severe illness which prostrated Xavier for two months gave the opportunity to Akbar of showing him the utmost kindness and personal attention. When the Father recovered, Akbar himself fell ill, and in his turn was nursed by his friend, who was allowed to enter his bedroom, a privilege not conceded to the greatest viceroys in the empire. The mountain roads, even after Kasim Khan's improvements, were in such bad condition that many elephants, horses, and servants perished during the return journey of the court. Prince Salim was nearly killed in an encounter with a lioness. Like most members of his family he was fearless and always ready to imperil his life in combat with wild beasts. The pious Fathers attributed his deliverance from the jaws of the lioness to the devotion which he had shown to the Blessed Virgin and the emblems of the Christian faith. While Akbar was in Kashmir the new church at Lahore was consecrated with imposing ceremony on September 7, when the friendly Muhammadan viceroy honoured the occasion by his presence. The Fathers celebrated Christmas with great pomp, and got up an effective show of the Nativity scene, which attracted immense crowds, especially of Hindus. Prince Salim professed intense devotion to the Blessed Virgin and placed pictures of her and her Son in his bedroom.

FEEBLE OPERATIONS IN THE DECCAN

In the meantime the military operations in the Deccan had not progressed in a satisfactory manner. The jealous hostility which marked the relations of Prince Murad with the Khan Khanan continued to exist undiminished. The prince, a drunken scamp, was filled with overweening pride and arrogance. Badaoni, in his accustomed ill-natured way, observes that His Highness in these faults 'imitated his illustrious father', and vaunted himself as being 'a ripe grape, when he was not yet even an unripe grape'.[2] Murad, following the ordinary practice of Asiatic princes, indulged himself in hopes of being able to supplant his elder brother and secure the succession to the throne. Some people even supposed that Akbar accorded him his preference. If Murad had lived he would undoubtedly have made a fight for the succession. A man intent on such schemes was not an easy person to work with in the conduct of a campaign for his father's benefit. The Khan Khanan, who belonged to a Shia family, but professed outward conformity with the Sunni ritual, was more than suspected of continuing to be at heart a follower of the Imams, and to

1. Xavier's letter, along with Pinheiro's less important epistle of 1599, is printed in full by Oranus. English abstracts and extracts will be found in Maclagan, pp. 72-9; and Beveridge, 'Father Jerome Xavier', *J.A.S.B.*, part i (1888), p. 36. A Latin summary is in Du Jarric, ii, 558-60. Maclagan's extracts include all the valuable matter.

2. Badaoni, ii, 391.

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be a secret supporter of the Shia Deccan Sultans, whom he was expected to destroy.[1] It was impossible that Akbar's affairs in the south should prosper while they were controlled by commanders at variance one with the other and both half-hearted in the execution of their duty.

BATTLE OF SUPA

The respite gained for Ahmadnagar by the heroism of Chand Bibi did not last long. Her authority was overthrown by intriguers, who violated the treaty and sought to recover Berar. War with the Moguls soon broke out again, and the total defeat of the small Deccan State was delayed only by the wilful inefficiency of the imperialist commanders. In February 1597 the Khan Khanan fought a hardly-contested engagement at Ashti near Supa on the Godavari with Suhail Khan, who was in command of the Ahmadnagar forces supported by a contingent from Bijapur. The Khan Khanan claimed a victory because he retained occupation of the battle-field, but his losses were heavy, and he was unable to pursue the enemy. Raja Ali Khan, the ruler of Khandesh, who had fought bravely on the imperialist side, was killed in the battle, and was succeeded by a son named Miran Bahadur, a man alleged to be of no personal merit.

Akbar now superseded both Prince Murad and the Khan Khanan, appointing Mirza Shahrukh, one of the refugee princes who had been expelled from Badakshan by the Uzbegs, to be commander-in-chief. Abu-l Fazl was directed to send Prince Murad to court.

DEATH OF ABDULLAH KHAN UZBEG; DEPARTURE OF AKBAR FROM LAHORE

Akbar's prolonged residence in the Panjab, extending over thirteen years, had been largely due to his fears of an Uzbeg invasion.[2] Abdullah Khan Uzbeg, who had come to the throne of Bokhara (a kingdom also called Turan, Mawaranu-n-nahr, or Transoxiana) in 1556, the year of Akbar's accession, had greatly extended the limits of his dominion by the annexation of Badakhshan, Herat, and Mashhad.[3] His formidable power not only rendered vain all Akbar's hopes of recovering the possessions of his ancestors in Central Asia, but constituted a standing menace to the Indian empire. Akbar was especially vexed by the loss of Badakhshan, which was regarded as an appanage of his family, and he made a point of showing all possible honour to the local princes driven into exile by the Uzbegs. The news of Abdullah Khan's death received in 1598 freed the emperor from all fear of a Tartar

1. Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, p. 338. The biography of the Khan Khanan given in pp 334-9 is full and detailed. He was an accomplished man, but untrustworthy.
2. Firishta, ii , 276.
3. Sir Charles Eliot and Prince Kropotkin, art. 'Bokhara', *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed. Beale gives the date of Abdullah Khan's accession as 1583. The discrepancy is accounted for (subject to differences of a year or two) by the history of Abdullah Khan as given by Vambery, *History of Bokhara*, H.S. King & Co., 1873, chap. xiv, pp. 282-94. That author states that Abdullah took possession of the town of Bokhara in 1555, but placed his father Sikandar (Iskender) on the throne, while he occupied himself for many years in recovering the former possessions of his family. His father survived until 1583. Abdullah Khan died early in 1598 (January 29 or 30) (Rajab 2, 1006). Before his death he had lost to the Persians Mashhad, Merv, Herat, and most of Transoxiana.

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invasion, and left him at liberty to supervise the doings of his sons and to take measures for the effective prosecution of the campaign in the Deccan, which obviously needed the master's eye.

Akbar accordingly decided to proceed to the south in person. He left Lahore late in 1598 for Agra, which he now treated as his capital. He was obliged to stay there for several months in order to deal with the difficulties caused by the insubordinate conduct of his sons. In July 1599 (beginning of A.H. 1008) he felt himself at liberty to resume his progress southwards. He placed Prince Salim in charge of the capital and the Ajmer province, with orders to complete the subjugation of the Rana of Mewar; but the prince had other things to think of and took no effective steps to fulfil his father's commands.

DEATH OF PRINCE MURAD; STORM OF AHMADNAGAR

In May 1599 Prince Murad died of delirium tremens at a town in the Deccan, and so ceased to trouble anybody. About the middle of the same year Akbar marched southwards. Early in 1600 he occupied Burhanpur without opposition. His third son, Prince Daniyal, and the Khan Khanan were charged with the duty of taking Ahmadnagar. Internal dissensions precluded the effective defence of the city, and Chand Bibi, the only capable leader, was either murdered or constrained to take poison.[1] The town was stormed without much difficulty in August 1600, and about fifteen hundred of the garrison were put to the sword. The young king and his family paid the penalty for their crime of independence by lifelong imprisonment in the fortress of Gwalior. But the whole territory of Ahmadnagar did not pass under the dominion of the Mogul, and the larger part of it continued to be governed by a local prince named Murtaza.

KHANDESH AND ASIRGARH

In Khandesh, of which Burhanpur was the capital, Raja Ali Khan's successor, being unwilling to endure the imperial yoke, trusted to the strength of his mighty fortress Asirgarh to enable him to defy the Mogul power. Akbar, therefore, determined to reduce the stronghold which commanded the main road to the Deccan. When marching to Burhanpur he had passed by Asirgarh, leaving it at the distance of a few miles from his line of advance, but he could not venture to permit such a fortress to remain permanently in his rear unsubdued.

DESCRIPTION OF ASIRGARH

The hill on which Asirgarh is built is a spur of the Satpura range, with an elevation of about 2,300 feet above the sea, and nearly 900 feet above the plain. It commands the obligatory pass through the hills, which must always have been the main road of access to the Deccan from Hindostan. The railway now traverses it, and the ancient stronghold has lost all military importance. In the sixteenth century Asirgarh was reckoned to be one of the wonders of the world.

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1. '*Tziand-bebic* veneno hausto sibi mortem jam ante consciverat' (van den Broecke in de Laet, p. 199/208). According to Firishta (iii, 312) she was murdered by a mob headed by Hamid Khan. Blochmann notes that the alleged murderer was a eunuch, whose name may be also read as Jitah or Chitah Khan (*Ain*, vol. i, p. 336 *n.*).

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Travellers who had roamed over Persia, Tartary, Turkey, and Europe, we are assured, had never seen its equal. 'It was impossible', says the chronicler, 'to conceive a stronger fortress, or one more amply supplied with artillery, warlike stores, and provisions.' The summit of the hill, a space about sixty acres in extent, was amply provided with water from numerous reservoirs and ponds, and the air of the place was salubrious. Except at two points, access to the top was barred by inaccessible cliffs, from eighty to a hundred and twenty feet high. The natural strength of the position had been enhanced by three concentric and cunningly-devised lines of fortifications, supplemented by a massive outwork at the western end. Generations of princes had made it their pleasure and pride to store this ideal stronghold with every form of ordnance and munitions then known, and to accumulate provisions enough to maintain a full garrison for ten years.

When the place surrendered to Akbar, his officers found in it 1,300 guns, small and great, and multitudes of huge mortars, with vast stocks of powder, ammunition, and supplies of all kinds.[1]

PRELIMINARIES; CONTRADICTORY AUTHORITIES

The preliminaries to regular investment operations were begun early in the month of April 1600, under the direction of Shaikh Farid of Bokhara (Murtaza Khan) and Abu-l Fazl. The emperor, who was insufficiently supplied with heavy breaching artillery, soon found that the task of taking the fort by storm was beyond his powers. The nature of the ground prevented the besiegers from using mines or constructing covered ways (*sabats*). The siege, therefore, became little more than a blockade, and mere blockading operations directed against a fortress so amply supplied with food, water, and munitions offered little prospect of success within a reasonable time. Two divergent and irreconcilable accounts of the manner in which Akbar ultimately attained his purpose are on record. The official historians aver that the surrender of Asirgarh was due to an outbreak of deadly pestilence. The Jesuit version, based on unpublished letters from Jerome Xavier, who was in attendance on Akbar, state that possession of the fortress was gained by wholesale bribery of the officers of the garrison, and that earlier in the proceedings Miran Bahadur, the king, was lured into

1. Asirgarh (or Asirgad, according to the western pronunciation and spelling) is situated in 21° 28′ N. and 76° 18′ E., about twelve miles nearly due north of Burhanpur. It is now included in the Nimar District of the Central Provinces, a modern administrative aggregation of regions with little natural connexion. The present capital of that district is the ancient town of Khandwa. In Akbar's time Asirgarh was the stronghold of the small kingdom of Khandesh situated on the lower course of the Tapti, of which Burhanpur was the capital. The greater part of that kingdom now forms the Khandesh District under the government of Bombay. After the surrender Asirgarh became the residence of the Mogul Subadar of Khandesh. Plans of the fort will be found in the *Bombay Gazetteer* for Khandesh (vol. xii, part ii, 1880); and in Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, vol. ix (1879), Pl. xix. The purport of the inscription is given by Cunningham, and also by Bloch in *Annual Rep. of A.S.*, Eastern Circle, 1907-8, pp. 26, 27. The text does not seem to have been published. The most detailed contemporary description of the place as it was in Akbar's days is that in the *Akbarnama* of Shaikh Illahadad Faizi of Sirhind (E. & D., vi, 138-41). The author was in the service of Shaikh Farid of Bokhara (Murtaza Khan), who formed the plan for the seige, and superintended the operations.

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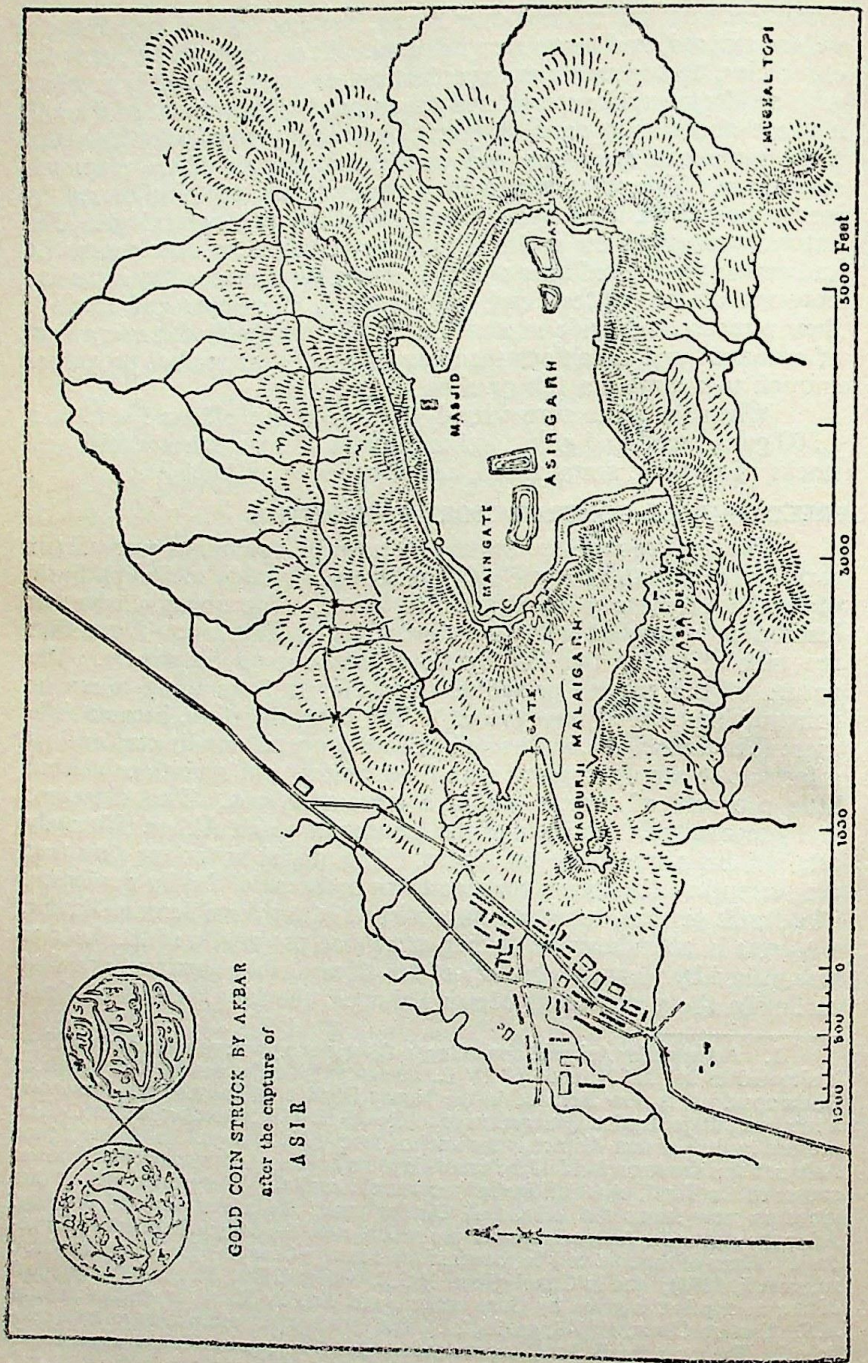
MUSJID
MAIN GATE
ASIRGARH
MUSJID
GATE
CHAUBURJI
MALAIGARH
ASA DEVI
MUSJID
MUSJID
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Akbar's camp and made prisoner by an act of shameful perfidy. After careful analysis of the evidence I feel no hesitation in believing the Jesuit story as printed by Du Jarric and in discrediting the tale of the alleged fatal pestilence, which seems to be mostly invention. The following narrative, therefore, is mainly based upon Du Jarric; but certain incidents in the earlier stages of the siege, which appear to be truthfully narrated by the Muhammadan historians, have been accepted as facts on their authority.

INTERVIEW BETWEEN BAHADUR AND SHAIKH FARID

Before active measures had been taken to invest the fortress, that is to say, probably at some time in March or April, 1600, Bahadur Shah arranged to come out and meet Shaikh Farid. Both sides being represented in considerable force were distrustful one of another, but ultimately Bahadur Shah ventured out and had a talk with the Shaikh. Eevery argument was used to induce the king to submit to the emperor, but he would give no answer, and merely shook his head. He then returned to his fortress, trusting to its impregnability. The historian observes that 'some men have maintained that the Shaikh ought to have made him prisoner at this meeting; but resort to subterfuge and want of faith and truth never prove successful'. The real value of that expression of moral sentiment is naively exposed by the following sentence : 'Besides this, Bahadur had with him a force sufficient to resist the weak army of the Shaikh'.[1] We shall see presently that a little later Akbar did not disdain to use the weapons of subterfuge and want of faith.

CLOSE INVESTMENT; ARRIVAL OF AKBAR

All expectation of Bahadur's submission being now given up, arrangements were made to close the roads and cut off all communication between the fortress and the outer world. Akbar, whose mind was intent on attaining success in his difficult undertaking, occupied Burhanpur without opposition on March 31, 1600,[2] and took up his abode in the palace of the old rulers. On April 9, he arrived under the walls and directed the allotment of the trenches to different commanders. The nature of the ground, as already observed, forbade the construction of either mines or covered ways. A heavy fire was kept up night and day by the besiegers and endured by the garrison without flinching.

PROGRESS OF THE SIEGE TO AUG. 21, 1600

In May, Bahadur sent out his mother and son with sixty-four elephants, and asked for terms, but Akbar insisted on unconditional submission, for which the king was not prepared. In June an unsuccessful sortie resulted in the capture by the besiegers of an outlying hill which partially commanded the main fortress.

So far the official account appears to be perfectly accurate and truthful, but from this point the divergence between the authorities begins.

1. Sirhindi, in E. & D., vi, 142.
2. Farwardin 21, Ilahi year, 45 = Ramazan 25, A.H. 1008; both dates work out correctly for O.S.

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The detailed story told by the Jesuit author, which must be based on the letters of Jerome Xavier, is in my judgement literally true, and deserving of acceptance as being the most authentic history of the events which led to the capitulation of Asirgarh. The official account, which appears in more shapes than one, can be proved to be false. The following narrative, therefore, follows Du Jarric, and is to a large extent translated from his text. The news of the fall of Ahmadnagar on August 19 (=Safar 18, A.H. 1009), which arrived at Asirgarh three days later, on August 22, must have had a considerable effect on the minds of Bahadur Shah and his officers. The date on which he was treacherously captured is not clearly stated, but several circumstances indicate that the event occurred late in August, and that it was brought about by the receipt of the news concerning the storming of Ahmadnagar, which naturally suggested to the garrison a renewal of negotiations. The siege of Asirgarh had not made any progress towards success since the capture of the outwork in June. In August Prince Salim was in open rebellion, and it was essential for Akbar's safety that he should free himself at the earliest possible moment from his entanglement in the Deccan. Both parties, therefore, had adequate motives for re-opening the discussion of terms in the days immediately following August 22.[1]

THE PRINCES AND COMMANDANT

The strange tale told by Du Jarric, an author whose general trustworthiness is abundantly proved, and whose narrative in this case rests upon unquestionable auhority, will now be related as follows :[2]

The custom of Khandesh ordained that the seven princes of the royal family standing nearest in succession to the throne should reside

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1. The *Fragmentum* in de Laet (p. 197/205) places the surrender of Bahadur Shah about six months (*post semestre spatium*) after the beginning of the siege. The author erroneously supposed that the captivity of the king synchronized with the capitulation of the fortress. Other authors make the same or nearly the same mistake.

2. Xavier, on whose unpublished letters Du Jarric's account (vol. iii, Latin tr., pp. 43-9) is based, was with Akbar at the time, and in all probability was present when Bahadur Shah was kidnapped. His close relations with the Portuguese captives enabled him to ascertain accurately everything that had happened inside the fortress before the capitulation. Du Jarric's narrative is given in abstract by Purchas, and almost in full (with some errors of translation) by Ogilby on p. 237 of the First Part of *Asia* (London, printed by the author, 1673, folio), being the fifth volume of his *English Atlas*, containing the latest and most accurate description of Persia and India. I have acquired a copy of this rare and magnificently illustrated work, which is not in either the Bodleian or the India Office Library. Both of those institutions have the Second Part only. Ogilby's version is quoted at length in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (1880), vol. xii, part ii, Khandesh, (pp. 580-2). The compiler of the *Gazetteer*, who was not acquainted with Du Jarric's rare book, rightly guessed that Ogilby must have copied from some Jesuit author. Ogilby, in fact, refers to 'Jarrick' as one of his authorities (p. 236). He describes Asirgarh twice on the same page, first as 'Hosser', and secondly as 'Seye', a misprint for Syr; not knowing that both corrupt forms referred to the same place. I first read the narrative in the *Gazetteer*, and was not acquainted with it when the fifth edition of my *Oxford Student's History of India* was published in 1915. Like other people, I had overlooked the passage in Purchas (*Pilgrimes*, chap. iv, sec. 2; reprinted in Wheeler, *Early Travels in India* (1864), p. 27). Du Jarric's narrative is now for the first time subjected to critical examination.

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in the fortress and never leave it until one of them should be called to assume the crown.[1] Such had been the fate of Bahadur Shah himself, and at the time of the siege seven such princes (*reguli*) were within the walls. The commandant was an unnamed Abyssinian, and, under his supreme control, the defence was entrusted to seven renegade Portuguese officers (*duces*), employed presumably on account of their skill as artillerists. They had made all proper dispositions to maintain their charge intact against Akbar's huge host, estimated to number 200,000 men.[2]

KIDNAPPING OF BAHADUR SHAH AT END OF AUGUST

When the emperor found that it was impossible to break down the defence either by gun-fire or by storm, he exchanged the lion's for the fox's skin, and resolved to rely on those arts of intrigue and guile in which he excelled. He therefore invited King Miran (Bahadur) to come out for an interview, swearing on his own royal head that the visitor would be allowed to return in peace.[3] The invitation was accepted, contrary to the advice of the Portuguese officers. The king, accordingly, came out, wearing round his neck a sort of scarf arranged in a particular fashion which was understood to signify submission. Akbar, sitting motionless as a statue, received him in full court.

The king, advancing humbly, thrice did reverence. Suddenly one of the Mogul officers caught him by the head and threw him down on the ground (*in terram projecit*) in order to force him to perform complete prostration (*sijda*), a ceremony on which the emperor laid much stress. Akbar contented himself with making a perfunctory protest against the use of such violence. He then addressed the king in polite language, and desired him to send orders in writing to the defenders of the outer wall commanding them to surrender. When Bahadur Shah failed to comply with the demand, and solicited permission to return, he was detained by force, in violation of Akbar's solemn oath.

SUICIDE OF THE COMMANDANT

The Abyssinian commandant, on hearing the news, sent his son, who bore the name or title of Mukarrab Khan,[4] to make a remonstrance against the shameless breach of faith. Akbar questioned the envoy concerning the willingness of his father to surrender. The young man replied that his father was not a man to think of surrender or even of parley, and added that if King Miran should not return successors were ready to take his place, and that whatever might happen the fortress would not be surrendered. Akbar, stung by that spirited reply, instantly ordered the youth to be stabbed (*confodi imperat*). The Abyssinian thereupon sent a message to Akbar express-

1. The existence of the custom is confirmed by Sirhindi (E. & D., vi, 134.)
2. Even if the gross total were as large as stated, the effective fighting force probably would not have exceeded 50,000 men. Mogul armies always included a majority of men who were really mere 'followers'.
3. The form of oath was Persian. 'They have no more obliging Test, than *Seir Pedeshaw* (*scil. ba sir-i padishah*], "By the Emperor's Head.", (Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia*, ed. Crooke, Hakluyt Soc., 1915, vol. iii, p. 41).
4. The name occurs in Sirhindi's garbled version. See Appendix A.

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ing the prayer that he might never behold the face of a king so faithless. Then taking a scarf in his hand, he addressed the officers and garrison in these terms :

'Comrades ! winter is now coming on, which will oblige the Mogul to raise the siege, and return home, for fear of the destruction of his host.[1] No mortal man will storm this fortress—it may be taken by God, or if the defenders should betray it. Truly, better and by far more honourable is the fate of those who observe the laws of fair dealing (*aequitatis*); wherefore, let you defend the place with spirit. I, indeed, overcome by weariness, gladly have done with life, so that I may not be forced to endure the sight of a king so depraved.'

'Having thus spoken, he tightened the knot of the scarf, and strangled himself.'[2]

ATTEMPT TO PROCURE SIEGE-TRAIN FROM THE PORTUGUESE

The historian, having interposed certain observations concerning the ethics of suicide, proceeds ;

'After the death of the Abyssinian, the garrison, continuing to defend the place for some time (*ad aliquot dies*), caused great difficulties to the Mogul, who desired to shatter the works by engines of all kinds. But since he had none fit for the purpose to hand, he sent for Xavier and his colleague (Benedict of Goes), who were in attendance on the camp, and desired them to write an indent for the same addressed to the Portuguese dwelling at Chaul, a mart distant a hundred leagues from the camp and under Portuguese jurisdiction.[3] He further said that he would add separate letters of his own asking for battering engines as well as other munitions, and that if the Portuguese wished to gain his friendship, they should send both with all speed.

'Xavier, a shrewd politician, artfully replied that the emperor's orders required him to perform a task which could not be a lawful for him on any account, inasmuch as the Christian religion forbade him either to seek such things from the Portuguese or to arrange for their being sought by others.

'I believe (Du Jarric justly observes) that Xavier so acted for no other reason than that the Portuguese had concluded a treaty of peace with King Miran a short time before. The free speech of Xavier irritated the barbarian (*barbaro*) to such a degree that he foamed with rage, and gave orders for the exclusion of the Fathers from the imperial residence (*regia*) and their instant return to Goa. Xavier, accompanied by his colleagues, immediately withdrew into honourable retirement (*abitum adornans*). But one of the nobles gave them friendly advice to the effect that they should not quit the locality, lest

1. 'Winter' here means the rains. Many of the older writers (e.g. Fitch and v. Linschoten) use the word in that sense with reference to Western India. The rainy season had begun when the commandant spoke, but violent storms might be expected in September. The cold season at Asirgarh, which modern people would call 'winter', is favourable to military operations. The degree of cold is slight.

2. Similar suicides after the death of a near relative used to be common in India, especially in the south.

3. Chaul, situated in 18° 34′ N. and 72° 55′ E., is a place of great antiquity, now a small town in the Kolaba District, Bombay. It was occupied by the Portuguese in 1522 and fortified in 1531 (Burgess, *The Chronology of Modern India*, 1913)

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Akbar should order them to be intercepted and killed when they had gone a few leagues. He recommended them, accordingly, to wait at Idome, until the emperor's wrath should subside. When they followed his advice they found Akbar to be as peaceably and kindly disposed as ever.'[1]

The date of the incidents described, although not indicated on the face of the narrative, may be determined approximately. Reason has been shown for believing that the perfidious detention of Bahadur Shah occurred near the end of August. The transport of heavy siege guns from the coast would have been impracticable during the rains, and could not have been undertaken before October. Akbar evidently was confident that the kidnapping of the king in August would lead to the immediate surrender of the fortress. When he found that his perfidy had been useless, he would not have waited long before making his request to Xavier so that the desired ordnance might be sent as soon as possible after the close of the rainy season in October. We may therefore assume with confidence that the demand was made to and refused by Xavier in September.

AKBAR'S RECOURSE TO BRIBERY

Akbar was then in a difficult position. He had incurred the odium of breaking faith to no purpose, and had no chance whatever of procuring an adequate siege-train to effect the reduction of the fortress against which his own artillery was powerless. The siege necessarily went on, and apparently there was no reason why it should not go on for years. But Akbar could neither abandon the undertaking nor spend years in accomplishing it. What could he do? Time was precious, because his elder son was then in active rebellion, reigning at Allahabad as an independent king, and it was essential that the emperor should return to his capital. He was thus forced to use his only remaining weapon bribery. The pecuniary negotiations, which must have occupied a considerable time, may be assumed to have begun in December. The officers of the garrison were bought over by heavy payments of gold and silver, so that the seven princes found it impossible to place any one of their number on the throne, and a capitulation was arranged which took effect on January 17, 1601,[2] about ten and a half months after the preliminary operations for the siege had begun. When the gates were opened the population

1. Quite in accordance with Akbar's character. 'He seldom gets angry, but then violently; yet he cools down quickly, for he is naturally kind' (Monserrate, 'Relacam do Equebar' (*J. & Proc. A.S.B.*, 1912, p. 192). The *regia*, or imperial residence, was the palace at Burhanpur, which town itself, as the temporary capital, also might be termed *regia*. Akbar seems to have spent no more than a short time under the walls of the fortress, early in the operations.

2. Inscription on front wall of the Jami Masjid in the fort, dated Bahman 6, Ilahi year 45, and Rajab 22, A.H. 1009. (*Ann. Rep. A.S. Eastern Circle*, Calcutta, 1907-8, pp. 26, 27.) Most books give the date wrongly; e.g. Burgess in *The Chronology of Modern India*, 1913, puts it in A.D. 1599. Count von Noer, who states the date as January, 14, 1601, was nearly right. The small gold medal struck to commemorate the fall of the fortress is dated in Isfandarmuz, the last month of the year 45=February 1601 (*B.M. Catal.*, 1892, No. 166; Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, ix, 118, Pl. xix)

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was found to be like that of a city, and the inhabitants were so numerous that there was a continuous throng of people coming out for a week.[1] Some of them had suffered from weakness of sight and paralysis of the lower extremities, disorders of which neither is fatal.[2] The assertion of Abu-l Fazl that 25,000 persons perished in a pestilence is now seen to be an undoubted lie.[3] Such a mortality in a space of sixty acres would have converted the place into a charnel house, and the throng of people coming out for a week could not have existed. Firishta expressly states that sufficient men for the defence remained at the time of the capitulation. Everybody admits that water, provisions, and munitions abounded and were enough to last for years.[4] The story of the deadly pestilence is an invention intended to conceal the discreditable means adopted by Akbar to gain possession of the greatest fort in India, which had been proved to be impregnable to his arms.[5]

The confused statements made by Faizi Sirhindi, unintelligible and contradictory as they stand, become clearer when read in the light of Du Jarric's plain narrative. It then becomes apparent that the official author's stories give a purposely muddled travesty of the facts. The murder of the commandant's son is represented as a suicide, and other clearly false statements are made which it would be tedious to specify here. They are discussed in Appendix A.

TREATMENT OF THE KING AND GARRISON

The lives of all members of the garrison were spared. The captive king, accompanied by his family, was confined in the fort of Gwalior, with a subsistence allowance of 4,000 gold pieces yearly.[6] The seven princes were distributed among other fortresses, each receiving an allowance of half that amount. When the seven Portuguese officers were brought before the emperor, he was angry because they admitted that they had become Muhammadans. He declared them worthy of death, inasmuch as being Christians by birth they had apostatized and embraced the false Muhammadan religion (*Saracenorum impietatem*).[7] Probably he would have executed them had not Xavier begged that they might be made over to his care. The request

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1. Sirhindi, in E. & D., vi, 140.
2. Ibid., p. 145. The author mentions the existence of these ailments as being 'among the causes which brought about the surrender of the fortress', but knows nothing of any serious mortality. The disease in the legs was ascribed to worms (Ogilby, *ut supra*, p. 237).
3. *A.N.*, as cited in E. & D., vi, 145 *n*. Before I had made a special investigation of the subject, I accepted Abu-l Fazl's statement, as other people had done (*Oxford Student's Hist. of India*, ed. 5, 1915).
4. Firishta, ii, 278.
5. Guerriero, who gives no details, confirms Du Jarric's [*scil.* Xavier's] statement that the capitulation was obtained by bribery or, as he puts it, by 'much cash and corruption' (*mucho dinero, y sobornos; Relacam*, Spanish version, Valladolid, 1604, chap. ii, p. 24. The rare volume is in All Souls Library, Oxford). He does not say a word about pestilence. Similarly, Purchas, who used Du Jarric, observes that the fortress was taken by 'golden shot' (*Pilgrimes*, chap. iv, in Wheeler, *Early Travels in India*, Calcutta, 1864, p. 27; or in MacLehose's edition).
6. Ogilby erroneously says 'three thousand.'
7. This remark adds one more to the many proofs that Akbar had definitely renounced the Muhammadan religion.

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was graciously granted, and in a short time all had become good Christians again. The activity of the Fathers did not stop at that success. Many other Portuguese of both sexes were placed at their disposal and ultimately brought back to Goa. Xavier, while with Akbar's camp, baptized seventy or more persons, some being infants at the point of death.

COMPARISON OF THE OFFICIAL AND JESUIT VERSIONS

The comparison of the official version in its different varieties with Xavier's account of the events leading to the capitulation of Asirgarh is of extraordinary interest on account of the light it throws both on the credibility of our authorities and on the character of Akbar. All the three leading authorities, namely, Abu-l Fazl and Faizi Sirhindi on one side, and Xavier on the other, were present at the siege, and so in positions to be equally well informed. It is impossible to reconcile the official statement that the final capitulation was brought about by the voluntary surrender of Bahadur Shah with Xavier's statement that he had been kidnapped several months earlier, and that during his captivity the fort was surrendered by his officers. Equally irreconcilable are Abu-l Fazl's allegation that the surrender was due to a pestilence which killed 25,000 people, and Xavier's detailed story of the manner in which the fortress was gained by bribery. The numerous other differences between the two narratives need not be examined in detail. Either one party or the other must be lying; honest mistake is out of the question.

TRUTH OF THE JESUIT VERSION

Xavier had no conceivable motive for concocting a false story. His version was contained in confidential letters addressed, through Goa, to his superiors in Europe, who did not care whether Akbar broke his oath or not, and it was absolutely unknown to any person in Akbar's dominions. The description of Akbar's perfidy and military failure is inextricably mixed up with obviously truthful accounts of affairs in which Xavier was personally concerned. Nor had the Jesuit any personal bias against Akbar. On the contrary, notwithstanding a momentary quarrel, he and the emperor continued to be the best of friends until Akbar's death. The character of Akbar, as painted by Du Jarric from the materials supplied by the letters of Xavier and the earlier missionaries, is on the whole a noble and generous panegyric. It is quite impossible that the author should have permitted himself to libel Akbar.

The conclusions necessarily follow that Akbar was guilty of perfidious violation of his solemn oath, that Asirgarh fell because the officers of the garrison were bribed, not because 25,000 people died of pestilence, and that the contrary statements of the official chroniclers are deliberate falsehoods.

FALSITY OF THE OFFICIAL VERSION

Even in an Asiatic country in the year 1600 perfidy such as Akbar practised was felt to be discreditable, a deed not to be described in plain language by courtly historians. So too the failure of that perfidy to accomplish its purpose and the consequent inglorious resort

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to bribery were not things to be proud of, or fit to be inserted in the official record of an ever-victorious sovereign. Nothing could be done except to tamper with the history, which accordingly was falsified. Abu-l Fazl and Faizi Sirhindi neither knew nor cared what story the Jesuit Father might send to Europe. Their business was to supply matter suitable for Indian readers. Although they were not careful enough to agree in all details, they agree in hiding their master's treachery, in ascribing the capitulation wholly or in part to pestilence, in ignoring the request for a Portugese siege-train, and in concealing the final recourse to bribery. They also omit to mention the important fact that the defence was maintained by seven Portuguese officers.

The resulting story, which is not well composed, exhibits many inconsistencies and absurdities, with some travestied hints at the real facts. The justice of those criticisms will appear from perusal of Appendix A, considered in connexion with Xavier's plain and consistent narrative, as summarized by Du Jarric.

AKBAR'S CONDUCT

If surprise should be felt that a man so great, and in many respects so good as Akbar, should have demeaned himself by the commission of an act of base personal treachery, such surprise would indicate imperfect acquaintance with his history and with the prevailing practice of statecraft in India and elsewhere. On many occasions Akbar showed himself to be crafty and insincere when dealing with affairs of state. Even in modern Europe, which is professedly Christian, most governments draw a sharp line of distinction between public and private morality. Acts which would be universally condemned, if committed in private life, are justified or applauded when committed in the supposed interest of the State. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the enunciation and practice of that doctrine by Germany and her pupils.

In the case of Asirgarh the temptation to Akbar was strong. His military reputation was staked upon the capture of the fortress, while owing to his age and the rebellion of his elder son he could not wait indefinitely for its fall. Almost universal Indian experience justified the belief that the captivity of the king would result in the immediate surrender of the garrison. The disappointment of that reasonable expectation, probably due to the presence of foreign officers, as well as the manifest impossibility of breaking down the defences, forced Akbar to rely on bribery when treachery had failed. His breach of faith, which cannot be justified on sound principles, need not cause surprise. Many rulers, ancient and modern, would have felt no hesitation in committing acts of perfidy quite as gross.

THREE NEW SUBAS FORMED

The newly-acquired territories were organized as three Subas or provinces, namely, Ahmadnagar, Berar (Birar), and Khandesh, all three, along with Malwa and Gujarat, being placed under the supreme command of Prince Daniyal, whose appointment as Viceroy of the Deccan is commemorated in an inscription at Asirgarh dated April 20, 1601. The land revenue assessment of the Khandesh Suba was

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summarily and largely enhanced.[1] In compliment to the prince the name of Khandesh was changed to Dandesh, as stated in the well-known inscription on the Buland Darwaza, or Lofty Portal, of the Great Mosque at Fathpur-Sikri, which records Akbar's triumphant return to his former capital in the forty-sixth year of his reign (A.H. 1010). The famous passage, 'So said Jesus, on whom be peace! The world is a bridge; pass over it, but build no house upon it', occurs near the close of the eastern section of the document.[2]

The grant of an exceptionally wide jurisdiction to the younger prince probably was intended as a counterpoise to the growing power of the elder, Prince Salim, then in open rebellion. Possibly Akbar may have thought of dividing the empire, as Aurangzeb proposed to do a century later, and of securing his younger son in possession of the southern and western provinces.

RETURN OF AKBAR TO AGRA

However that may be, the attitude of Prince Salim rendered absolutely necessary the return of the emperor to his capital if he wished to retain his crown, treasures, and life, which were all threatened by the ungrateful and undutiful conduct of his first-born son, the well-beloved Shaikhu Baba, the child of many prayers. Akbar accordingly made all possible speed in the task of organizing the conquered provinces, and marched in April for Agra, where he soon arrived, probably early in May 1601.

CLOSE OF AKBAR'S CAREER OF CONQUEST

Asirgarh was the last of the long list of Akbar's conquests, which had been practically continuous for forty-five years. 'Hardly ever', observes the Jesuit historian, 'did he undertake anything which he failed to bring to a successful issue; so that his good fortune is celebrated throughout the east by the current saying, "As fortunate as Akbar."

But the perfidy which failed to win and the ignoble corruption which won Asirgarh marked the waning of Akbar's fortunate star. His remaining years were few and evil. He was no longer 'the terror of the East', and was forced to lay aside for ever his grandiose projects of winning back the Central Asian realms lost by his grandfather,[3] of annexing the kingdoms of Golkonda and Bijapur, of carrying his victorious arms to the extremity of the Peninsula, and of driving into the sea the hated Portuguese whose ships and forts mocked at his power.[4] For the rest of his time all his failing energy was required

1. *Ain*, vol. ii, p. 224.
2. The saying is recorded by Hasan of Basra in 8th cent. A.C. (Prof. Margoliouth and Sir C. J. Lyall.)
3. Abu-l Fazl begins his description of the provinces of the empire as in 1595 with the words : 'I propose to begin with Bengal, which is at one extremity of Hindustan, and to proceed to Zabulistan [=the Kabul territory], and I hope that Iran [Persia] and Turan [Transoxiana], and other countries may be added to the count' (*Ain*, vol. ii, p. 115).
4. Akbar hated the Portuguese as a power. His personal liking and friendship for individual Portuguese priests seem to have been sincere. Puchas, a careful student of his authorities, believed that Akbar 'longed to adde the rest of India, whatsoever is betwixt Indus and Ganges even to the Cape Comori, to his Dominion' (*Pilgrimes*, chap. iv; Wheeler, *Early Travels in India*. p. 28).

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to hold what he possessed and to save himself from ignominious supersession by his rebellious son. The city of Fathpur-Sikri, on which he had lavished so much thought and so many millions of rupees, lay desolate and deserted, a monument of shattered beliefs and the vanity of human wishes. He had reason to take to heart the words which form part of the inscription already quoted : 'Worldly pleasures are but momentary; spend, then, thy life in devotion, and remember that what remains of it is valueless.'

AKBAR'S RELATIONS WITH THE JESUITS

The story of Prince Salim's prolonged rebellion, of Prince Daniyal's death, and other events which saddened the closing years of Akbar's glorious life will be told in the next chapter. Before those subjects are discussed it will be fitting to notice the interesting and little known details of the Jesuit dealings with both Akbar and Salim, as well as of the final embassy sent to Goa in 1601; and to mark the beginnings of commercial intercourse between England and the Mogul empire.

Father Pinheiro, having been relieved at Lahore by Father Corsi, joined the imperial camp apparently soon after the capitulation of Asirgarh, and experienced intense pleasure at meeting Jerome Xavier, from whom he had been parted for about three years. He offered pictures of the Virgin to Akbar, which were received with gratitude and indications of profound reverence. The emperor made many inquiries concerning the Pope, and was particularly interested in the ceremony of kissing the foot of His Holiness. The Father explained that a cross was marked on the Pontiff's shoe in order to show that the homage was really offered to Christ through his Vicar, and not to the Pope personally. Akbar also made the Jesuit explain the proper method of making the sign of the cross. When the emperor marched to Agra in April 1601 he brought both Xavier and Pinheiro with him.

EMBASSY TO GOA, 1601

Early in 1601 Akbar resolved to send an embassy to Goa. The ambassador selected was a wealthy and influential nobleman of Gujarat, whose name is disguised as Cogetquius Sultanus Hama, meaning seemingly, Khwaja Sultan Hamid, or something like that.[1] Brother Benedict of Goes was directed to accompany the envoy as his colleague. Akbar's letter of which translations have been preserved, was addressed to the Viceroy, Ayres de Saldanha, and bore the date March 20, 1601, equivalent to Farwardin 9, Ilahi or regnal year 46.[2] The mission arrived safely at Goa towards the end of May, bringing as presents a valuable horse, a trained hunting leopard, and other choice

1. My efforts to identify this person have failed.

2. Ayres de Saldanha, the seventeenth viceroy, came out to India on December 25, 1600, and governed Portuguese India until the middle of January 1605 (Fonseca, *Sketch of the City of Goa*, Bombay, Thacker & Co., 1878, p. 91). In the Latin version of Du Jarric the Viceroy's name appears as Ariande Saldangna. In the Spanish translation of Guerreiro, where the letter also is printed (chap. iii, p. 33), the name is written Aires de Saldana.

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gifts. Brother Benedict felt extreme gratification that he was allowed to carry with him a number of Portuguese prisoners of both sexes who had been taken at Burhanpur and Asirgarh. Those poor people had been long among Muhammadans and had not been even baptized. The good missionary repaired the omission, and also took the trouble to convert and baptize an old Portuguese Jew aged ninety.

Akbar no longer asked for instructors in Christian doctrine to be sent. The requests expressed in his letter were of a purely secular nature, and it is clear that his main purpose was to obtain Portuguese support in the coming struggle with his eldest son. The emperor laid stress upon the warm interest taken by him in trade, expressed his desire for perpetual amity between the two governments, asked that skilled artificers might be sent to him who should be assured of generous treatment and full liberty of return; and requested that his envoy might be permitted to buy gems, cloths, and other valuable goods. So much was committed to writing, but the Khwaja was also furnished with verbal and doubtless more important instructions, the nature of which the Viceroy was requested to ascertain. Probably they related to the supply of munitions.

The Portuguese authorities received the mission with due honour, and proved their understanding of its real purpose by exhibiting to the ambassador all their munitions of war, and firing a deafening salvo of the whole of their great ordnance. Du Jarric drily remarks that the ambassador must have appreciated the meaning of that 'martial symphony'. Nothing more appears to be on record concerning the results of the mission, which evidently failed in securing active Portuguese support.[1]

SEALED ORDERS PERMITTING THE CONVERSION OF MUSALMANS

While at Goa Brother Benedict of Goes received orders from his superiors to proceed to Tibet, which was supposed to offer a field favourable to the spread of the Christian faith. Father Machado was sent with him to Agra in order to take his place at Akbar's court. The emperor, as we have seen, had marched from Burhanpur late in April 1601, and must have arrived at Agra in May. He was there when Benedict and Machado came from Goa. Father Pinheiro went out some leagues to meet them on the road.

Akbar graciously gave Pinheiro, who was a favourite of his, permission to return to Lahore, where the newly-appointed Viceroy, Kulij Khan, had shown hostility to the Christians.

The Fathers made the bold demand that the emperor might be pleased to issue written orders under his seal expressly permitting such of his subjects as desired it to embrace Christianity without let or hindrance. Akbar, after satisfying himself that the Christians at Lahore had been hardly used, agreed to the Father's request. Up to that time the liberty to convert Musalmans to the Christian faith had depended on verbal instructions only. The notion that such liberty should be confirmed by signed and sealed orders was regarded by the

1. Du Jarric, iii, 53-6.

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court officials as destructive of the Muslim religion. The officials also feared that the issue of orders in the sense desired by the Fathers would be displeasing in the highest degree to Kulij Khan, the Viceroy at Lahore, at that time the most powerful and influential supporter of the throne, whose hostility was not to be provoked lightly. The eunuch in charge of the department[1] consequently hesitated to carry out his master's instructions, and respectfully suggested reconsideration. The difficulties placed in the way of issue of the written orders were so great that the Fathers almost despaired of success. Ultimately they obtained the good offices of a young man who had been Pinheiro's pupil, and had opportunities of private access to the emperor. The young man was able to overcome even the powerful opposition of Aziz Koka, who was at that time the great officer charged with the sealing of imperial commands. The desired document was made out in due form and handed to the Fathers. Akbar's determined action convinced the Muhammadans that he could no longer be considered a Muslim.

Pinheiro, having won a success so notable, was allowed to return to Lahore, and was given a horse for the journey. Before he left he had the pleasure of laying before Akbar a work by Jerome Xavier, entitled the 'Mirror of Holiness' (*Miratu-l-Kuds*), or alternatively, 'The Life of the Messiah' (*Dastan-i Masih*), which had been composed in Portuguese and translated into Persian by Xavier with expert help. Akbar was delighted with the treatise, and insisted on Aziz Koka reading it aloud to him. That nobleman, who must have hated the task, made the best of a bad business, and asked that a second copy might be prepared for his own use. The actual manuscript presented to Akbar in 1602 is said to be that now in the Bodleian Library.[2]

PRINCE SALIM'S OVERTURES TO THE PORTUGUESE

Prince Salim showed anxiety as great as that of his father to secure Portuguese support, and through it command of European ordnance. In the year 1602, while in open rebellion, he cultivated assiduously the friendship of the Fathers, and did his best to persuade them that he was sincerely devoted to the Christian religion and especially to the cult of the Virgin Mary. He even sent an envoy to Goa asking that priests might be accredited to his rival court at Allahabad. But the Provincial cautiously declined to entangle himself in such a dangerous affair and returned a polite refusal. The prince also entered into private correspondence with Xavier, who was as cautious as his superiors, and showed the prince's letters to Akbar. Salim tried to secure the Father's goodwill by presenting him with a black cloak

1. The employment of a eunuch was necessary because one of the queens had the custody of the seal.

2. The MS. is No. 364 in Catalogue Persian MSS.=Fraser, 206. It contains 200 folios of 15 lines each, written in a clear and legible *nastalik* hand and measures 9 1/8 by 5 1/8 inches. An illuminated cross is inserted on folio 1*b*. The colophon states that the book was finished to Akbar's order in 1602, the date being written in Persian words, with the addition of the Ilahi year 47. All the incidents mentioned in the text, except the reference to the Bodleian copy, will be found in Maclagan, p. 86, with other details. The same author gives a nearly complete account of Jerome Xavier's works (pp. 110-13).

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which he had worn himself. He also sent for the use of the church a heavy silver image of the infant Jesus, and round his neck wore a locket containing portraits of Jesus and the Virgin. He subscribed his letters with the sign of the cross.

After the final reconciliation with his father in November 1604, the prince, while staying at Agra, continued his flattering attentions to Xavier. He employed skilled artists to reproduce sacred Christian images, and had a crucifix engraved on a large emerald which he wore suspended by a chain from his neck. He also contributed considerable sums for the erection of a suitable church at Agra, and professed the deepest interest in Xavier's theological writings. The obvious insincerity of his proceedings needs no comment.

ADVENTURES OF JOHN MILDENHALL

The strange adventures and proceedings of John Mildenhall or Midnall are known from his two letters printed by Purchas combined with certain information collected by Orme and Foster from the East India Company's records. Mildenhall, a merchant, was employed in 1600, while the establishment of the company was under adjustment, to bear a letter from Queen Elizabeth to Akbar requesting liberty to trade in his dominions on terms as good as those enjoyed by the Portuguese. The text of the letter does not seem to be recorded. Mildenhall sailed from London for the coast of Syria on February 12, 1599, and arrived overland at Aleppo on May 24, of that year. More than a year later, July 7, 1600, he left Aleppo, travelling with a great caravan, and so journeyed through Mesopotamia and Persia to Kandahar on the frontier of Akbar's empire.

His further proceedings are related in a long letter addressed to Mr. Richard Staper, dated from Kaswin (Casbin) in Persia on October 3, 1606, nearly a year after Akbar's death.

MILDENHALL AT AKBAR'S COURT

From Kandahar he had made his way to Lahore early in 1603, and on arrival there had reported himself by letter to Akbar, who directed him to proceed to Agra. He complied, and, after a journey of twenty-one days, was well received at court. He must have been amply supplied with cash, because he states that at his audience he presented the emperor with twenty-nine good horses, some of which cost £50 or £60 each. He was then summoned to state his business before the council of ministers. He replied that the Queen of England sought the friendship of Akbar and trading privileges in his empire equal to those of the Portuguese. He further asked the emperor not to take offence if the English should capture Portuguese ships or ports on his coasts.

Some days later Akbar presented Mildenhall with gifts worth £500 and flattered him with fair words. But the situation changed when the emperor consulted his Jesuit friends at Agra and Lahore, who were 'in an exceeding great rage', and denounced Englishmen generally thieves and spies. The Jesuits gained over the councillors, so that Mildenhall, failing to obtain any satisfaction, absented himself from court. Akbar then soothed him by more fair words and presents

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of rich garments. Six months thus passed, during which the Jesuits bought over Akbar's two principal ministers with bribes of at least £500 each, and enticed away the Armenian interpreter of the envoy, who was obliged to work hard studying Persian for six months in order to be able to speak for himself. He then resumed attendance at court and requested permission to depart because he felt unable to withstand the Jesuits. He also asked Akbar to hear a statement of his grievances. Audience was granted on a Wednesday, evidently some time in 1605. The Sunday following was appointed for hearing the statement of Mildenhall, who explained the advantages to be derived by the emperor from friendship and commerce with England, on terms similar to those arranged by the queen with Turkey. Prince Salim stood forward and expressed his agreement with Mildenhall, who had argued that intercourse with the Jesuits for ten or twelve years had not resulted either in the arrival of an embassy or in the receipt of valuable presents. Mildenhall promised that Akbar should get from England both the embassy and the presents. Akbar then laughed at the Jesuits and directed his chief minister, called the Viceroy by the writer, and evidently the Khan-i Azam (Aziz Koka), to make out and seal formal documents granting Mildenhall's requests in full. Within thirty days the papers were actually completed, and, as an extra precaution, confirmed by the prince. When Mildenhall was writing on October 3, 1606, he had them with him in Persia.[1] According to Orme, he actually obtained the *farman*, after Akbar's death, from Jahangir. The discomfiture of the Jesuits, therefore, must have taken place in August or September 1605, after the reconciliation with Salim and shortly before Akbar's fatal illness, which began late in September.

The chief motive which influenced Akbar and his son in granting the requests of the English envoy evidently was the expected gratification of their vanity and cupidity. An embassy from a country so distant as England would be regarded and represented as a mission bearing tribute to the foot of the throne, while the accompanying presents would be interesting as curiosities in addition to being welcome for their intrinsic value.

THE JESUITS

Mildenhall's letter is of special value as giving a lively picture of the corrupt intrigue prevalent at the Mogul court, and as affording conclusive proof of the activity of the Jesuit missionaries in their capacity as political and commercial agents. They appear to have been somewhat unscrupulous when so acting, and were gravely suspected of using poison more than once to attain their ends. Orme relates that Canning, a factor of Surat, who was sent to Agra in 1613, 'continued in daily dread of poison from the Portuguese jesuits; and died on the 29th of May, which confirmed the suspicion', and he adds that 'Andrew Starkey was poisoned somehwere on the way by two friars'.[2] Mildenhall himself was reputed to have used the same secret weapon, and to have perished by it.

1. Purchas, vol. ii, pp. 297-303.

2. Orme, *Historical Fragments*, 4 to 1805, p. 333. Jerome Xavier, in his letter dated September 6 (N.S.), 1604, published by Maclagan only (pp. 89, 93), accuses

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'The rest of his story', Orme observes, 'is very obscure. He returned to Persia, if not before, in 1610, with some commission, in which two others, young men, were joined; whom it is said he poisoned, in order to embezzle the effects committed to their common charge, with which he repaired to Agra, where he turned Roman Catholic, and died himself of poison, leaving all he possessed to a Frenchman, whose daughter he intended to marry. Mr. Kerridge was at that time the resident at Agra; but being constantly occupied in attendance on the court, sent for Wittington to collect the effect left by Mildenhall; of which to the amount of 20,000 dollars were recovered.'[1]

It is, of course, impossible now to judge how far such suspicions of poisonings on all sides were justified. Probably they were quite unfounded in many cases, if not in all. Mildenhall's negotiations seem to have formed the basis of the decision taken a few years later to send Sir Thomas Roe as the duly accredited ambassador of King James I.

FIRST CHARTER OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, DEC. 31, 1600

Mildenhall's informal mission was, as we have seen, connected with the proposed formation of a chartered company for trade in the east. That project took shape on the last day of 1,600, when Queen Elizabeth granted her charter to 'the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading with the East Indies', and so founded the famous East India Company.[2] The results of that Company's proceedings are known in substance to everybody. They do not, however, concern the biography of Akbar, who may never have heard of the newly founded institution. Mildenhall, one of the three or four Englishmen known personally to him, may or may not have informed him on the subject. No important consequences resulted from the entry of the Company into Indian trade until after Akbar's death. But no account of his reign could be considered complete which should fail to notice the remarkable fact that the power which became the heir of the Moguls was born during the life and reign of the real founder of the Mogul empire.

AKBAR'S RELATIONS WITH EUROPEANS

The merchants of London, who incorporated themselves by virtue of Elizabeth's charter, aimed primarily at annexing a share of the profitable Dutch trade with the Spice Islands. The subsequent development of the trade in India proper was in large measure an afterthought consequent on the failure of the attempt to oust the Dutch from the Indian Archipelago, which failure was made definitive by the massacre of Amboyna in 1623.

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the 'English heretic' [*scil.* Mildenhall] of contriving a 'diabolical plot', and giving lavish bribes. Xavier was of opinion that the Englishman would never obtain the concessions asked for. No doubt both sides bribed as heavily as their resources permitted.

1. Orme, op. cit., p. 342. The curious reader will find further details about Mildenhall (Midnall) and Canning in *Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, vol. ii, 1613—15, ed. Foster, Sampson, Low & Co. 1897. Mildenhall seems to have been a rogue. That volume does not support the poisoning hypothesis, so far as Canning was concerned.

2. A copy of the charter will be found in Purchas, ed. MacLehose, vol. ii, pp. 366-91.

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The Dutch had already entered into possession of a valuable trade in the eastern seas when their East India Company was incorporated on March 20, 1602. They did not come into contact with Akbar. The establishment of English 'factories', or trading stations, on the coast of the Bay of Bengal in 1610-11 marks the effective beginning of Anglo-Indian commerce, five or six years after Akbar's death. The first English ship to arrive at an Indian port was the *Hector*, commanded by Captain William Hawkins, which called at Surat in August 1608, and, after doing a little trade with much difficulty, went on to Bantam. The few Englishmen who visited India during Akbar's lifetime were merely pioneers surveying the ground for the operations of future generations. The first Englishman to reside in India, as already mentioned, was the Jesuit, the Rev. Thomas Stephens or Stevens, who came out in 1579 and laboured for forty years as a zealous priest and missioner in Goa and the neighbourhood, taking no part in politics. So far as appears Akbar never heard of his existence. The emperor must have had some communication with John Newbery and Ralph Fitch when they were at Agra and Fathepur-Sikri in 1585, as otherwise he could not have taken their companion, William Leedes, the jeweller, into his service, but Fitch makes no mention of any audience being granted to his party. The only other British subject known to have conversed with Akbar is John Mildenhall, whose story has been related. The notions about England which Akbar can have picked up from those trading visitors must have been fragmentary and confused, and in all probability he formed a poor opinion of their country. Mildenhall was not a creditable representative.

The only European power concerning which Akbar possessed any substantial knowledge was the Portuguese, and his interest in Portuguese affairs was mainly aroused by his intense desire to destroy the settlements of the intrusive foreigners who dared to trespass on the coast of one of his richest provinces, and to humble him by requiring his ships to sail under cover of passports granted by Portuguese authority.

APPENDIX A

Official account of the Capitulation of Asirgarh

Professor, Dowson, the translator of the extracts quoted below, certifies that, with certain exceptions, the *Akbarnama of* Faizi Sirhindi is 'nothing more than a compilation from the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* and the *Akbar-nama* of Abu-l Fazl. It ends with the latter work in 1010 H. (1602 A.D.)' (E. & E., vi, 116). The extracts, therefore, save where difference is noted, are equivalent to passages from Abu-l Fazl's book. The relevant parts will now be cited.

'On the 21st Safar [*scil.* A.H. 1009] news arrived of the capture of Ahmadnagar on the 18th ' (p. 144). That date is equivalent to August 19, 1600 (o.s.).

The author then gives a brief account of the fall of Ahmadnagar, followed by a gap in the translation marked.....

He continues (p. 145) :

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'A few days after, Bahadur sent Sadat Khan and Shaikh Pir Muhammad Husain, two of his chief men, to the Emperor, with ten elephants and an entreaty for forgiveness. Two days afterwards, Shaikh Pir Muhammad was sent back into the fortress, and Sadat Khan was kept as the guest of Shaikh Farid. The escort which had come out with him was ordered to return with Pir Muhammad; but the men, about a hundred in number, declared that they would not return into the fortress and become prisoners (*asir*) in Asirgarh. Permission to remain was given to those who could give some bail that they would not run away, otherwise they were to be put in confinement. In the end some found the required bail, and some went back into the fortress.'

That passage as it stands by itself is absurd and incredible. But when read in the light of Du Jarric's straightforward narrative, it is seen to be a garbled account of the kidnapping of Bahadur with his escort about the end of August. The writer is careful to make no mention of the king. The extraordinary phrase that 'Sadat Khan was kept as the guest of Shaikh Farid' is merely a polite way of saying that he was made prisoner. Although Du Jarric does not happen to mention Pir Muhammad and Sadat Khan by name, there is no difficulty about believing that they were kidnapped along with their king, and that negotiations for capitulation were conducted through Pir Muhammad. The statement that a hundred of the escort made a pun in order to excuse their refusal to rejoin the garrison is ridiculous. We are then told that some were allowed out on bail, some were imprisoned, and some allowed to return to the fortress. Why ?

The author continues without a break :

'Among the causes which brought about the surrender of the fortress was the impurity of the atmosphere, which engendered two diseases.[1] One was paralysis of the lower extremities, from the waist downwards, which deprived the sufferer of the powers of motion; the other was weakness of sight. These maladies greatly distressed and discouraged the men of the garrison, so that men of all ranks and degrees were of one mind and voice in urging Bahadur to capitulate. At their instance he wrote to the Emperor offering to surrender.'

It will be observed that the author states that a corrupted atmosphere, manifested by two *non-fatal* disorders, was merely *among* the causes leading to the capitulation. That statement is wholly inconsistent with Abu-l Fazl's allegation of mortality on a gigantic scale. The kidnapping of the king having been concealed, the author necessarily pretends that Bahadur remained within the walls to the end.

He continues without interruption :

'When Bahadur came out, the Emperor held a grand *darbar*, at which all the great men were present, and Bahadur was amazed at the splendour and state. Mukarrib Khan, and several other of Bahadur's nobles, were sent into the fortress, in advance of Shaikh Abu-l Fazl, to inform the garrison of the surrender, and to require the giving up of the keys. When they approached, Mukarrib Khan's father mounted the top of the fort, and reviled him for having thrown his master into bonds and surrendered the fort. Unable to endure his abuse, the son stabbed himself two or three times in the abdomen, and a few days afterwards he died. On the 17th Safar the royal forces were admitted, and the keys were given up.....Khan Khanan, who had come from Ahmadnagar, went into the fortress, and placed the royal seal on the treasure and warlike stores, which were then placed in charge of responsible officers. Just at this time Mirza Jani Beg of Tatta died.

'On the 8th Sha'ban the Emperor bestowed great honours on Shaikh Abu-l Fazl, etc..... The Emperor went in and inspected the fortress. All the treasures

1. Dowson's note.—'Abu-l Fazl says that the pestilence arose from the penning up of more than 100,000 animals in the fortress, and that 25,000 human beings died from it.

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and effects of Bahadur Khan, which had been collected by his ancestors during two hundred years, were brought out, and the wives and women of Bahadur, two hundred in number, were presented. The Emperor stayed in the place three days, and then proceeded to Burhanpur.....On the 28th Shawwal all the country of the Dakhin, Birar, Khandesh, Mahwa and Gujarat were placed under the rule of Prince Daniyal.'

That passage contains statements even more absurd than those in the first extract, which it resembles by including veiled references to the kidnapping which had occurred at the end of August.

The 'grand darbar' placed by Sirhindi in January 1601, when, as we know from the mosque inscription, the fortress really surrendered, is the one held at the end of August 1600, when Akbar 'sat like a statue', forced Bahadur to prostrate himself, and then kidnapped him. The success of the bribery operations in January did not offer occasion for a solemn court function. The author had just told us that Bahadur, in deference to the wishes of all ranks of the garrison, had written offering to capitulate. He now states that information had to be sent to the garrison that the capitulation had taken place. The king, too, is represented as being 'in bonds'. Mukarrab Khan, who is said to have stabbed himself because of his father's abuse, clearly is the plain-spoken youth murdered by order of Akbar. His father must be the unnamed Abyssinian commandant of Du Jarric, whose reproaches, alleged to have been hurled at his son, were really directed against the perfidious emperor. If Bahadur had come out to surrender in accordance with the urgent entreaties of the whole garrison, why should Mukarrab Khan be blamed for his sovereign's captivity ?

The dates are impossible. Ahmadnagar fell on Safar 18, the news reaching Asirgarh on the 21st. We are now told that 'on the 17th Safar the royal forces were admitted [to Asirgarh], and the keys were given up', which is absurd.

A.H. 1009 began on July 3 (o.s.), 1600. Consequently the 18th of Safar, the second month (29 days July+19 of August=48 days) was August 19 (Muharram, first month, 30 days+18 of second month=48 days). The fortress of Asirgarh was surrendered in January 1601, not in August 1600, and long after the fall of Ahmadnagar, not before it, as stated by the author. The capitulation took place on the 22nd of Rajab, the seventh month of A.H. 1009=January 17, 1601, and not in Safar the second month. The conferment of honours in Sha'ban, the eighth month, is therefore correctly stated. The dating of Prince Daniyal's appointment in Shawwal, the tenth month=April 1601, also is correct.

The chronology is muddled in many books, but so much exposition must suffice. It would be too tedious to examine in detail the errors of various writers. One of the worst is that in Burgess, *The Chronology of Modern India*, 1913, where the fall of Asirgarh is placed in 1599.

NOTE

Another contemporary account of the siege of Asirgarh and the preceding events is now to be found in the learned treatise entitled 'The Faruqi Dynasty of Khandesh', by Lt.-Col. T.W. Haig, C.M.G. (*Ind. Ant.*, 1918, pp. 113-24, 141-9, 178-86). That treatise is based chiefly upon vol. i of the Arabic *History of Gujarat* called *Zafar-al Walihi bi Muzaffar*, or more briefly *Zafar-al Walih*, edited in 1910 by

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Sir E. Denison Ross. The author of it had been for a time in the service of Fulad Khan, one of the nobles of Raja Ali Khan and of Bahadur Shah.

His narrative, while agreeing in the main with the official story, confirms the Jesuit version on certain points. The Abyssinian commandant, unnamed in that version, is said to have been old and blind. He was named Malik Yakut Sultani. His suicide is described by the author, who alleges that it was effected by means of opium, not by strangulation. His son, as I inferred correctly, was Mukarrab Khan. The author follows the official story in affirming that the young man also committed suicide. The Faruki princes confined in the fortress, who are all specified by name, exceeded fifty in number. Du Jarric, when mentioning only seven, presumably indicates merely the principal members of the family. Significant incidents related by Du Jarric are omitted. It is impossible to enter into detailed criticism in this place, and it must suffice to say that I still regard the Jesuit narrative as being by far the most trustworthy account of the facts, which have been deliberately garbled more or less by all the Muhammadan authors.

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CHAPTER XI

REBELLION OF PRINCE SALIM ; DEATH OF PRINCE DANIYAL AND OF AKBAR'S MOTHER ; SUBMISSION AND ARREST OF PRINCE SALIM; LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH OF AKBAR (OCTOBER 1605); DESECRATION OF HIS TOMB (1691)

PRINCE SALIM PREPARES TO REBEL

As early as 1591, when the emperor suffered from an attack of colic, he expressed his suspicion that Prince Salim had caused poison to be administered to him[1]. It is impossible to say whether or not the suspicion was then justified; but it is certain that in 1600 Salim had become utterly weary of waiting for the long-deferred and ardently desired succession. The prince, who was then thirty-one years of age, felt aggrieved because the reign of his father had already lasted more than forty years, and Akbar's strong constituion seemed to postpone indefinitely the close of his life. Salim, therefore, following many evil precedents in Asiatic history, resolved to anticipate the course of nature, and occupy the imperial throne by force, whatever might be the consequence to his father. The prince was then residing at Ajmer.

Shahbaz Khan Kambu, who had been appointed to assist Salim in the administration of the Ajmer province, died in 1600, probably about the middle of the year.[2]

The deceased nobleman, although renowned for generosity and lavish expenditure, left behind him immense wealth, which Salim promptly appropriated, thus providing himself with cash for the execution of his meditated treason.[3]

RAJA MAN SINGH ; REVOLT IN BENGAL, A.D. 1600

Raja Man Singh, governor of Bengal and Bihar, who disliked the Bengal climate, usually resided at Ajmer, leaving the administration of his provinces in the hands of deputies. About this time (A. D. 1600) an Afghan chief named Usman Khan rebelled, defeated the imperial officers, and occupied the greater part of Bengal. Raja Man Singh was obliged to take the field in person. He acted with vigour and defeated the rebels decisively at Sherpur Atai, a small town, now apparently in the Murshidabad District.[4] The Raja, after

1. Badaoni, ii, 390.
2. The precise date of the death of Shahbaz Khan is not recorded. He died in A.H. 1008, which ended in July 1600. The course of events indicates that his decease must have occurred towards the close of A.H. 1008.
3. The treasure seized is said to have exceeded ten millions of rupees, a 'crore' (de Laet, p. 197/206).
4. It was in the Sharifabad Sarkar (*Ain*, vol. ii, p. 140), which, according to Blochmann, extended 'from Bardwan to Fath Singh, south of Murshidabad' (ibid., vol. i, p. 341). Thornton (*Gazetteer*) mentions 'Seerpore', 18 miles W. by S. from Murshidabad.

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his victory, returned to court, and was raised, contrary to precedent, to the exalted rank of 'commander of 7,000', reserved up to that time for members of the imperial family.

Man Singh remained in Bengal until A. H. 1013 (A. D. 1604-5), when he resigned the government and proceeded to Agra. His offering of 900 elephants greatly pleased Akbar.[1] He was, consequently, at the capital when Akbar became ill in September 1605.

OPEN REBELLION OF PRINCE SALIM, A.D. 1600

Salim had been advised by his brother-in-law, Raja Man Singh, to proceed on service against the Bengal rebels, and, according to one authority, the Raja went so far as to counsel the prince to take possession of the eastern provinces. If Man Singh really gave that counsel, it would have been offered for the purpose of keeping Salim out of the way, and opening up Khusru's path to the throne. Salim, however, who was not inclined to endanger his own prospects by absence in remote regions, decided to retire no farther than Allahabad, where he had partisans. He had hoped to obtain possession of Agra, the capital and chief treasure city of the empire, which at that time probably had not less than fifteen million pounds sterling of cash stored in the vaults of the fort. Kulij Khan, the governor of Agra, visited the prince, who was advised by some of his adherents to seize the visitor, but Salim shrank from that dangerous treachery, and finding that Kulji Khan would not betray his trust passed on eastwards. In July he crossed the Jumna a few miles from the city, and carefully avoided an interview with his grandmother, who desired to dissuade him from his purpose of rebellion and had come out to meet him. The old lady, who loved him ardently, was deeply pained by his behaviour. Salim, on arrival at Allahabad, appropriated the revenue of Bihar, a treasure exceeding three million pounds sterling (30 lakhs of rupees), seized many provinces and districts extending from Kalpi to Hajipur, and assigned them to his leading supporters as jagirs. Kutbu-d din Kokaltash obtained Bihar; Allah Beg was appointed to Jaunpur; and so on. Those acts amounted to avowed rebellion.[2]

SALIM ASSUMES ROYAL TITLE, 1601

Akbar, having left the Deccan in April, as related in the last preceding chapter, must have arrived at Agra in May. Some time after his return, the exact date not being recorded, he received reports that Salim was coming to court at the head of 30,000 cavalry,

1. Stewart, *Hist. of Bengal* (ed. 1813), p. 190. Abu-l Fazl, after his manner, minimizes the extent of the success gained by the rebellious chief. 'The province', he says, 'was not lost; but the rebels got possession of some places' (*A.N.*, in E. & D., vi, 98).

2. Salim crossed the Jumna on Amardad 1, Ilahi year 45 (March 1600-March 1601) as stated by *A.N.* in E. & D., vi, 99; that is to say, about July 10, 1600. Gladwin (i.e. *Ma'asir-i* J.) asserts that Man Singh advised the seizure of the eastern provinces. For the life of Kulij (Qulij) Khan see Blochman *Ain*, vol. i, pp. 34*n*. 354. The names of the provinces siezed by Salim are given by de Laet in corrupt forms. At Akbar's death in 1605 the cash in Agra fort exceeded 20,000,000 pounds sterling. It can hardly have been less than 15,000,000 in 1600.

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and that he had actually advanced as far as Etawah (Itawa), only seventy-three miles distant from the capital. The emperor dispatched an urgent letter filled with remonstrances and threats, directing his son to return to Allahabad. He followed up that communication by a second conferring on the prince the government of Bengal and Orissa. Salim took no notice of his appointment to the eastern provinces, but submitted to the necessity of returning to Allahabad, where he openly assumed the royal style and set up as an independent king. He was good enough to designate his father, by way of distinction, as the Great King.[1]

NEGOTIATIONS; SALIM'S DEFIANCE

Either late in 1601 or early in 1602 Salim sent his adherent, Dost Muhammad of Kabul, generally designated by his later title of Khwaja Jahan, as his envoy to negotiate with Akbar. The envoy remained at Agra for six months, but the prince's insincere protestations of regret for his conduct were coupled with conditions which the emperor could not possibly accept. Salim required that he should be permitted to visit his father at the head of 70,000 men, that all his grants to his officers should be confirmed, and that his adherents should not be regarded as rebels. The negotiations for definite reconciliation consequently failed. At that time Akbar could not make up his mind to fight his son, for whom he had undoubtedly felt warm affection. How far he was influenced by parental love, and how far by fear of Salim's considerable power, cannot be determined. Probably his hesitation was caused by both motives. Throughout the year 1602 the prince continued to hold his court at Allahabad and to maintain royal state as king of the provinces which he had usurped. He emphasized his claim to royalty by striking both gold and copper money, specimens of which he had the impudence to send to his father. That insult moved Akbar to action.[2]

MURDER OF ABU-L FAZL

The emperor wrote a full account of the misdeeds and insolence of the prince to Abu-l Fazl, who was in charge of the imperial interests

1. Gladwin, p. vi. 'Princeps quippe se etiam regem, etsi Patrem magnum diceret regem' (Du Jarric, iii, 118).

2. For Dost Muhammad of Kabul, or Khwaja Jahan, see Blochman, *Ain*, vol. i, pp 424, 477. He was highly favoured by Jahangir, who married his daughter and appointed him to the important office of Bakhshi. He is frequently mentioned in Jahangir's *Memoirs*; see Beveridge's Index. The account of his mission to Akbar is from van den Broecke in de Laet, p. 199/208. The *Takmil* names Mir Sadr Jahan as the agent employed in these early negotiations, and he, too, may have been utilized. The money was gold and copper (auream atque aeneam monetam suo nomine non modo cudi fecit, sed et ad patrem misit ut animum ejus magis irritaret), not gold and silver, as Lethbridge (p. 198) wrongly translates (de Laet, p. 200/209). No specimen is recorded of those coins, which presumably were few in number and soon called in. The silver 'Salimi rupees' seem to have been struck after the prince's accession, before he had dies ready with his new title of Jahangir (Taylor, *J.A.S.B.*, 1904, *Num. Suppl.*, pp. 5-10). Certain Allahabd coins of the 44th and 45th years (1599-1601) have been supposed to be coins struck during the prince's rebellion. But they are silver and do not bear Salim's name, so they do not agree with the description in de Laet (Rodgers, *J.A.S.B.*, part i, vol. lvii (1888); p. 18; *B.M. Catal*, pp. lxviii, 48).

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in the Deccan. His dispatch may be dated in June 1602, or early in July. Abu-l Fazl saw the necessity for strong action, and replied saying that he would bring the prince bound to court. Salim fully understood the danger to himself which would ensue on the acceptance of Abu-l Fazl's advice, and resolved to intercept and kill his father's dearest surviving friend.[1] The story of the murder is related in detail by Asad Beg, who made special inquiry into the circumstances. He was in the suite of the returning minister as far as Sironj, now in the Tonk State, and begged to be allowed to escort him to Gwalior, because treachery was feared. But Abu-l Fazl refused to pay any heed to warnings, and proceeded on the way towards Agra with an inadequate escort. When he arrived at Sarai Barar, ten or twelve miles from Narwar, he was again warned of the intended attack by a religious mendicant, but deliberately abstained from taking the most obvious precautions, and even dismissed the guards offered to him by friends.

Early in the morning of August 12, 1602, the minister was attacked, as he was about to make the day's march, by Bir Singh, the Bundela chieftain of Orchha, whom Salim had hired for the purpose. The bandit chief's force of five hundred mailed horsemen soon overpowered the resistance of the traveller's small retinue. Abu-l Fazl was transfixed by a lance and promptly decapitated. His head was sent to Allahabad, where Salim received it with unholy joy and treated it with shameful insult.[2]

The prince felt no remorse for the crime. On the contrary, he gloried in it, and was graceless enough to place on record the following account.

SALIM'S ACCOUNT OF THE CRIME

'I promoted Raja Bir Singh Deo, a Bundela Rajput, who had obtained my favour, and who excels his equals and relatives in valour, personal goodness, and simple-heartedness, to the rank of 3,000. The reason for his advancement and for the regard shown to him was that near the end of my revered father's time, Shaikh Abu-l Fazl, who excelled the Shaikhzadas of Hindustan in wisdom and learning, had adorned himself outwardly with the jewel of sincerity, and sold it to my father at a heavy price. He had been summoned from the Deccan, and since his feelings towards me were not honest, he both publicly and privately spoke against me. At this period, when, through strife-

1. Du Jarric (iii, 114) gives the following brief account of the murder, without naming the victim. I do not know why he should describe Abu-l Fazl as an adherent of Salim. 'Pater enim cum primarium quemdam ducem & judicial singularis virum, qui filio adhaerebat, quemque ille ob insignem prudentiam & robur magni faciebat, vocasset; filius, quantum consilio hujus e re patris futura essent, praesagiens, per insidias illum in via interaci curat, caputque ad se deferri. Quo facto et patrem non parum irritavit, et regiam omnem consternavit.' The *Takmil* represents the summons of Abu-l Fazl to court as a recall due to Akbar's displeasure at the tone of his reports concerning Prince Salim (E. & D., vi, 107). I do not believe that version. The text follows the *Fragmentum* in de Laet, p. 200/209.

2. Asad Beg in E. & D., vi, 156-60.'Caput principi missum, ingenti gaudio ipsum perfudit' (de Laet, p. 201/210). 'Salim...it is said, had it thrown into "an unworthy place", where it lay for a long time' (Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, p. xxv). Probably the quotation is from the *Ma'asiru-l Umara*. Elphinstone and some other authors erroneously write 'Nar Singh' for 'Bir Singh'.

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mongering intriguers, the august feelings of my revered father were entirely embittered against me, it was certain that if he obtained the honour of waiting on him (Akbar) it would be the cause of more confusion, and would preclude me from the favour of union with him (my father). It became necessary to prevent him from coming to court.

'As Bir Singh Deo's country was exactly on the route and he was then rebel, I sent him a message that if he would stop that sedition-monger and kill him he would receive every kindness from me. By God's grace, when Shaikh Abu-l Fazl was passing through Bir Singh Deo's country, the Raja blocked his road, and after a little contest scattered his men and killed him. He sent his head to me in Allahabad. Although this event was a cause of anger in the mind of the late King (Akbar), in the end it enabled me to proceed without disturbance of mind to kiss the threshold of my father's palace, and by degrees the resentment of the King was cleared away'.[1]

The cynical effrontery of that passage would be difficult to beat. The blasphemous ascription of success in the treacherous murder to the grace of God is particularly disgusting, while the avowed indifference to Akbar's feelings proves the insincerity of the writer's frequent references to his 'revered father'.

ESCAPE OF BIR SINGH, THE MURDERER

The crime made Akbar furious with rage and distracted with grief. For three days he abstained from appearing in public audience, a dangerous omission in a country where the non-appearance of the sovereign for a single day might be the signal for a revolution. Urgent orders were sent out to hunt down and slay the chief who had presumed to kill the emperor's friend. Akbar fell into the greatest conceivable passion when he learned that Bir Singh had escaped through the territories of the Raja of Gwalior, and he was much puzzled by conflicting reports which cast the blame for the failure of the pursuit now on one person, and now on another. At last, about three months after the murder, he called for Asad Beg (November, 1602) and put him on special duty to ascertain who was guilty. In due course, presumably towards the end of 1602, Asad Beg returned from his mission and judiciously reported that nobody had erred intentionally, although there had been gross neglect, a fault shared by all concerned. Akbar accepted the excuse, and did not prosecute his researches further.[2] Bir Singh, although hotly pursued and wounded on one occasion, evaded capture, and lived to enjoy the favour of Jahangir, as already related.[3]

The murder was effectual for two years in stopping Akbar from taking strong measures to coerce his rebellious son.

ABU-L FAZL

Abu-l Fazl, who thus met his death in the fifty-second year of

1. Jahangir, R.B., i, 24, 25. The explanations offered in the *Ma'asir-i Jahangir*, E. & D., vi, 442-4, agree with those given by Jahangir, but are expressed at a little more length. The author seems to deny that Salim struck coins in his own name.

2. Asad Beg, in E. & D., vi, 162. Asad Beg's report must have been made in December 1602.

3. *Takmil*, in E. & D., vi, 114.

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his age, was the second son of Shaikh Mubarak, the learned unorthodox theologian who had been the first to suggest to Akbar the idea of assuming the spiritual as well as the temporal guidance of his people. Faizi, the Shaikh's elder son, who had entered Akbar's service in 1567, was not ambitious of high official rank, and devoted himself mainly to literary pursuits. He was content with a modest provision as 'commander of 400', and died in 1595, two years after his father, who had attained a great age. Abu-l Fazl, who had shown extraordinary precocity and had spent a studious youth, succeeded in 1574, by means of a Koranic commentary, in attracting the attention of the emperor. Having once entered on the road to advancement he took good care to secure his continual progress, and in due course attained the lofty and lucrative dignity of 'commander of 4,000'. His favour at court became so marked that the Jesuits speak of him as 'the King's Jonathan'. He appears to have possessed more influence over Akbar than that enjoyed by any other person. It was not necessary to appoint him to any of the highest offices. He occupied an informal position as Secretary of State and Private Secretary, which secured him in practice greater power than if he had been Vakil or Vizier. He was largely concerned in developing his father's ideas, especially those of universal toleration and the spiritual headship of the emperor. It is not clear how far he advised or supported his master's unworthy insults to Islam which obviously violated the principle of toleration. He suppresses mention of them, our knowledge of the facts being derived from Badaoni and the Jesuits.

The brilliant official success of Abu-l Fazl was due partly to his exceptional intellectual gifts and partly to his adroitness as a courtier. He resembled Francis Bacon in combining extraordinary mental powers and capacity for work with the servility of an ambitious courtier. Father Monserrate, who knew him intimately, had no hesitation in declaring that Abu-l Fazl easily surpassed all his contemporaries in acuteness of intellect.[1] The observation, undoubtedly true, is supported by the verdict of later ages and the testimony of the successful minister's writings. When Badaoni describes Abu-l Fazl as being 'officious, time-serving, openly faithless, continually studying the emperor's whims, a flatterer beyond all bounds',[2] the language may be censured for its obvious malice, but I do not think it is far from the truth. Notwithstanding Blochmann's opinion to the contrary, the author of the *Akbarnama* and *Ain-i Akbari* actually was a consummate and shameless flatterer. Both works were conceived and executed as monuments to the glory of their writer's master. Almost all matters considered detrimental to Akbar's renown are suppressed, glossed over, or occasionally even falsified. Abu-l Fazl, when not influenced by his resolve to magnify Akbar at all costs, was more conscientious in the collection of facts than most Asiatic historians, and was especially careful about the details of chronology. But his books are one-sided panegyrics, and must be treated as such by a critical historian. Their merits as literature will be considered in the fifteenth chapter.

1. 'Qui acumine ingenii facile omnes superabat' (*Commentarius*, p. 639).
2. Badaoni, ii, 202.

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Abu-l Fazl availed himself of the liberty allowed by his religion in his relations with women. He had at least the canonical four wives.[1] His private life, when judged by a Muslim standard, was considered to be blameless. He had a prodigious appetite, rivalling that of Sultan Mahmud Bigarha of Gujarat, and is reputed to have consumed daily nearly thirty pounds of food.[2]

His sincerity in adopting and managing Akbar's ridiculous eclectic religion may be doubted or even denied, with good reason. Badaoni relates a conversation which he had with him about 1576, when Badaoni inquired, 'Who will have a greater passion for all the notorious heresies than yourself?' The reply was, 'I wish to wander for a few days in the vale of infidelity for sport'.[3] The obvious inference of insincerity to be drawn from that reply is supported by the anecdote of Prince Salim's malicious delight in finding forty scribes copying Korans at the Secretary's house when the prince paid a surprise visit.[4] Abu-l Fazl, who had been brought up as a learned Muslim theologian with Sufi or mystical tendencies, appears never to have heartily renounced his unorthodox form of Islam. He was far too clever and deeply read to believe in Akbar as the prophet of a new religion. This work being a biography of Akbar himself, and not a detailed account of his contemporaries, it is impossible to discuss more fully in this place the interesting life-story of Abu-l Fazl which would furnish material for a separate volume. His son Abdu-r rahman attained considerable distinction in an official career.[5]

RECONCILIATION EFFECTED BY SALIMA BEGAM, 1603

Sultan Salima Begam, Bairam Khan's widow, the emperor's senior consort, whom Akbar had espoused in his youth, had always occupied a position of great influence in the imperial household. Being resolved to bring father and son together, and to ward off the horrors of civil war, if by any means peace could be arranged, she journeyed to Allahabad either late in 1602 or early in 1603, under instructions from the emperor, in order to persuade the prince to submit. She succeeded so far that Salim was induced to march towards Agra. In or about April 1603 (beginning of 48th regnal year), Akbar received the welcome news that his son had passed Etawah and would shortly present himself at court. Salima Begam returned with the prince and asked Akbar's mother, Maryam Makani, to accord him

1. *Ain*, vol. iii, p. 449. He married Hindu, Persian, and Kashmiri wives, in addition to a lady of an honourable house and a family distinguished for learning. He says that the extra consorts were 'occasions of great joy' to him, and so was more fortunate than many polygamists.

2. For the Sultan see Bayley *Hist. of Gujarat*, p. 162. The 'maund' of Akbar, containing 40 'seers', was equivalent to 55½ pounds. Abu-l Fazl is said to have eaten 22 'seers' daily.

3. Badaoni, ii, 270.

4. Blochmann, in *Ain*, vol. i, p. xvi; the authority is not stated, but probably is the *Ma'asiru-l Umara*.

5. Blochmann, in *Ain*, vol. i, p. xxv. Abu-l Fazl's autobiography will be found in the same work, vol. iii, pp. 417-51. His writings contain other passages on the same subject. He had a good conceit of himself, as appears from the concluding paragraphs of the autobiography.

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her personal protection. That aged lady consented, and went out a day's journey to meet the rebel, whom she brought to her own residence. She arranged an interview between Salim and his father, who received him courteously, even advancing several steps to meet him. The prince gave tangible evidence of his submission by presenting to his sovereign 12,000 gold mohurs, and no less than 770 elephants, out of which 354 were accepted and placed in the imperial stables, the remainder being returned to the giver. He knew that his father had a passion for collecting fine elephants and that no gift more acceptable could be imagined. In return he begged for the best elephant in his father's possession, a request which was graciously conceded. After a short interval Akbar, taking off his own turban, placed it on the head of his son, thus publicly recognizing him as heir to the throne. The reconciliation was complete to all appearance, and Salima Begam must have felt proud at the success of her intervention.[1]

The reconciliation, however, was not sincere. It is impossible to believe that Akbar can have forgiven heartily the atrocious murder of his dearest friend, and it is certain that Salim, who felt a grudge against his father for living so long, continued to cherish rebellious thoughts. Akbar desired that his now acknowledged heir should devote himself in earnest to the destruction of the Rana of Mewar, Amar Singh, who carried on with unquenchable spirit the unequal contest so long waged by his gallant father, Partap, who had died in 1597. The comparative quiet enjoyed by Amar Singh during the last eight years of Akbar's life was not due, as Tod supposed, to any softening of the emperor's heart, under the influence of admiration for a brave adversary. The evidence proves with certainty that Akbar never forgave either of the Ranas for their unflinching assertion of independence. Partap had actually succeeded before his death in recovering possession of the greater part of Mewar, and the emperor earnestly desired to break the resistance of his successor. But Akbar's son and officers disliked warfare in the Rajputana hills, where little plunder was to be gained, while there was always the risk of a humiliating disaster. Amar Singh, therefore, though strong enough to defend himself, was not put to the necessity of serious fighting on a large scale, and found leisure to remodel the institutions of his country.

SALIM RETURNS TO ALLAHABAD NOV., 1603

Salim, who had withdrawn to Fathpur-Sikri, evaded compliance with his father's orders by making extravagant demands for increased forces and supplies of treasure, which he knew would certainly be refused. He intimated that if his proposals should not be considered acceptable, he desired the favour of another interview and permission to return to Allahabad.

Akbar decided that another interview would be inexpedient, and gave his son the desired permission to return to Allahabad, adding that he should be at liberty to come again to court after a time. Salim marched on November 10, 1603, crossed the Jumna near Mathura,

1. *Takmil*, tr. Chalmers, in von Noer, ii, 411, 412; and less fully in E. & D., 108; Gladwin, p. vii.

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and on arrival at Allahabad celebrated the reconciliation with his father, imperfect though it was, by brilliant festivities. Apparently he resumed a position of practical independence.

DEATH OF THE SHAH BEGAM

About this time the prince suffered a grievous personal loss by the death of his first and much-loved wife, the Shah Begam, adoptive sister of Raja Man Singh, and mother of Prince Khusru. She was deeply distressed by the unfilial attitude of her son towards his father, as well as by some misconduct of a brother of her own, named Madho Singh, and being a passionate woman, liable to fits of mental derangement, committed suicide by taking a large dose of opium, as already mentioned. 'In consequence of her death', Jahangir tells us, 'from the attachment I had for her, I passed some days without any kind of pleasure in life or existence, and for four days, which amount to thirty-two watches, I took nothing in the shape of food or drink.'[1] Few bereaved husbands would exhibit such abstinence. Jahangir, a strange 'mixture of opposites', was equally capable of intense love and devilish cruelty. Akbar sent a warmly sympathetic letter of condolence accompanied by gifts of a robe of honour and the turban from his own head, thus confirming his previous nomination of Salim as heir-apparent.

MARRIAGE OF DANIYAL WITH BIJAPUR PRINCESS

The fall of Ahmadnagar in August 1600, and the capitulation of Asirgarh, in the January following, had naturally alarmed the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda, who felt that they must be the next victims sought by imperial ambitions. Embassies intended to placate Akbar were sent to him by both governments, and a marriage was arranged between Prince Daniyal and a princess of Bijapur. Early in 1604, shortly before the bridegroom's death, the bride was fetched from her home by Mir Jamalu-d din Husain and Firishta the historian, and made over to the prince, who espoused her at Paithan on the Godavari.[2]

An interesting gold medal, apparently unique, may or may not commemorate the event.[3]

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1. Jahangir, R.B., i, 55; *ante*, chap. viii. The *Takmil* (E. & D., vi, 112) erroneously ascribes the lady's suicide to 'a quarrel with one of her rivals'. As usual the authorities differ about the date of her death. The correct year is A.H. 1012=A.D. 1603-4. Jahangir, apparently by a clerical error, places it at the end of 1013, on May 6, 1605. The true date is May 16, 1604 (*J.R.A.S.*, 1907, p. 604).

2. 'He [*scil.* the Mir] delivered the young Sooltana to Daniel upon the banks of the Godavery, near Pietun, where the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence.'

Note by Briggs.—'Ferishta, the author of this work, attended the Princess to Peitun, and was afterwards invited by the Prince Daniel to accompany them to Boorhanpoor, where he spent some time with the royal pair' (Firishta, ii, 279, 280). Again :—'On the Prince's return from Ahmudnuggur, with his bride, he encamped at the town of Pietun, on the banks of the Godavery, and remained there some days in order to celebrate the marriage; after which he proceeded to Boorhanpoor' (ibid., iii, 318). Blochmann gives no authority for his statement that Daniyal was 'betrothed to a daughter of Ibrahim 'Adilshah of Bijapur; but he died before the marriage was consummated' (*Ain*, vol. i, p. 309). That statement cannot be accepted as against the evidence of Firishta. Daniyal died at Burhanpur.

3. *B.M. Catal.*, No. 172, from the Prinsep Collection. The obverse exhibits the bridegroom (?) wearing a crown with three cusps, and carrying a sheaf of

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SALIM'S CRUELTY

The elder prince, when safely established with his court at Allahabad, far removed from parental supervision, abandoned himself without restraint to his favourite vices, consuming opium and strong drink to such an extent that his naturally fierce temper became ungovernable. The most fearful penalties were inflicted for trivial offences; 'pardon was never thought of, and his adherents were struck dumb with terror'. Although public opinion in the sixteenth century did not disapprove of death with torture as the punishment for political crime, Akbar was shocked when he learned that a news-writer convicted of a plot against the prince's life had been flayed alive while Salim calmly watched his long-drawn agony.[1] It is recorded that the criminal had tried to escape to Prince Daniyal in the Deccan, a detail which suggests that the plotters may have tried to substitute that prince for his elder brother as successor to the throne. The incident must have occurred previous to Daniyal's death in April 1604.

SALIM AT FATEHPUR-SIKRI

Certain curious passages from a letter written by Father Jerome Xavier at Agra, and dated September 6, 1604 (N.S.,=August 27, O.S.), may be cited in this place.

The Father had had occasion to go and see certain Armenians living at some unnamed locality distant about thirty miles from Agra.

'On the way', he writes, 'there is a city which used to be the court of the Emperor Akbar when Father Rodolfi was here, which is called Fatehpur; we might say "Here stood Troy", for it is totally demolished; but a few edifices made by the Emperor still stand firm. The Prince was there at the time and I went to see him. He was much pleased at my visit and entertained me very well; and when his second son [Parviz], who was with him, took no notice of my salutation, he said to him, "Ho there ! the Father is saluting you", and the young man then obeyed him.'

The Father when returning to Agra, called again, and found his Royal Highness busily engaged in superintending the extraction of copper from peacocks' tails, to be used as an antidote against poison. Salim, who still hoped to find support from the Jesuit influence as exercised both at court and at Goa, exhibited most edifying devotion, carrying a crucifix, and bestowing five hundred rupees on the Jesuits for building their church. A little later he pursued his journey to Allahabad, declining 'to return to Agra where his father was, so as not to fall into the snare again'.

After he had been living two or three months in Allahabad, he sent a private letter to Xavier, written and conveyed by an Italian servant named Jacopo Filippo [James Philip], who brought a supple-

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arrows and a strung bow; with the bride (?) following him, drawing a long veil back from her face. The reverse simply gives the date, '50 Ilahi, Farwardin', *scil.* the first month, March—April. The name of the mint is not on the piece. If the medal concerns Daniyal's marriage it is difficult to understand the date, because it seems clear (see Appendix B) that Daniyal died in April 1604, which fell within the year 49, not 50. The latter year began on March 11, 1605 (O.S.).

1. Gladwin, p. ix; Elphinstone, 5th ed., p. 528 *n.*; *Takmil*, in E. & D. vi, 112.

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mentary donation of another five hundred rupees for the church.[1] The messenger was presently followed by Salim in person, marching with troops.[2] The interesting reference to the ruined state of Fathpur-Sikri need not be discussed at present, but the letter raises two difficult questions, namely, when did Xavier see Salim at Fathpur-Sikri, and what was 'the snare' from which the prince had escaped?

Xavier does not specify the date of his visit. The context suggests that it took place after Easter, 1604, but the difficulty in that interpretation is that Salim is not recorded to have come to the neighbourhood of Agra between his departure on November 10, 1603, already described, and his arrival exactly a year later, on November 9, 1604, after his grandmother's death. Perhaps, therefore, the Easter described in the letter should be interpreted as being that of 1603, and the visit should be assumed to have taken place in the autumn of that year. It is, however, possible that Salim may have paid an unrecorded visit to Fathpur-Sirki in May 1604, after receiving news of his brother Daniyal's death early in April that year. Nothing in the books explains the allusion to 'the snare', and it is useless to conjecture what had happened. Akbar certainly caught his son in a carefully baited snare in November 1604, but nothing beyond Xavier's allusion is known concerning any similar incident at an earlier date. The original Jesuit letters between 1600 and 1604 are missing at present. If they were accessible they would no doubt solve the difficulties which are now insoluble.

DEATH OF PRINCE DANIYAL APRIL 1604.

Akbar's intention that his third son, Prince Daniyal, should have both the honour of conquering the Deccan and the privilege of governing the territory annexed was frustrated by the young man's incurable vice of inebriety. During the southern campaign he was never fit to be anything more than a figure-head, and his habits disqualified him for serious business. Like most confirmed drunkards he could not either observe solemn pledges of abstinence or pay any heed to the most earnest remonstrances. Akbar did his best to reclaim him, and at last was obliged to send Abu-l Fazl's brother to devise means for recalling to court the prince, who was much afraid of his brother Salim, and with good reason. The Khan Khanan (Abdurrahim), to whose daughter Daniyal was married, also did his best to restrain his son-in-law, but all efforts were in vain. The guards posted to prevent him from obtaining liquor were corrupted, and the poison was brought in secretly, sometimes in the barrels of muskets, sometimes in phials hidden in men's turbans. At last the prince was seized with delirium tremens, and after nearly six weeks' acute illness died at Burhanpur, early in April 1604. The news reached Akbar about a month later (beginning of A.H. 1013), and caused him intense distress, which affected his health. At first the emperor was exceedingly angry

1. Maclagan, pp. 89-92. The letter is not printed elsewhere.
2. 'Cum copiis instructus Agram ad Parentem properaret, Italus praecurrendi ab illo facultatem pettit, cui ipse, Patres adiret et munera simul et obsequium quam humanissime deferret, 'injunxit' (Du Jarric, iii, 116).

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with the Khan Khanan for failing to prevent the catastrophe, but when more fully informed of the facts restored him to favour.

The prince is described as a handsome man, fond of horses and elephants, and clever in the composition of Hindi verses.[1]

AKBAR'S FRUSTRATED EXPEDITION; DEATH OF THE QUEEN-MOTHER, 1604

The accounts of Salim's conduct continuing to be unsatisfactory, Akbar resolved at some time in the summer of 1604 to proceed in person to Allahabad, and if necessary to use force in order to reduce his son to complete submission. Salim, on his part, heard reports that preparations were being made with Akbar's approval to nominate Prince Khusru as heir to the throne, and was impelled by fears for his life, liberty, and prospects to defend himself. It seemed as if nothing could avert a battle between father and son. In August Akbar assembled an army and sent it into camp on the other side of the Jumna, six miles from Agra, giving out publicly that he proposed to proceed to Bengal. When the camp had been formed he embarked one night on a barge unattended, intending to join the camp, but his vessel stuck on a bank and he was unable to proceed. Then, the season being in the height of the rains, a deluge of rain flooded the camp, laying low all the tents except the imperial pavilion. Those accidents, which the astrologers regarded as of evil omen, were sufficient to delay the expedition, although not enough to induce Akbar to change his plans. His aged mother, then about seventy-seven, who loved Salim dearly, anticipated that if the quarrel should come to the arbitrament of battle her grandson would have little chance of escaping destruction when pitted against her son, a veteran general with an unbroken record of victories. She, therefore, used every argument that she could think of to dissuade Akbar from marching against the rebel. When her entreaties fell upon deaf ears, the disappointment at the failure of her intervention brought on a serious illness which rapidly became critical. Akbar, on receiving reports of her condition, felt bound to return to Agra and attend on her bedside.[2] When he arrived she had already lost the power of speech. Five days later, on or about August 29 (O.S.=September 8, N.S.), she passed away.

Her body was conveyed with all speed, borne on the shoulders of relays of nobles, to Delhi, and there laid by the side of her husband, whom she had outlived for forty-eight years.[3]

The deceased left in her house a large treasure and a will directing that it should be divided among her male descendants. Akbar,

1. Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, p. 309; *Takmil*, in E. & D., vi, 107, 111, 114; van den Broecke in de Laet, p. 201/210; Jahangir R.B., i, 35. See Appendix B for discussion of the chronology.

2. Gladwin, p. x; Xavier in Maclagan, p. 96; *Takmil*, tr. Chalmers, in von Noer, ii, 414. The Queen-Mother was not in her ninetieth year, as stated by Du Jarric, iii, 118. She was only about fifteen years older than her son.

3. Hamida Bano Begam, alias Maryam Makani, died on the 20th Shahriwar, the 6th month of the 49th Ilahi or regnal year, which began on March 11, 1604. Her death occurred apparently two days after September 6 (N.S.), the date of Xavier's letter, but it is not possible to convert Ilahi dates with absolute precision. Many authors confound her with Haji Begam.

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notwithstanding his genuine affection for his mother, was too fond of money to withstand the temptation of annexing her wealth, the whole of which he appropriated, without regard to the terms of the will.[1]

SUBMISSION AND ARREST OF SALIM

Akbar did not care to proceed with his hostile expedition after the death of his mother. The opportunity was seized for the renewal of negotiations, which were entrusted to the management of Mir or Miran Sadr Jahan, the emperor's agent at the court of the prince, and a favourite of Salim, who regarded the Sadr as his spiritual preceptor. The negotiator employed all his diplomatic skill in favour of the prince, and did his best to bring about a final reconciliation. He was instructed to point out that Salim was now the only surviving son of the emperor, and that he had no reason to fear any opposition to his succession. If the prince would come before his father as a suppliant, he might feel assured that full pardon and oblivion of all his offences would be granted. We are told that the Mir also conveyed secret orders, the nature of which has not been recorded. Presumably they were purely oral and not committed to writing. It may well be that they held out the threat of the public recognition of Khusru, in the event of Salim proving obstinate.

The envoy, somehow or other, persuaded Salim that it was worth his while to submit. In October the prince marched from Allahabad escorted by troops towards Agra, with the ostensible purpose of offering condolences for the death of his grandmother. He arrived at the capital on November 9, 1604, apparently leaving his troops encamped at a considerable distance from the city. He entered Agra, accompanied by his second son Parviz, then a boy about fourteen years of age, and by all his principal adherents. He was introduced to the presence by Murtaza Khan (Shaikh Farid of Bokhara). The prince did not come empty handed. He offered for his father's acceptance 200 gold mohurs, a diamond worth a lakh of rupees, and 400 elephants.

He was received publicly in a certain gallery or verandah with every appearance of cordiality and affection. Suddenly, as he prostrated himself reverently, Akbar seized him by the hand and drew him into an inner apartment. The emperor, inflamed by intense passion, then administered several violent slaps on his son's face, showering upon him bitter reproaches for his unfilial conduct, and mocking him because, when he had 70,000 horsemen at call, he had been fool and coward enough to cast himself at his father's feet as a suppliant. After that scene Akbar, who professed to regard the prince as a patient requiring medical treatment, directed to cure his vitiated tastes, ordered that he should be kept in close custody in a bath-room under the charge of Raja Salivahan, a physician, and two servants named Rup Khawass and Arjun Hajjam (barber).[2] At

1. Du Jarric, iii, 118. According to de Laet (p. 202/211) she died two days after Akbar's return to Agra. Such small discrepancies in the authorities are innumerable.

2. The Raja seems to have been a physician (Elphinstone, ed. Cowell, p. 529; presumably on authority of Khafi Khan).

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the same time Salim's principal adherents were arrested and imprisoned in chains. One only escaped, Raja Basu of Mau near Kangra, an insurgent chief, who received timely warning of the intended treachery, and succeeded in getting away. The prince was subjected to the misery of deprivation of his accustomed dose of opium for twenty-four hours, but at the expiration of that time his father brought him a supply with his own hands.[1] A day later Akbar, yielding to the entreaties of his wives pardoned the prince, and assigned to him a residence and suite commensurate with his rank.

Salim had been mastered. He humbly accepted the government of the western provinces which had been held by his deceased brother Daniyal, and continued to live at Agra in apparent amity with his father until Akbar died on October 17/27, 1605. During all that time, more than eleven months, the prince continued to lavish favours upon the Jesuits, whose influence he was eager to secure.

At first Salim used to come to court with a large retinue, but when that procedure aroused Akbar's suspicions orders were issued that he should be admitted with four attendants only. No further act of overt rebellion was attempted, and we do not hear what became of Salim's army of 70,000 horsemen, who presumably dispersed and went to their homes. Intrigue in the palace continued, and a powerful party, led by Aziz Koka and Raja Man Singh, desired that Salim should be set aside in favour of his son Khusru. Salim's rebellion, with intervals of insincere reconciliation, had lasted for more than four years, from about the middle of 1600 until November 1604. The authors who state that it continued for only a few months are in error. Jahangir lied freely on the subject in his *Memoirs*, and pretended that he had resisted the temptation offered by evil counsellors who had prompted him to rebel.[2]

AKBAR'S FATAL ILLNESS

The fatal illness of Akbar, apparently some kind of diarrhoea or dysentery, began on Monday, September, 21.[3] His physician,

1. Thus, according to de Laet. But Gladwin, on the authority of the *Ma'asir-i Jahangir*, states that Salim was deprived of both liquor and opium for ten days.

2. The texts concerning Salim's arrest are given in Appendix B. They prove conclusively that Daniyal was then dead, and that the arrest followed the decease of the Queen-Mother at no great interval. It is impossible to accept the statements which place Daniyal's death in 1605. The detailed story of Akbar's passionate violence, which is found in de Laet's book only, is thoroughly in accordance with Akbar's character, and in my judgement should be accepted as true. It is supported by the statement of Gladwin (from the *Ma'asir-i Jahangir*) that Akbar 'gave full vent to his rage'. The story as told by de Laet was copied with some embellishment by Sir Thomas Herbert in the editions of his book from 1638 (ed. 1677, p. 72). Talboys Wheeler, who quotes the anecdote from the 1638 edition, was under the erroneous impression that Herbert ranked as an original authority (*Hist. of India*, vol. iv, part i, p. 192 *n.*) For Mir or Miran Sadr (Cadr) Jahan see Jahangir, R.B., i, 22; Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, p. 468. Mr. G.P. Taylor supports as a sound numismatic argument by the erroneous assertion that Salim's disaffection was 'shortlived, and apparently was confined to the Allahabad District' (*J.A.S.B.*, 1903, *Num. Suppl.*, p. 6). Jahangir's false statement (Jahangir, R.B., i, 65, 68) has been quoted already.

3. Blochmann, using Persian authorities, gives the fullest information on the subject. 'It is said that the Emperor died of dysentery or acute diarrhoea, which no remedies could stop. Ali had at last recourse to a most powerful astringent, and

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Hakim Ali, a practitioner of high repute, refrained for eight days from administering medicine, preferring to trust to nature and the patient's strong constitution. But after the week's experiment no improvement being apparent, drugs were exhibited, presumably strong astringents. An unlucky quarrel between the servants of Prince Salim and those of his son Prince Khusru, concerning an elephants fight, caused the emperor much annoyance, and increased his disorder.

PLOT TO SUPERSEDE PRINCE SALIM

A report had long been current, and apparently not without reason, that Akbar desired to be succeeded by his grandson rather than by his rebellious son, and it is certain that the Khan-i Azam (Aziz Koka) and Raja Man Singh were most anxious to exclude Salim and place his son on the throne. Salim's conduct at Allahabad had been so cruel and tyrannical and his intemperate habits were so notorious, that opposition to his succession would have been justifiable on public grounds. The two great nobles named also had private reasons, because Prince Khusru's only wife was a daughter of the Khan-i Azam,[1] while Raja Man Singh was the brother by adoption of the young prince's mother, a daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das.

When it became apparent that the emperor's disease was likely to prove mortal, Aziz and Man Singh resolved to seize Prince Salim on a day when he was coming to pay his respects to his dying father.[2] The prince's boat had reached the foot of the fort tower, and he was about to step on shore, when he received warning of his danger, and was enabled to retire in safety.

FAILURE OF THE PLOT

While Akbar still lived Aziz and Man Singh convened a meeting of the nobles and endeavoured to persuade them that Salim should be set aside as unworthy in favour of his son. The proposal was stoutly resisted by several members of the assembly, who maintained that it was contrary both to natural justice and to the laws of the Chagatai nation to which the royal family belonged. The meeting broke up without coming to a definite decision, but the business was settled by the action of Raja Ram Das Kachhwaha, who posted an adequate guard of faithful Rajputs over the treasury to hold it in the

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when the dysentery was stopped costive fever and strangury ensued. He therefore administered purgatives, which brought back the diarrhoea, of which Akbar died. The first attack was caused, it is said, by worry and excitement on account of the behaviour of Prince Khusrau at an elephant fight.....Akbar withdrew, and sent next morning for Ali, to whom he said that the vexation caused by Khusrau's bad behaviour had made him ill' (*Ain*, vol. i, p. 467). Gladwin describes the illness as 'a fever'. The Hijri date was 20 Jumada I, 1014. Gladwin (p. xii) wrongly gives August 3 as the equivalent.

1. Terry, who met Prince Khusru more than once, describes him as 'a gentleman of very lovely presence and fine carriage, so exceedingly beloved of the common people.....He was a man who contented himself with one wife, which with all love and care accompanied him in all his streights, and therefore he would never take any wife but herself, though the liberty of his religion did admit of plurality' (ed. 1777, p. 411).

2. According to Asad Beg, this incident happened the day after the elephant fight (E. & D., vi, 169). But it may have occurred later.

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interests of Prince Salim. At the same time Shaikh Farid (afterwards known as Murtaza Khan) rallied the brave Sayyids of Barha, who declared for the legitimate heir. The conspirators then perceived that their plan could not be carried out, and Raja Man Singh prepared to retire to his province of Bengal, taking Prince Khusru with him.[1]

CONDITIONS OF THE SALIM'S RECOGNITION

Prince Salim so far had not visited Akbar during his illness, and it is possible that he may have been excluded by imperial order, but fears for his own safety sufficiently explain his abstention.[2] He suffered from intense anxiety, and when his father lay at the point of death spent a night wandering about restlessly. His adherents exacted from him two solemn oaths, binding him in the first place to defend the Muhammadan religion, and in the second place to refrain from inflicting any penalty or injury on the persons who had supported the cause of Khusru. Salim gladly accepted both conditions and took the required oaths.[3] He kept them honourably.[4]

VISIT OF THE JESUITS TO AKBAR

On Saturday, October 22,[5] Father Jerome Xavier and his colleagues called at the palace and were admitted to the presence of the royal patient. They had expected to find him at the point of death, and hoped to address to him solemn warnings about the salvation of his soul. But they found him surrounded by his courtiers and in such a gay and cheerful mood ['hilarum et laetum'] that they judged admonition inopportune, and withdrew. On Monday,[6] learning that His Majesty was in a critical condition and that his life was despaired of, they again sought admission, but, in spite of repeated requests, were refused entrance. Consequently, they were not present at the final scene. They were, however, well informed concerning the course of events, and their statement, which is supported by two apparently independent testimonies, may be accepted with confidence. The following brief narrative rests on those three authorities.

AKBAR APPOINTED SALIM AS SUCCESSOR

Salim, when he had taken the oaths mentioned and was assured of the support of the nobles, ventured into his father's presence. Akbar then could not speak, although he retained consciousness and understanding. When Salim had prostrated himself and risen, the dying emperor made a sign that he should put on the imperial turban and gird himself with the sword of Humayun which hung at the foot of the bed. His silent commands having been obeyed, another sign

1. Asad Beg (E. & D., vi, 170).
2. Du Jarric, iii, 132; de Laet, p. 204/213.
3. Du Jarric, iii, 133.
4. The promise to defend Islam involved a show of coldness towards the Jesuit Fathers for a time. After his accession he neglected them temporarily, as if he had never seen them before ['Patres vero quasi ante numquam vidisset, neglexit'] (Du Jarric, iii, 138). But later he renewed his intimate friendship with the reverend gentlemen, and made use of Pinheiro as a diplomatist. In 1614 the Jesuits were again out of favour (Orme, *Fragments*, p. 341).
5. 'Die Sabbathi.'
6. 'At post biduum rex in extremis esse passim dicebatur.'

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directed the prince to leave the room. He complied gladly, and was received outside with the applause of the crowd.

DEATH OF AKBAR, OCT. 17/27, 1605

Akbar expired soon afterwards in the presence of only a few faithful friends, who would not desert him. They constantly reminded him of the Prophet, and sought without success to obtain some indication of assent. They understood that he tried several times to utter the name of God. Thus he died as he had lived—a man whose religion nobody could name—and he passed away without the benefit of the prayers of any church or sect.[1] The assertion of some authors that he made formal profession of the Muslim faith when on his death-bed seems to be untrue.[2]

He died soon after midnight, early in the morning of Thursday, October 27, new style (October 17, old style), or, according to the Muhammadan reckoning, on Wednesday night.[3]

PRINCE SALIM SUSPECTED OF POISONING HIM

Suspicions that the emperor's mortal illness was due to poison administered either by the direction of Prince Salim, or by other people acting in his interest, were current even before his death, and the accusation was widely believed after the event. The symptoms, so far as recorded, appear not to be inconsistent with the presence of an irritant poison, and the motive for bringing Akbar's long reign to a close was potent. It is certain that Salim ardently desired his father's demise, and the step from entertaining such a desire to taking active measures for its realization was not a long one in an Asiatic court. The fact that Salim, after his accession as Jahangir, invariably refers to his 'revered father' in terms of warm affection and profound respect is far from being conclusive. His affection and respect were not sufficiently strong to deter him from prolonged rebellion, which, if successful, would have involved the destruction of his parent. His rebellion, including an interval of insincere reconciliation, lasted for about four and a half years. Even when the final reconciliation had been effected in November 1604, after the death of Prince Daniyal, Salim must have continued to feel impatient for the long-deferred inheritance. In

1. Du Jarric, iii, 133; Asad Beg (E. & D., vi, 171); de Laet, p. 204/213. The short account given in the Provincial's report dated December 20, 1607 (Maclagan, p. 107) agrees substantially with Du Jarric.

2. e.g. Sir Thomas Roe, 'and so he died in the formal profession of his sect' (ed. Foster, p. 312); and Father Botelho, 'and at the last, died as he was born, a Muhammedan' (Maclagan, p. 107). See Blochmann's discussion of the subject, *Ain*, vol. i, p.212.

3. The date, October 27, new style, is fixed conclusively by Du Jarric, ii, 495; iii, 131. The Fathers used the new style, which was introduced into Spain and Portugal in 1582. In old style, the date is October 17. Irvine calculated it as October 15. The *Takmil* gives the A.H. date as 12 Jumada II, Wednesday. But as the Muhammadan day begins at sunset, while ours begins at midnight, any hour after midnight falls in Thursday, according to the European tables. Thursday is right according to both Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras* and Sir Harris Nicolas, *The Chronology of History* (1833). See Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, 212 *n*. The definite date, October 27, twice given by Du Jaric, supersedes all calculation. The correct date is in Purchas (*Pilgrimes*, chap. iv; Wheeler, *Early Travels in India*, p. 29). But nobody took notice of the statement.

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his *Memoirs* he had, as already noted, the audacity to pretend that he had virtuously resisted the counsels of rebellion given by evil advisers.[1] His proved readiness to place on record such an obvious lie precludes his readers from placing any confidence in his protestations of intense filial affection. My conclusion is that, while no definite proof exists that Jahangir, as Prince Salim, hastened his father's end by the use of slow poison, he was capable of the crime, and it is possible that he may have committed it. Another possibility is that poison may have been administered by somebody else in the interest of Prince Khusru.

STORY THAT AKBAR POISONED HIMSELF BY MISTAKE

The strange story that Akbar poisoned himself by mistake, his intention being to destroy one of his great nobles, was widely accepted within a few years of his death. It assumes two forms, the intended victim being named in one version as Raja Man Singh, and in the other as Mirza Ghazi Beg, the chief of Thathah (Tatta) in Sind.

The Man Singh variation is found in the 'Annals of Bundi (Boondee)', which Tod considered to be "well worthy of belief, as diaries of events were kept by her princes', who were personages of high importance during the reigns of Akbar and his successors.

The emperor, we are told,

'had designed to take off the great Raja Man by means of a poisoned confection formed into pills. To throw the Raja off his guard, he had prepared other pills which were innocuous; but, in his agitation, he unwittingly gave these to the Raja, and swallowed those which were poisoned.' [2]

The Ghazi Beg variation is best told by President van den Broecke (1628), as follows :

'At length, the King, being angry with Mirza Ghazi, son of Jani, and ruler of Sind and Thathah, on account of an arrogant expression which had fallen from him, decided to remove him by poison. With that purpose, he ordered his physician to prepare two pills, alike in shape and mass, and to poison one of them. He had intended to give that one to Ghazi, and to take the wholesome one himself; but, by a notable mistake, the affair turned out contrariwise, for, while the King was rolling the pills in his hand for some time, he gave Ghazi the harmless pill, and took the poisoned one himself. Later, when the mistake was discovered, and the strength of the poison had spread through his veins, antidotes were administered without success.' [3]

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1. *Memoirs*, R.B., i, 65, 68.
2. Tod, ii, 385. The story is given in the 'Annals of Mewar', i, 279. There is no good reason for supposing that Akbar had a grudge against Man Singh.
3. De Laet, p. 204/213. The text is: 'Tandem Rex, Myrzae Gaziae, Zianii filio, qui Sindae et Tattae imperaverat, ob arrogans verbum quod ipsi forte exciderat, iratus, eum veneno e medio tollere decrevit : & in eum finem medico suo mandavit, ut binas ejusdem formae et molis pillulas pararet, & earum alteram veneno inficeret : hanc Gaziae dare proposuerat, medicam ipse sumere : sed insigni errore res in contrarium vertit, nam Rex quum pillulas manu aliquandiu versasset, Gaziae quidem innoxiam pillulam dedit, venenatam vero ipsemet sumsit : Seriusque errore animadverso, quum jam veneni vis venas pervasisset, antidota frustra adhibita fuerunt.' For the life of Mirza Ghazi Beg, who was a dissolute scamp, see Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, p. 363.

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The next paragraph gives the true account of the death-bed nomination of Prince Salim as heir to the throne.

Manucci recounts the tale of the pills without naming the intended victim, and denounces Akbar as a practised poisoner[1] to a view which Talboys Wheeler rashly adopted.[2] I do not believe a word of the story about the alleged accidental self-poisoning in any of its forms, although it is true that Akbar, like many European princes of his time, did remove several of his enemies by secret assassination, probably using poison in certain cases. On the whole, while it is perhaps most probable that Akbar died a natural death, the general belief that he was poisoned in some fashion by somebody may have been well-founded.[3] The materials do not warrant a definitive judgement.

AKBAR'S FUNERAL

The obsequies of the dead lion were hurried and perfunctory. A gap was made in the wall of the fort, according to customs,[4] and the body having been carried out through it on the shoulders of Akbar's son and grandson, was interred in the sepulchre at Sikandara, three miles distant, where the deceased emperor had begun to build his own monument. The members of the funeral procession were few in number. Nobody wore mourning except the heir to the throne and certain other persons, who all resumed their ordinary garb at sunset.

'Thus', sadly observes the Jesuit historian, 'does the world treat those from whom it expects no good and fears no evil. That was the end of the life and reign of King Akbar.'[5]

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1. Manucci, vol. i, pp. 149, 150; and Irvine's note, vol. iv, p. 150; Irvine was mistaken in reckoning Herbert as an independent authority. He simply copied de Laet, adding some blunders of his own.

2. *Hist. of India*, vol. iv, part i, pp. 174, 188. Wheeler believed in Sir Thomas Herbert, and did not know that he was a mere compiler of Indian history in his later editions, as already observed. Herbert was only a short time in India as a young man, and while there remained at Surat or in the neighbourhood.

3. The general belief is expressed positively by Bartoli (p. 79) in the words :—'fin che mori di veleno l'Ottobre del 1605'; 'until he died of poison in October 1605.' But Botelho (1660) treats the poison story merely as a matter of rumour (Maclagan, p. 107). Du Jarric (iii, 132) mentions that some people suspected the prince of having poisoned his father, but he abstains from expressing any opinion on the subject.

4. The custom is widespread in many countries. Mr. Crooke has favoured me with the following Indian references :—Crooke, *Introd. to Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India* (1894), p. 219; *Popular Religion*, & c. (1896), vol. ii, p. 56; Dubois, *Hindu Manners*, &c., third ed. (Beauchamp), 1906, p. 499; *Jataka*, transl. Rouse and Cowell (1895), vol. ii, p. 55.

5. Du Jarric, iii, 137. Xavier presumably attended the funeral. Du Jarric's account is founded on his letters; the text of those written at the time in question not being at present available. The authority is better than that of any other version. Asad Beg, who was away in the Deccan when Akbar died, believed that the obsequies were conducted 'with all the ceremonies due to his rank' (E. & D., vi, 172). Similarly, Gladwin, following the *Ma'asir-i Jahangir*, avers that Akbar was 'interred with great pomp' (p. xii). The *Takmil* (E. & D., vi, 115) states with more detail that 'on the following day his sacred remains were borne by men of all ranks, in stately and becoming pomp, to the grave'. Nothing is known about the author of the *Takmil*, except that he was named Inayatu-llah, alias Muhammad Salih. He seems to have written by order of Jahangir, and, consequently, would have been careful to please his master. The Jesuits had no motive to misrepresent the facts, and their account is the most authoritative.

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AKBAR'S TOMB DESECRATED

Jahangir professed the most profound reverence for the memory of his father once he was safely dead and buried, and there is no reason to doubt that he sincerely admired Akbar's great qualities. His admiration, however, had not been strong enough to restrain him from persistent rebellion, which, if successful, must have resulted in his parent's death. Akbar was not the man to submit to inglorious supersession and seclusion, as Shahjahan did later. Jahangir took much interest in rebuilding from its foundations the mausoleum at Sikandara, for which he caused fresh designs to be prepared, and he willingly expended large sums on its construction and decoration.[1] The noble monument received high honour from Jahangir and his successors for many years. Aurangzeb was painfully affronted, when in 1691, during his prolonged campaign in the Deccan against the Marathas, he received a report that certain turbulent Jat villagers had desecrated the tomb and scattered his ancestor's bones. They pillaged the mausoleum, breaking in the great bronze gates, tearing away the ornaments of gold, silver, and precious stones, and destroying wantonly what they could not carry off. Their impious fury led them on to outrage still more shocking. 'Dragging out the bones of Akbar, they threw them angrily into the fire and burnt them.' The pilgrim to Akbar's tomb visits, although he does not know it, an empty grave.[2]

APPENDIX B

The Arrest of Prince Salim and connected events

CHRONOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES

The contradictions of various authorities concerning the chronology of the closing years of Akbar's life caused me much perplexity until I discovered where the principal error lay. Careful readers may be puzzled by the conclusions adopted in the narrative of the text, unless full explanations are provided. I have, therefore, prepared this appendix in order to justify the text by detailed proofs.

It will be convenient to begin by setting forth the equations of the Ilahi or regnal, the Hijri, and the Christian years concerned. The Ilahi year is taken to begin on March 11 (o.s.) (see E. & D., v, 246). The year is solar, consisting of twelve months normally of 30 days

1. Jahangir, R.B., i, 152. The cost was 1,500,000 rupees (15 lakhs).
2. Manucci, i, 142, ii, 320 *n*. The date is given in both words and figures, and there is no reason to doubt it. Irvine erroneously refused to accept the date given by Manucci because that author states that the desecration happened 'during the time that Aurangzeb was actively at war with Shiva Ji', observing that Shiva Ji had died in 1681 [really, 1680], ten years earlier. The learned editor forgot for the moment that European authors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries often speak of the Marathas as 'Sevajee', as he himself points out in the preceding note. The desecration of the mausoleum, as Irvine states, is described by Ishar Das Nagar in the *Fatuhat-i Alamgiri* (B.M. Add. MS., No. 23884, fol. 131 *a*). The burning of Akbar's bones is mentioned only by Manucci, but there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of his statement. Although he was living at Madras in 1691, he had good information about contemporary facts.

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each, but sometimes containing 31 or 32 days. Cunningham's account of the Ilahi era is inaccurate.

The equation of the lunar Hijri years is from Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras*, 1883; the dates A.D. being in O.S., and apparently accurate. In Great Britain the 'new style' took effect from 1753; but in Portugal and Spain and certain other countries it came into use from 1582 or 1583. Akbar's Jesuit guests of the Third Mission dated their letters N.S., whereas Mildenhall and other Englishmen dated theirs in O.S. The A.D. dates in E. & D. are, I think, all O.S.

Ilahi (regnal) year 48th=March 11, 1603—March 10, 1604.
Ilahi (regnal) year 49th=March 11, 1604—March 10, 1605.
Ilahi (regnal) year 50th=March 11, 1605— — —

Akbar died on October 17, 1605, O.S. Xavier's letter in Maclagan, pp. 89-95, is dated September 6 (N.S.), 1604=August 27 (O.S.).

A.H. 1012=June 1, 1603—May 19, 1604.
A.H. 1013=May 20, 1604—May 8, 1605.
A.H. 1014=May 9, 1605—April 28, 1606.

Those A.D. dates are all O.S. The corresponding N.S. dates would be ten days later, e.g. May 19 (O.S.)=May 29 (N.S.)

The four texts which chiefly concern me will now be given *verbatim*.

VAN DEN VROECKE IN DE LAET

The text of the *Fragmentum* in de Laet, pp. 202-3/211-13 is as follows :

'Justis autem matri persolutis, ablegavit Rex ad filium Miratsedderan ipsius quondam paedagogum, cum literis ; quibus primo acerrime filium objurgabat, dein ob oculos ponebat, ipsum jam solum superesse, neque quemquam esse qui regnum ipsi posset praeripere ; moddo sibi supplex fieret, facile antecedentium delictorum veniam, & antiquam gratiam recuperaturum, addidit & secreta mandata, cum quibus Miratseddera ad principem profectus, tandem ipsum permovit, ut ad Patrem supplex veniret. *Xa-Selimus* igitur cum filio suo Sultano Perwees, ex Elhabasse anno Mahumetano 1013, nostro CIO IO CIII, profectus cum exercitu trajecit Semenam & biduo post (die auspicato, ut haruspices illius obnunciaverant) cum omnibus suis Ommerauwis venit ad arcem Agrensem, ubi a Mortosa Chano ad Patrem fuit introductus; quumque se more gentis ad thronum Parentis inclinasset, Rex manu illius prehensa ipsum in Mahael, id est, interius cubiculum attraxit, & ingenti furore percitus, ipsi aliquot colaphos in os inflixit, amare exprobans quaecunque improbe in patrem admisisset, pusillanimatemque ridens, quod LXX millibus equitum stipatus, tamen supplex ad pedes suos accidisset, quibus factis dictisque illum in aliud atrium deduci et custodiri jussit. Ommerauwi quoque principis, excepto Radzia Batso (qui mature fuga se subduxerat) fuerunt prehensi, et catenis onusti in carceres conditi. *Xa-Selimus* qui quotidie opio uti consueverat, viginti quatuor horis eo abstinuit, sed postero die Rex ad ipsum ingressus id ipsi propria manu exhibuit; tertio autem die omnes regiae concubinae Regem adierunt, et veniam principi impetrarunt : atque ita ad proprias aedes fuit dimissus, e quibus quotidie prodiens cum magno comitatu Patrem more gentis venerabatur; sed quum Regis familiares suspiciosi senis animum metu implessent, filium ipsi exitium meditari, cum quatuor tantum ministris imposterum fuit admissus.'

A formal translation is unnecessary, the substance being given in the text.

DU JARRIC

Du Jarric's version (iii, 119) of the incident is as follows :— Having described the obsequies of the Queen-Mother, he continues :

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'Tum nuntiis & litteris aliorum opera filium permovit, ut ad patrem ultro sine copiis accederet. Agrae illum [*scil.* Salim] insigni cum amore & benevolentia quadam in porticu excepit, dein ab aliis secretum in lucum deducit; huic laudis illum verbis includit sed post triduum in libertatem asseruit, et domum & comites pro dignitate addidit. Denique ita se erga illum habuit, quasi nulla umquam inter eos exstitisset contentio. Princeps vicissim Cambaiano vel Guzzaratensi [Guzzaxatensi in text] regno, quod pater assignarat, contentus fuit, donec post menses aliquot per patris interitum, quem tantopere desiderabat'...

In English :

'Then by messengers and letters and with the help of other people, he induced the son to approach his father voluntarily without troops. At Agra [Akbar] received him [Salim] with distinguished love and kindness in a certain gallery : then he withdrew him from the others into a private place : in this he shut him up, using words of praise [? is text right], but three days later he restored him to liberty, and in addition gave him a house and suite in accordance with his rank. Ultimately he behaved towards him as if there had never been any strife between them.....The Prince was content with the government of Cambay and Gujarat, as assigned to him by his father, until some months later, through the death of his father which he desired so eagerly.'.....

ANFAU-L AKHBAR

A third version is given in the *Anfau-l Akhbar* (E. & D., vi, 247), where it is stated that :

'In the year 1012 A.H. Prince Sultan Salim was imprisoned in a bath [*leg.* "bath-room"], on the very day on which his Royal Highness, repenting of his evil actions, presented himself to the King, availing himself of the opportunity which the death of his grandmother, Mariam Makani, afforded him of offering his condolences to His Majesty. He was, however, after a space of twelve days, released. This year is also marked by the arrival from the Dakhin of the news of the death of Sultan Daniyal. In the year 1013 A.H. the King [Akbar] was taken ill.'

TAKMIL-I AKBARNAMA

The fourth version is that of the *Takmil* (transl. Chalmers, in von Noer, ii, 415), as follows :

'Salim, learning the grief and distress of His Majesty, left behind him Sharif, who had been the chief author of the death of Abu-l Fazl, and on 14th November [*scil.* 1604; 4th Azur, the 9th month of the 49th Ilahi or regnal year, which began March 11, 1604; November 9 seems to be correct] arrived at the presence, and presented a diamond worth a lakh of rupees and 200 mohurs as an offering and 400 elephants as a tribute. The young prince was for ten days placed under the charge of Rup Khawass, Arjun Hajjam, and Raja Salivahan. Each of his followers was in the same manner made over to one of the imperial attendants, and Basu (the Raja of Mau), the instigator of the prince's faults, who had remained on the other side of the river, was ordered to be pursued, but contrived to gain intelligence and escaped. At the end of ten days, however, the prince's loyalty and integrity became resplendent, and he was remanded with joy and gladness to his own residence. After which all his attendants were allowed to rejoin him at his own request.'

CRITICISM OF THE AUTHORITIES

All the authorities agree in stating that the submission and arrest of Salim occurred soon after the death of Akbar's mother, which took place in August (O.S.) or September (N.S.) 1604. I do not see any reason to doubt the precise statement of the *Takmil* that Salim presented himself before his father on the 4th day of Azur, the 9th month of the 49th Ilahi year. E. & D. give the corresponding A.D. date (O.S.) as November 14. I make it out to be November 9 (the 244th day of the year), but exact conversion of Ilahi dates is impracticable.

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The *Anfau* is clearly wrong in placing the arrest in A.H. 1012, and Akbar's death in 1013. The latter event undoubtedly occurred in 1014. The arrest was effected in 1013.

The narrative of van den Broecke in de Laet proves that Daniyal was dead before Salim made his submission.

But the *Takmil* (E. & D., vi 114) places the death of Daniyal in the 50th Ilahi year, and consequently in A.D. 1605. That statement, which has been generally accepted, as it was by myself (*Oxford Student's History of India*, 5th ed., 1915, p. 178), being inconsistent with de Laet, caused me great perplexity, until I saw that it must be wrong, and that the death of the younger prince must be placed in the 49th Ilahi or regnal year, at the close of 1012, and *not* in the 50th regnal year, at the close of 1013.

The clue was obtained from Beale (ed. Keene, s.v. Danial Mirza, Sultan), who gives the date of the princes' decease as April 8, 1605= Zil-hijja 1, A.H. 1013; but at the end of the entry writes :

'From the chronogram it would seem that the Prince Danial died in the year A.H. 1012, or A.D. 1604, a year and six months before his father.'

Chronograms are not conclusive in themselves, and require to be supported by other evidence. Turning to Jahangir's genuine *Memoirs* (not Price's version, which should not be cited), Daniyal is said to have been born on 10 Jumada I, A.H. 979[1]; that is to say, September 30, 1572; and it is stated that when he died he was 'in the 33rd year of his age' (Jahangir, R.B., i, 34). Inasmuch as he was born in September 1572, and died in April 1604, he was in his 32nd year by solar reckoning, and in his 33rd year by lunar reckoning (5th month Jumada I, to 12th month, Zil-hijja; 980+32=1012). Jahangir's words could not be made applicable to 1013, when Daniyal would have attained 33 lunar years complete. Therefore, the chronogram of Daniyal's death is right, and the year A.H. 1013 (or A.D. 1604) is correct for the arrest of Salim.

The *Takmil* (von Noer, ii, 415, and less fully E. & D., vi, 113) correctly gives the date of the death of the Queen-Mother as the 20th of Shahriwar, the 6th month of the 49th regnal year, A.D. 1604=5= about August 29 (O.S.), September 8 (N.S.) That date, if correctly converted, falls two days after Xavier had dispatched his letter, and in A.H. 1013.

Beale (s.v. Hamida Bano Begam), after a series of other blunders mixing up Akbar's mother with Haji Begam, erroneously states that Hamida 'died at Agra on Monday the 29th August, A.D. 1603, 17th Shahriwar, A.H. 1012'. She certainly died in A.D. 1604, A.H. 1013.

The student, therefore, will perceive that it has not been easy to work out the real order of events. I trust that he may be satisfied that the correct result has been embodied in the text. The case is an excellent illustration of the difficulties which constantly beset the critical historian of the Mogul period. It is hardly worth while to notice that the term of Salim's detention is variously stated as three,

1. 979 is an error for 980, which began on Wednesday, May 14, 1572. See *A.N.*, 543, in 17th regnal year.

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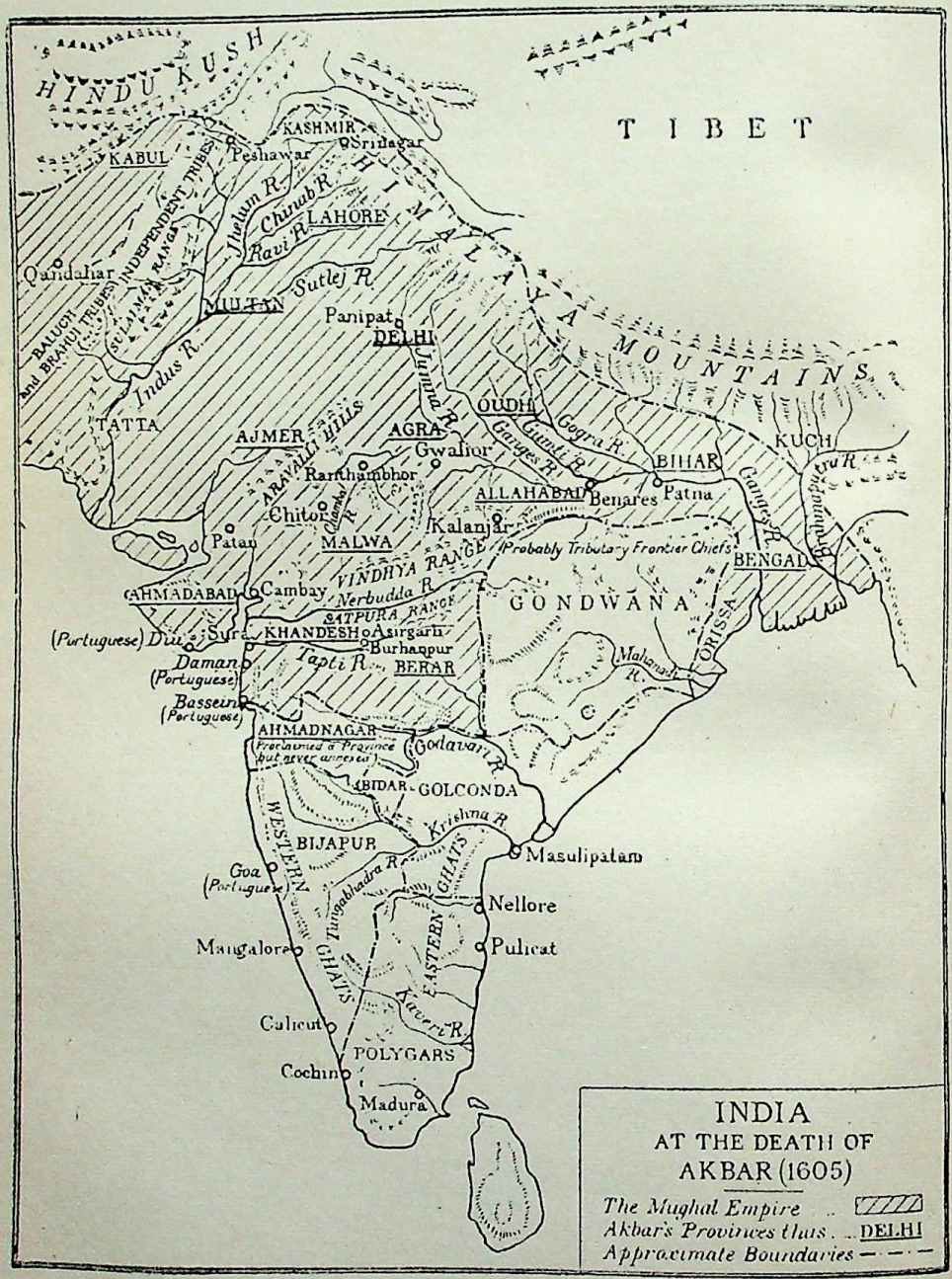

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ten, or twelve days. I accept the statement in de Laet, who seems to give the whole story truthfully.

INDIA IN 1605

The *Subas* (see p. 135, *ante*)

(1) Kabul; (2) Lahore (Panjab); including Kashmir; (3) Multan, including Sind; (4) Delhi; (5) Agra; (6) Awadh (Oudh); (7) Allahabad ; (8) Ajmer; (9) Ahmadabad (Gujarat); (10) Malwa; (11) Bihar; (12) Bengal, including Orissa; (13) Khandesh; (14) Berar (Birar); (15) Ahmadnagar.

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CHAPTER XII

AKBAR

PERSONAL DESCRIPTION

AKBAR, as seen in middle life, was a man of moderate stature, perhaps five feet seven inches in height, strongly built, neither too slight nor too stout, broad-chested, narrow-waisted, and long-armed. His legs were somewhat bowed inwards from the effect of much riding in boyhood, and when walking he slightly dragged the left leg, as if he were lame, although the limb was sound. His head dropped a little towards the right shoulder. His forehead was broad and open. The nose was of moderate size, rather short, with a bony prominence in the middle, and nostrils dilated as if with anger. A small wart about half the size of a pea which connected the left nostril with the upper lip was considered to be a lucky mark. His black eyebrows were thin, and the Mongolian strain of blood in his veins was indicated by the narrow eyes characteristic of the Tartar, Chinese, and Japanese races. The eyes sparkled brightly and were 'vibrant like the sea in sunshine'.[1] His complexion, sometimes described by the Indian term 'wheat-coloured', was dark rather than fair. His face was clean shaven, except for a small closely trimmed moustache worn in the fashion adopted by young Turks on the verge of manhood. His hair was allowed to grow, not being clipped close in the ancestral manner. His very loud voice was credited with 'a peculiar richness.'

His whole mien was in such perfect accord with the ideal of kingly dignity that 'anybody, even at the first glance, would recognize him as a king'. His son declares that Akbar 'in his actions and movements was not like the people of the world, and the glory of God manifested itself in him'. When he turned an angry look upon an offender, his appearance was strangely terrible.

DRESS

His outer garment was a surcoat or tunic of the kind called *cabaya*, reaching a little below the knees, but not coming down to the ankles like the long robes commonly worn by Muslims. It was made ordinarily of thin material interwoven with gold thread, decorated with embroidered patterns of flowers and foliage, and fastened by a large clasp. On his head Akbar wore a small tightly rolled turban, made so as to combine Hindu with Musalman modes. The head-dress was enriched by pearls and other gems of inestimable value. His trousers, made of the finest sarcenet, extended down to his heels, where they were tucked in and held by a knot of pearls. His shoes were made in a peculiar style after a design of his own. He liked European clothes, and when in private often wore a Portuguese suit of black silk or velvet.

1. 'Micantibus oculis, et qui quasi mare, cum a sole collucet, vibrare videantur' (*Commentarius*, p. 640).

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He invariably kept a dagger in his girdle, and if at any moment he did not happen to be wearing a sword one always lay ready to his hand. Whenever he appeared in public a score of pages and guards were in attendance ready to place a variety of weapons at his disposal.[1]

MANNERS

All observers agree that Akbar's manners were charming. He is described as being 'pleasant-mannered, intimate, and kindly, while still preserving his gravity and sternness'.[2] Father Jerome Xavier, who, as Bartoli says,

'was an eye-witness of his conduct for many years, gives him the praise so rarely due to a Prince engaged in high affairs of state, by remarking that "in truth he was great with the great, and lowly with the lowly".[3] Du Jarric varies the observation by stating that "to his own family he was most dear; to the great he was terrible; to the lowly, kind and affable".'

The same author goes on to say that

'with small and common people he was so sympathetic and indulgent, that he always found time gladly to hear their cases, and to respond graciously to their requests. Their little offerings, too, he used to accept with such a pleased look, handling them and putting them in his bosom, as he did not do with the most lavish gifts of the nobles, which, with discreet pretence, he often seemed not even to glance at'.[4]

DIET

Akbar was extremely moderate in his diet, taking but one substantial meal in the day, which was served whenever he called for it, not at any fixed hour. The variety of dishes placed at his disposal was of course great, and they were presented with appropriate magnificence and elaborate precautions against poison. He cared little for flesh food, and gave up the use of it almost entirely in the later years of his life, when he came under Jain influence.[5]

The following sayings of his deal with the subject :

'Men are so accustomed to eating meat that, were it not for the pain, they would undoubtedly fall on to themselves.

'Would that my body were so vigorous as to be of service to eaters of meat who would thus forgo other animal life, or that, as I cut off a piece for their nourishment, it might be replaced by another.

'Would that it were lawful to eat an elephant, so that one animal might avail for many.

'Were it not for the thought of the difficulty of sustenance, I would prohibit men from eating meat. The reason why I do not altogether

1. Mostly from Monserrate, *Commentarius*, p. 640, and *Relacam*, with special reference to the years 1580-2. Some particulars are taken from Peruschi, Bartoli, and Jahangir, R.B., i, 33, without reference to any particular date. For *cabaya* see Yule and Burnell, *Glossary*, s.v. and Jahangir R.B., i, 384.

2. 'E faceto, domestico, & amorevole, & insieme tiene la sua gratvita, & severita' (Peruschi, p.20).

3. 'Veramente egli era grande co' grandi, e co' piccoli piccolo' (Bartoli, p. 5).

4. Du Jarric, iii, 133.

5. See *Ain*, book, i, Ain 26; vol. i, p. 61.

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abandon it myself is that many others might willingly forgo it likewise and be thus cast into despondency.

'From my earliest years, whenever I ordered animal food to be cooked for me, I found it rather tasteless and cared little for it. I took this feeling to indicate the necessity for protecting animals, and I refrained from animal food.

'Men should annually refrain from eating meat on the anniversary of the month of my accession as a thanks giving to the Almighty, in order that the year may pass in prosperity.

'Butchers, fishermen, and the like who have no other occupation but taking life should have a separate quarter and their association with others should be prohibited by fine.

'It is not right that a man should make his stomach the grave of animals.'[1]

Akbar had a great liking for fruit, especially grapes, melons, and pomegranates, and was in the habit of eating it whenever he indulged in either wine or opium.[2] He took much pains to improve the supply, both home-grown and imported.

USE OF LIQUOR AND OPIUM

He followed the practice of his family for many generations in consuming both strong drink and various preparations of opium, sometimes to excess. His drinking bouts, naturally, were more frequent while he was young than they were in his more mature years, but it is certain that tolerably often he was 'in his cups', as his son puts it. When he had drunk more than was good for him he performed various mad freaks, as when at Agra he galloped the elephant Hawai across the bridge of boats, and at Surat tried to fight his sword.

He seems to have drunk usually country liquor of sorts, rather than imported wines. In 1580 he specially fancied a very heady toddy, arrack, or palm-wine. As an alternative at that period he used to take a spiced infusion of opium (*posta*), and when he had had too much of either or both would sometimes drop off asleep while the Fathers were discoursing. When Monserrate, on his way to court in 1580, halted at Gwalior he took note of a sect of opium drinkers, followers of one Baba Kapur, and was told that Akbar himself was then reputed to be a member of the fraternity. A little later the same author observes that Akbar rarely drank wine, preferring the soporific infusion of opium. The cultivation of the poppy seems to have been encouraged.[3]

PRACTICE OF MECHANICAL ARTS

He took special delight in the practice of mechanical arts with his own hands. We are told that 'there is nothing that he does not

1. 'Happy Sayings', *Ain*, vol. iii, pp. 394, 395.
2. Jahangir, R.B., i, 270, 350; *Ain*, book i, Ain 28; vol. i, pp. 64,65.
3. For Akbar's use of intoxicants see *ante*, chap. iv; Jahangir, R.B., i, 2; Bartoli, p. 64; 'lo troppo uso hor dell' Orraca, che e un fumosissimo vino di palma, hor del Posto, che e una tal confettione d' Oppio, rintuzzato [diluted], e domo [modified] con varie correttioni d' aromati'; and *Commentarius*, pp. 558, 642. For "arrack', variously spelt, see Yule and Burnell, *Glossary*, s.v. The article 'Opium' may also be consulted. Land under poppy paid a high cash revenue rate. See *Ain*, book iii, Ain 14; vol. ii.

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know how to do, whether matters of war, or of administration, or of any mechanical art. Wherefore he takes particular pleasure in making guns and in founding and modelling cannon'.[1] Workshops were maintained on a large scale within the palace enclosure, and were frequently visited by him. He was credited with many inventions and improvements.[2] That side of his character suggests a comparison with Peter the Great.

FORMAL ILLITERACY BUT WIDE KNOWLEDGE

We have seen how idle he was as a boy, so that he never learned even the elements of reading and writing. The principal loss involved in his boyish truancy was the lack of discipline in his training. He was far from being an ignorant man, but his multifarious knowledge was picked up in a haphazard way without system or co-ordination. He possessed a memory of almost superhuman power, which enabled him to remember accurately the contents of books read to him, the details of departmental business, and even the names of hundreds of individual birds, horses, and elephants. In the business of government he had the rare faculty of combining a firm grasp on principles with minute attention to details.[3] His mastery of detail was well exemplified in his conduct of the expedition to Kabul in 1581, the most elaborately organized of his military operations. Father Monserrate, who accompanied him as far as Jalalabad on the Kabul river, was filled with admiration for the prudent care exercised by the emperor personally in all the arrangements for the campaign. His formal illiteracy does not seem to have caused the slightest practical inconvenience. Indian rulers have always been accustomed to dictate orders and to leave most of the actual writing to subordinate professional secretaries and clerks.

Akbar was intimately acquainted with the works of many Muhammadan historians and theologians, as well as with a considerable amount of general Asiatic literature, especially the writings of the Sufi or mystic poets. He acquired from the Jesuit missionaries a fairly complete knowledge of the Gospel story and the main outlines of the Christian faith, while at the same time learning from the most accredited teachers the principles of Hinduism, Jainism, and Zoroastrianism; but he never found an opportunity to study Buddhism. As a boy he took some drawing lessons, and he retained all his life an active interest in various forms of art. The architecture of the reign unmistakably bears the impress of his personal good taste. A man so variously accomplished cannot be considered illiterate in reality. He simply preferred to learn the contents of books through the ear rather than the eye, and was able to trust his prodigious memory, which was never enfeebled by the use of written memoranda. Anybody who heard him arguing with acuteness and lucidity on a subject of

1. Peruschi, p. 20. 'Non vi e cosa, che non sappia fare', &c.
2. *Ain*, book i, Ain 35, & c.
3. 'His Majesty looks upon the smallest details as mirrors capable of reflecting a comprehensive outline' (*Ain*, book i, Ain 73; vol. i, p. 157); and 'True greatness in spiritual and worldly matters, does not shrink from the minutiae of business, but regards their performance as an act of Divine worship' (ibid., Ain 1; vol. i, p. 11).

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debate would have credited him with wide literary knowledge and profound erudition, and never would have suspected him of illiteracy.[1]

Akbar was not ashamed of his inability to read and write, which he shared with many eminent princes both before and after his time.[2] His sayings include the maxim :

'The prophets were all illiterate. Believers should therefore retain one of their sons in that condition.'[3]

The intelligent imperial patronage of literature and art will be noticed in the concluding chapter.

MELANCHOLY TEMPERAMENT; EXCITING AND OTHER DIVERSIONS

Akbar suffered from some form of epilepsy, which in no way impaired his vast bodily strength, but probably was a cause of the 'melancholy and oppression of heart' which afflicted him continually and drove him to seek diversions of all sorts even when engaged in important business.[4] From early boyhood he was devoted to every form of sport, and learned in everything concerning horses, camels, elephants, and dogs. He was a perfect horseman, and had the faculty of exercising absolute control over the most ferocious elephants. He was a splendid shot, and took much delight in all kinds of hunting. It was his practice to organize a great hunt as a preliminary to a campaign, and so to give his cavalry exercise in informal manoeuvres. He kept many falcons, but did not care much for hawking. He took great pleasure in chasing antelopes with specially trained leopards (*cheetahs*). He was ready to encounter any beast, however fierce, tiger, lion, or other, and was prepared to undergo any amount of fatigue in order to run down the game. On the only occasion that he saw wild asses, which happened in the desert of Bikaner, he was so keen in the pursuit that he became separated from his attendants, and nearly perished of thirst. He was absolutely fearless, and, like Alexander of Macedon, was always ready to risk his life, regardless of political consequences.

When residing at his capital or in a standing camp he provided himself with amusements of many kinds. He kept immense flocks of choice pigeons, and loved to watch their antics. He was a keen polo player, and insisted on his courtiers keeping up the game with spirit. Like most princes in India he enjoyed watching animal combats, of elephants, buffaloes, rams, and other beasts and birds. The elephant

1. Non mediocriter, in multarum rerum cognitione, et scientia progressus est; quo litterarum ignorationem (est enim legendi, scribendique prorsus ignarus) non compensat solum, verum etiam, res difficiles adeo plane, ac dilucide exponit : et de quavis re proposita, acute, arguteque respondet; ut nemo qui nescierit, ipsum literarum esse ignarum, non eum doctissimum, eruditissimumque esse judicet' (*Commentarius*, p. 643).

2. e.g. Timur, Haidar Ali, Ranjit Singh.

3. 'Happy Sayings', *Ain*, vol. iii, p. 385; with allusion to 'the apostle, the illiterate prophet' in Koran, Sura 7; and '*It is* he who hath raised up amidst the illiterate *Arabians* an apostle from among themselves', ibid., Sura 62. See Sale, Preliminary Discourse, sec. ii. Muhammadans glory in their prophet's illiteracy as a proof of his divine mission and of the authenticity of his revelation. Abu-l Fazl applies that argument to the case of Akbar.

4. 'Natura erat melancholicus, et epileptico subjectus morbo' (Du Jarric, ii, p. 498).

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fights, which frequently resulted in the death of the riders, are often depicted by the artists of the age. The feelings of most modern Europeans are hurt by exhibitions in which beasts alone suffer, but Akbar did not shrink from witnessing also the deadly conflicts of gladiators after the Roman manner.[1] When the two parties of fakirs at Hardwar came to blows Akbar 'greatly enjoyed the sight', and even sent some of his own troops to join in the fray until about a thousand men were engaged. The resultant bloodshed, which was on a considerable scale, costing about twenty lives,[2] did not trouble him in the least. The kindliness of his disposition moderate, without eradicating, the taste for bloody exhibitions which he inherited from his ferocious Turk and Mongol ancestors.

His more peaceful amusements were as varied as those of a strenuous kind. He took extreme pleasure in music and song, and was reputed to be a skilled drummer. He loved to watch clowns and jugglers, and had a strange habit of disposing of serious business while looking at shows with, so to speak, the corner of his eye. Witty conversation and lively story-telling would keep him awake all night. He slept little and lightly, seldom more than three hours in the night time. The hours which he kept must have been dreadfully trying to the court.

OUTBURSTS OF WRATH

Akbar had a naturally quick temper which occasionally carried him away in a gust of passion. Such outbreaks of wrath at times caused him to execute substantial although irregular acts of summary justice, as when he punished his uncle Muazzam and his foster-brother Adham Khan for cruel murders. On one recorded occasion a sudden fit of anger caused him to commit a shocking act, when he caused the negligent lamplighter to be hurled from the battlements of the palace and dashed to pieces as a punishment for a trivial transgression. Peruschi justly sums up this side of the emperor's character by observing that 'the Prince rarely loses his temper, but if he should fall into a passion, it is impossible to say how great his wrath may be; the good thing about it is that he presently regains his calmness, and that his wrath is short-lived, quickly passing from him; for, in truth, he is naturally humane, gentle and kind.'

His conduct to Jerome Xavier and his colleague at Burhanpur offered a conspicuous example both of his liability to sudden anger, and of his readiness to forget and forgive. For a few hours their lives were in danger, but when those hours had passed their favour was undiminished and nothing more was said about the offence which they had given.

As a rule he had perfect self-control. Bartoli expresses the truth neatly by the remark that

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1. Aquaviva and Monserrate boldly denounced to him such entertainments as being wicked (*scelus nafarium*), and refused his invitation to witness them (*Commentarius*, p. 574). I have not noticed elsewhere any reference to the 'gladiatorii ludi' in Akbar's time. They were continued by Jahangir and Shahjahan.

2. *Tarikh-i Khandan Timuriya* in Oriental Public Library, Bankipore.

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'whether by training or innate power, he was so completely master of his emotions that he could hardly ever be seen otherwise than as perfectly pleasant and serene.'

ARTFULNESS

Akin to his habitual control over a naturally violent temper was the artfulness with which he was wont to conceal his thoughts and real purposes.

'He never', says Bartoli, 'gave anybody the chance to understand rightly his inmost sentiments or to know what faith or religion he held by; but, in whatever way he could best serve his own interests, he used to feed one party or the other with the hope of gaining him to itself, humouring each side with fair words, and protesting that he had no other object with his doubts than to seek and find out by the guidance of their wise answers the simple truth till then hidden from him. The answers given, however, never sufficed to satisfy him; the disputes, and with them the hopes and vexations of the disputants, never came to an end, because each day they began again at the beginning.

'And in all business this was the characteristic manner of King Akbar—a man apparently free from mystery and guile as honest and candid as could be imagined—but in reality so close and self-contained, with twists of words and deeds so divergent one from the other, and most times so contradictory that even by much seeking one could not find the clue to his thoughts. Thus it often happened that a person, comparing him to-day with what he was yesterday, could find no resemblance; and even an attentive observer, after long and familiar intercourse with him, knew no more of him on the last day than he had known on the first. Details to be given presently (by Bartoli) will enable us to understand better the action of that peculiar mind of his, concerning which no man can divine whether it was the work of nature or the result of studied training'.[1]

DUPLICITY IN STATECRAFT

That admirably worded description of Akbar's peculiar mind helps the historical student to understand to some extent the tortuous diplomacy and perfidious action, which on several occasions marked the emperor's political proceedings. The occurrence of such incidents should not excite surprise or draw excessive censure. Experience proves that in practice it is impossible for any person engaged in high affairs of State to be invariably quite straightforward. A certain amount of finesse is recognized to be inevitable in diplomacy and politics. The incredulity, more or less polite, with which official explanations or denials of awkward facts are received in all countries is an expression of the well-founded conviction that statesmen must often practise at least an economy of truth. In the sixteenth century statesmen certainly were not more candid or scrupulous than they are now, and it would not be reasonable to expect an Asiatic potentate like Akbar to be in advance of his Europan contemporaries in respect of straight dealing. As a matter of fact, his policy does not seem to have

1. Bartoli, p. 6.

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been more tortuous than that of the European princes of his time. Whatever may be the amount of Akbar's moral guilt in comparison with that of other sovereigns, it is certain that at times he said one thing when he meant another, and that on one occasion he shamelessly broke a most solemn oath. At the time of the first Jesuit mission, while he was writing letters of the most friendly and affectionate kind to the authorities at Goa, he was secretly engaged in plotting the capture of their ports, Diu and Daman. When his governor sent him the heads of certain young Portuguese captives he pretended never to have seen the ghastly offering; and yet to the end of his life one of his most ardent desires was to drive the Portuguese into the sea. The government at Goa understood the realities of the situation perfectly, and knew well how to utilize the Jesuit missionaries as unofficial political agents. The tortuous policy was not all on one side. Akbar's gross breach of faith to the King of Khandesh at Asirgarh was disgraceful, and the pains taken by his official historians to conceal the truth prove that the sentiment of the age condemned the imperial treachery. Akbar's hypocrisy in performing certain outward acts of conformity with the Muslim religion, long after he had lost all faith in the mission of the Prophet of Arabia, is frankly admitted by Abu-l Fazl in more than one passage.[1]

In connexion with this subject mention may be made of the undoubted fact that Akbar on many occasions got rid of people whom he considered dangerous by means of assassination, or secret execution, to use a milder expression. In some cases the issue of orders by the emperor is only suspected, but the instances in which no reasonable doubt can be entertained are sufficiently numerous to justify the assertion that Akbar felt no scruples about removing his enemies by assassination whenever a public condemnation would have been inconvenient.[2]

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1. 'Ardently feeling after God, and searching for truth, His Majesty exercises upon himself both inward and outward austerities, though he occasionally joins public worship, in order to hush the slandering tongues of the bigots of the present age' (*Ain*, book i, Ain 72; vol. i, p. 154). He paid his final visit to the shrine at Ajmer as 'a means of calming the public' in September 1579 (*A.N.*, iii, 403). The sham devotion which he showed in welcoming the stone supposed to bear the impress of the Prophet's foot is cynically explained by the remarks that 'although the Asylum of the Faith (Dinpanah) knew that the thing was not genuine.....all this honour was done out of abundant perceptiveness, respect and appreciation, and wide toleration, in order that the reverence due to that simple-minded Saiyid might not be spilt on the ground, and that jovial critics might not break out into smiles' (ibid., pp. 411, 412).

2. As it is possible that the assertion in the text may be disputed, and the reader may find a difficulty in remembering the cases mentioned in the course of the narrative, it is desirable to bring the principal incidents together. (1) Secret execution of Akbar's cousin, the son of Kamran, in 1565 at Gwalior; (2) the highly suspicious deaths of Makhdumu-l Mulk and Shaikh Abdu-n Nabi after their return from Mecca. The *Ikbalnamah* expressly states that the latter was put to death by Abu-l Fazl in pursuance of Akbar's orders (*A.N.*, iii, 406, note by Beveridge, see Badaoni, ii, 321); (3) the equally suspicious death of Masum Farankhudi (Blochmann, in *Ain*, vol. i, p. 444); (4) execution of Mir Muizzu-l Mulk and another by their boat 'foundering' (ibid., p. 382); (5) 'One by one he sent all the Mullas against whom he had any suspicions of dissatisfaction to the abode of annihilation' (Badaoni, ii, 285); (6) mysterious death of Haji Ibrahim in the fortress of Ranthambhor (ibid., pp. 286, 322). Those cases amply support the proposition formulated in the text. But Wheeler's assertion--that Akbar 'had another way of getting rid of his enemies which

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JUSTICE

'If I were guilty of an unjust act', Akbar said, 'I would rise in judgement against myself.'[1] The saying was not merely a copy-book maxim. He honestly tried to do justice according to his lights in the summary fashion of his age and country. Peruschi, following the authority of Monserrate, declares that

'as to the administration of justice, he is most zealous and watchful...In inflicting punishment he is deliberate, and after he has made over the guilty person to the hands of the judge and court to suffer either the extreme penalty or the mutilation of some limb, he requires that he should be three times reminded by messages before the sentence is carried out.'

The sentences on convicts were of the appalling kind then customary in India and Asia generally. The modes of execution included impalement, trampling by elephants, crucifixion, beheading, hanging, and others. Akbar drew the line at the old Mongol practice of flaying alive, and was disgusted when his son inflicted that horrible punishment. Babur had ordered it without scruple. As minor penalties mutilation and whipping of great severity were commonly ordered. The emperor occasionally called up civil suits of importance to his own tribunal. No records of proceedings, civil or ciminal, were kept, everything being done verbally; and no sort of code existed, except insofar as the persons acting as judges thought fit to follow Koranic rules. Akbar and Abu-l Fazl made small account of witnesses and oaths. The governor of a province was instructed that

'in judicial investigations he should not be satisfied with witnesses and oaths, but pursue them by manifold inquiries, by the study of physiognomy and the exercise of foresight; nor, laying the burden of it on others, live absolved from solicitude.'[2]

Akbar encouraged the use of trial by ordeal in the Hindu fashion. He possessed an intellect so acute and knowledge of human nature so profound that when he undertook judicial duties in person his efforts to do substantial justice in a summary fashion probably met with considerable success.

The horrors of an execution ground are realistically depicted in one of the contemporary illustrations to the *Akbarnama* at South

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is revolting to civilization. He kept a poisoner in his pay'—is not supported by good evidence. It rests only on the contradictory gossip about the supposed cause of Akbar's death, which does not deserve any credit. I do not suppose that Akbar had any conscientious objections to the use of poison, but no well-authenticated case of his employment of that secret weapon seems to be recorded. He deliberately rejected advice to remove his brother by assassination, though his refusal was not based on any high moral grounds.*

* 'Happy Sayings', *Ain*, vol. iii, p. 383. 'Some bold spirits asked permission to lie in ambush and put an end to that rebel. I could not consent, thinking it remote from what was fitting in his regard. Thus both that distinguished memorial of majesty [*scil.* of Humayun] escaped from harm, and my devoted friends were shielded from peril' The author of the *Khazanatu-l Anibiya* asserts that Akbar caused Makhdumu-l Mulk to be poisoned, but Blochmann disbelieved the assertion because Badaoni, a friend of the deceased, is silent on the subject (*Ain*, vol. i, Biography of Abu-l Fazl, p. vii), a reason by no means conclusive.

1. 'Happy Sayings', *Ain*, vol. iii, p. 387.
2. *Ain*, book i, Ain, 1; vol. ii, p. 37. See also p. 41.

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Kensington. Although Akbar was free from the love of cruelty for its own sake, and did not enjoy watching the death-agonies of convicts, as his son and grandson did, he could display a considerable degree of ferocity when his anger was roused by obstinate resistance to his ambition. He showed such severity in his treatment of the garrison of Chitor and in the tortures inflicted on the followers of the Mirzas. He regarded prolonged opposition to his will as a heinous crime, no matter how chivalrous his opponent might be; and when the opposition had been crushed by superior force he was not always merciful. It is probable that his clemency, when shown, often was dictated by policy rather than by sentiment.

AMBITION

The ruling passion of Akbar was ambition. His whole reign was dedicated to conquest. His aggressions, made without the slightest regard to moral considerations, were not determined in any instance by desire to better the condition of the people in the kingdom attacked. He would have laughed at the canting apology for his action tendered by a modern, uncritical panegyrist, who was rash enough to write :

'Akbar did not conquer in Rajputana to rule in Rajputana. He conquered that all the Rajput princes, each in his own dominions, might enjoy that peace and prosperity which his predominance, never felt aggressively, secured for the whole empire.'[1]

Similar untrue nonsense will be found in von Noer's book and elsewhere. In reality a more aggressive king never existed.[2] His attacks on Gondwana, Kashmir, Sind, and the Deccan kingdoms were aimed avowedly at destroying the independence of every State on his borders, and of securing the material gains of conquest. There is no evidence that his administration in fact caused more happiness than that produced by most of the governments which he overthrew so ruthlessly. We may be tolerably certain, on the contrary, that the people of Gondwana were happier under Rani Durgavati than they were under Asaf Khan, and that they must have felt bitterly the humiliation endured by the family who had ruled them for so many generations.

Akbar himself did not cant on the subject. He would not have quarrelled with Terry's comparison of him with a great pike in a pond.

'A monarch', he said, 'should be ever intent on conquest, otherwise his neighbours rise in arms against him. The army should be exercised in warfare, lest from want of training they become self-indulgent.'[3] Accordingly he continued to be intent on conquest all his life and to keep his army in constant training. He never attained more than a part of the objective of his ambition, which included the conquest of every part of India besides Central Asia.

In Rajputana he pursued the successive Ranas of Mewar with unrelenting hostility, and whenever he was strong enough he annexed the territory of the clans.[4]

1. Malleson, *Akbar*, p. 184.
2. 'Est enim gloriae percupidus' (*Commentarius*, p. 619).
3. 'Happy Sayings', *Ain*, vol. iii, p. 399.
4. The portions annexed formed the Suba of Ajmer.

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Akbar was much attracted by the prospect of the booty to be gained by a successful campaign, in which he valued especially elephants and jewels. He took the best care possible that his generals should not defraud him. He loved riches and the accumulation of wealth, being, as Monserrate says, 'rather penurious and retentive of money'.[1]

Although at times he would lavish prodigious sums on pet hobbies, as at Fathpur-Sikri, he was generally disposed to economize. The Agra fort was paid for by a special tax, and it is not improbably that the cost of his freak at Fathpur may have been defrayed in the same way. He accumulated a gigantic treasure and became the richest king in the world. An exact inventory of the possessions left by him in the fort at Agra in 1605 showed a *cash* hoard of more than twenty millions sterling. Similar hoards on a smaller scale were preserved in six other treasure cities, the aggregate of which cannot well have been less in amount than the Agra treasure. It is legitimate, therefore, to assume that Akbar left behind him fully forty million pounds sterling in coined money equivalent in purchasing power to at least two hundred millions now. Such a hoard could not have been accumulated except by a man fond of money. When Khandesh was annexed Prince Daniyal raised the assessment to a large extent by a stroke of the pen.[2]

FISCAL POLICY

The systematic assessment of the empire for which Akbar and Todar Mall are given so much credit was primarily intended to increase the imperial revenue. Improvement in the condition of the people was quite a secondary consideration. Akbar was a hard-headed man of business, not a sentimental philanthropist, and his whole policy was directed principally to the acquisition of power and riches. All the arrangements about *jagirs*, branding, &c., were devised for the one purpose, namely, the enhancement of the power, glory, and riches of the crown. We do not know anything substantial about the actual effect of his administrative measures on the welfare and happiness of the common people. Certainly they did not prevent the occurrence of one of the most terrible famines on record which desolated Northern India late in the reign, from 1595 to 1598. The enormous hoard described above then lay idle in the treasure vaults. No important works designed for the public benefit, as distinct from buildings and roads intended to promote the imperial comfort and magnificence, stand to the credit of Akbar's account.

THREE STAGES OF RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT

The subject of Akbar's opinions on religion has attracted much attention from many of the authors who have dealt with his life and history. It occupies a large space in the works of Badaoni, Abu-l Fazl, and the Jesuit writers, and obtains great prominence in the books of the few modern European historians who have discussed the events of the reign at any considerable length. His attitude towards the problems

1. 'Et cum parcior sit, et in retinenda pecunia tenacior, ditissimus omrium regum est' (*Commentarius*, p. 646).
2. *Ain*, vol, ii, p. 224.

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of religion changed completely and more than once during his lifetime. For many years he was a zealous, tolerably orthodox, Sunni Musalman, willing to execute Shias and other heretics. He next passed through a stage (1573-82), in which he may be described as a sceptical, rationalizing Muslim ; and finally, rejecting Islam utterly, he evolved an eclectic religion of his own, with himself as its prophet (1582-1605).

MYSTICISM

His religious speculations and vagaries rested primarily on the fact that he was born with the mystic temperament. Even in the early years of his reign, when he was a zealous pilgrim to the shrines of the saints, a generous builder of mosques, and a willing persecutor of unorthodox theologians, his orthodoxy was modified by a strain of mysticism based chiefly on the writings of the Persian Sufi poets. Later in life he came more under the influence of Hindu pantheistic doctrine, which has close affinities with Sufi teaching. Throughout all phases he seems always to have cherished the mystic's ideal of close and direct communion with God, unobscured by priestly intervention or disputable dogmas. An able writer has observed that mystics often are 'intensely practical'.[1] Akbar was, as we have seen, one of the most ambitious of men, with a lust for power, a love of money, and infinite capacity for hard work, the most practical of characteristics. Yet he remained a mystic to the end.

In the discussion of the strange experience through which Akbar passed in 1578, at the time when he was on the point of renouncing the religion of Muhammad, certain other incidents which throw some light on that obscure event have been cited. To them may be added one of his sayings :

'One night my heart was weary of the burden of life, when suddenly, between sleeping and waking, a strange vision apeared to me, and my spirit was somewhat comforted.'[2]

'Such visions come to the mystics only. The epileptic disease from which Akbar suffered probably induced the visions.

AKBAR SINCERELY RELIGIOUS

Akbar, whatever may have been the extent of his failings in practice, was a sincerely religious man, constitutionally devout. Jahangir declares that his father 'never for one moment forgot God'.[3] That testimony is corroborated by Abu-l Fazl, who avers that his sovereign 'passes every moment of his life in self-examination or in adoration of God'. He performed private devotions four times a day at sunrise, noon, sunset, and midnight, spending a considerable time over them. In his latter days those devotions consisted largely of acts of reverence to the sun, fire, and light. In earlier years he had observed

1. *Literary Supplement of The Times*, January 13, 1916, p. 20.
2. 'Happy Sayings,' *Ain*, vol. iii, p. 388. According to Hindu tradition he beheld 'a marvellous vision' at the Brindaban temples, which he visited in 1573, apparently in the interval between the two Gujarat expeditions (Growse, *Mathura*, 3rd ed., p. 241).
3. Jahangir, R.B., i, 37.

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strictly the five Muhammadan canonical times for prayer.[1] Apart from formal religious exercises, his whole course of life testified to the extreme interest taken by him in the problem of the relations between God and man, and many of his sayings express his views on the subject.

'There is no need', he observed, 'to discuss the point that a vacuum in nature is impossible. God is omnipresent.

'There exists a bond between the Creator and the creature which is not expressible in language.

'That which is without form cannot be seen whether in sleeping or waking, but it is apprehensible by force of imagination. To behold God in vision is, in fact, to be understood in this sense.

'Each person according to his condition gives the Supreme Being a name, but in reality to name the Unknowable is vain.

'Who can sever the attachment of the rational soul to the Supreme Being ?

'Although I am the master of so vast a kingdom, and all the appliances of government are at my hand, yet since true greatness consists in doing the will of God, my mind is not at ease in this diversity of sects and creeds; and apart from this outward pomp of circumstances, with what satisfaction, in my despondency, can I undertake the sway of empire ? I await the coming of some discreet man of principle who will resolve the difficulties of my conscience.'[2]

He awaited him in vain. The quotations might be largely multiplied, but so much may suffice.

THE FRUITLESS SEARCH FOR TRUTH

Nuru-l Hakk, a contemporary author, is right, I think, in affirming that at the time of the first Jesuit mission (1580-2), when lively religious discussions were going on, Akbar's 'mind was solely bent upon ascertaining the truth'.[3] His restless, rationalizing spirit never could find a satisfying answer to that old, old question, 'What is Truth?' and he died a baffled, disappointed man. At one time he nearly attained a firm conviction that the creed of Aquaviva was the best religion in the world on its merits. But he could not accept its claims to absolutely exclusive allegiance; his intellect revolted against the doctrine of the Trinity, and practical difficulties forbade him to admit the necessity of monogamy. In practice he found imperfect solace from adoration of, or reverence for, the sun,[4] fire, and light after the Zoroastrian manner, and in following Jain precepts concerning the sanctity of animal life. He played with Christian ritual, but nothing could induce him to submit to the mind of the Church.

1. Until A.D. 1578 (A.H. 986; Nuru-l Hakk, in E. & D., vi, 189).
2. 'Happy Sayings', various passages, *Ain*, vol. iii, pp. 380-6. Note the allusion to his 'despondency', the 'melancholy' of the Jesuit observers.
3. E. & D., vi, 190.
4. Compare Akbar's attitude towards the sun with the utterance of the modern mystic and theosophist :—'An enormously elaborate and magnificent hierarchy of Spiritual Beings, beyond whom, in dazzling and (as yet) impenetrable mystery, there exists an incomprehensible sublime Power, of whom the Sun may be thought of as the physical symbol' (A.P. Sinnett, in *Nineteenth Century*, March 1916, p. 595). Some notion of that sort seems to have been at the back of Akbar's mind.

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'DIVINE MONOTHEISM

In 1582 he resolved to attempt the impossible task of providing all sects in his empire with one universal eclectic religion to which he gave the name of Divine Monotheism. He persuaded himself that he was the vicegerent of the Almighty, empowered to rule the spiritual as well as the temporal concerns of his subjects. That audacious attempt was an utter failure, but Akbar never formally admitted the fact, and to the end of his life he persisted in maintaining the farce of the new religion. From the time he proclaimed that creed he was not a Muslim. The formula of initiation required the categorical apostasy from Islam of the person initiated.

His attitude towards religion expressed the queer mixture in his mind of mysticism, rationalism, superstition, and a profound belief in his own God-given powers. His actions at times gave substantial grounds for the reproach that he was not unwilling to be regarded as a God on earth.[1]

DIVINITY OF KINGS

He avowedly held extreme beliefs, such as were current in Persia, concerning the 'divinity that doth hedge a king', and often gave utterance to his views on the subject. Some of his sayings are :

'The very sight of kings has been held to be a part of divine worship. They have been styled conventionally the shadow of God, and indeed to behold them is a means of calling to mind the Creator, and suggests the protection of the Almighty.

'What is said of monarchs, that their coming brings security and peace, has the stamp of truth. When minerals and vegetables have their peculiar virtues, what wonder if the actions of a specially chosen man should operate for the security of his fellows ?

'The anger of a monarch, like his bounty, is the source of national prosperity.

'Divine worship in monarchs consists in their justice and good administration.

'A king should not be familiar in mirth and amusement with his courtiers.

'He who does not speak of monarchs for their virtues will assuredly fall to reproof or scandal in their regard.

'The words of kings resemble pearls. They are not fit pendants to every ear.'[2]

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1. His flatterer, Faizi, as translated by Blochmann, ventured to write :
'The old-fashioned prostration is of no advantage to thee; see Akbar, and you see God' (*Ain*, vol. i, p. 561). But the words of the second clause,
'*Akbar ba shinas ta Khuda ba shinasi*'
mean rather
'Acknowledge' or 'take knowledge of Akbar, so that you may take knowledge of God',
through his representative on earth.

2. 'Happy Sayings', in *Ain*, vol. iii, pp. 398-400. The sayings may be compared with Abu-l Fazl's declaration :—'Royalty is a light emanating from God and a ray from the sun, the illuminator of the universe, the argument of the book of perfection, the receptacle of all virtues' (*Ain*, vol. i, Preface, p. iii). Both Abu-l Fazl and his master took their doctrine from the Persians, who, we are told, 'esteem

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Like most autocrats he enjoyed flattery and received with pleasure adulation of the most fulsome kind.

FORCE OF PERSONAL CHARACTER

The practical ability displayed by Akbar as soldier, general, administrator, diplomatist, and supreme ruler has been shown abundantly by his whole history, and does not need further exposition. The personal force of his character, discernible even now with sufficient clearness, was overpowering to his contemporaries. He was truly, as the Jesuit author calls him, 'the terror of the East'. In the later years of his reign, when all his old friends had disappeared, and he had been spoiled to a certain extent by more than four decades of autocracy, it is probable that he was feared rather than loved. The dread of him, even at an earlier time, was so potent that he felt himself free to flout and insult the most sacred feelings of his Muhammadan subjects and to continue in that course of conduct for more than twenty years. As early as 1582 Monserrate noted with surprise that Akbar had not been killed by the Musalmans.[1] It is true that his innovations provoked rebellions, but we never hear of their resulting in direct attempts on his life. His grand personal qualities seem to have shielded him from the violence of the assassin. We read of only one attempt to murder him, and that occurred when he was twenty-one years of age, and was still a zealous Muslim, but had given deep offence by invading the honour of families.

After his return from Kabul at the end of 1581 his personal ascendancy was established so firmly that he could venture to do what he pleased. He used the liberty to do some outrageous things. While we deplore and condemn certain of his actions, we cannot but marvel at the commanding force of character which guaranteed him impunity.

He was a born king of men, with a rightful claim to rank as one of the greatest sovereigns known to history. That claim rests securely on the basis of his extraordinary natural gifts, his original ideas, and his magnificent achievements. It is weakened, rather than strengthened, by the adulation of uncritical admirers.

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their Emperors not only as Lords Paramount, but reverence them as Sons of the Prophets, whose Dominion therefore is grounded more on Hierarchy than bare Monarchy' (Fryer, *A New Account*, &c., ed. Crook vol. iii, p. 40).

1. 'A nemine est interemptus' (*Commentarius*, p. 641). In August 1605, shortly before the emperor's death, Kulij Khan, the viceroy at Lahore, publicly declared himself to be Akbar's only faithful subject' (Pinheiro, in Maclagan, p. 99. The letter quoted is not available elsewhere in print. It is in Marsden MS. No. 9854 in the British Museum).

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CHAPTER XIII

INSTITUTIONS, MILITARY AND CIVIL

AKBAR'S GENIUS FOR ORGANIZATION

AKBAR, a brilliant soldier and pre-eminently successful general after the Asiatic manner against Asiatic foes, was endowed with a genius for organization rare among eastern potentates and not common in any part of the world. His mind, capable of grasping broad and original principles of government essential to the consolidation and stability of an extensive empire won by aggressive conquest, had also an extraordinary capacity for laborious attention to detail, which enabled him to check and control the laxity in administration natural and habitual to his officers. He had no conception of any form of government other than autocracy of the most absolute possible kind, nor was any other form practicable in the India of the sixteenth century. No materials existed in the country from which a system of administration could be evolved on lines of organic development. His institutions consequently depended for their success on the personal ability of the autocrat working them, and necessarily lost much of their efficacy when their author died.[1]

PARTIAL SURVIVAL OF AKBAR'S INSTITUTIONS

All the three sovereigns, his son, grandson, and great grandson, who succeeded Akbar for a century, had sufficient intelligence to recognize the value of many of the institutions of their brilliant ancestor, and to maintain in working order to a certain extent the machine which he had constructed and set in motion. His son Jahangir made little change. The alterations effected by Shahjahan, the grandson, and Aurangzeb, the great-grandson, were for the worse. In 1707, when Aurangzeb's unduly prolonged reign came to an end, the machine, which had been out of gear for many years, fell to pieces, and almost all traces of Akbar's elaborate organization seemed to have disappeared. But, from the time of Warren Hastings in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the newly constituted Anglo-Indian authorities began to grope their way back to the institutions of Akbar. They gradually adopted the principal features of his system in the important department concerned with the assessment of the land revenue, or crown share of agricultural produce, known in Indian official language as the Settlement Department. In several provinces of the existing Indian empire the principles and practice of the Settlement Department are essentially the same as those worked out by Akbar and his ministers.

1. 'There is, in sooth, no remedy for such a world of confusion but in autocracy, and this panacea in administration is attainable only in the majesty of just monarchs.....how can the tumult of this world-nest of hornets be silenced save by the authority of a vicegerent of Almighty power ?' (Abu-l Fazl in *Ain*, book ii, Ain 7; vol. ii, p. 51).

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The structure of the bureaucratic framework of government also still shows many traces of his handiwork. His institutions, therefore, are not merely of historical and antiquarian interest, but are in some degree the foundation of the system of administration now in operation.

ORIGINALITY OF AKBAR

The principles of government laid down by Akbar, and the administrative system described in the *Ain* differed essentially from the principles and system of the Sultans of Delhi. The brief and disturbed Indian reigns of his grandfather, Babur, and his father, Humayun, need not be considered in this connexion. Neither of those sovereigns had either the inclination or the opportunity to elaborate an improved form of government. The credit for the novel principles and improved practice is due to Akbar himself. His remark that,

'it was the effect of the grace of God that I found no capable minister, otherwise people would have considered that my measures had been devised by him',

which has been already quoted is true in the sense that none of his ministers could either have conceived his original ideas or given them practical effect. The ministers were usually his pupils rather than his teachers. Some, not many, of them rendered excellent service, but Akbar, from the age of twenty-one, was master of both his household and his kingdom, and able to impress his personal stamp on the policy of his government in all departments.

HIS POLICY CONTRASTED WITH THAT OF THE SULTANATE

After the fall of Bairam Khan, the Protector, in 1560, Akbar continued for a short time to rule in the spirit of the old Sultans as the chief of a small body of foreign military adventurers, alien in language and manners, and hostile in religion to the mass of the inhabitants of India. Those adventurers derived a certain amount of support from the colonies composed of descendants of similar adventurers who had been settled in northern and western India at various times during the five preceding centuries. But such support was extremely intermittent and often replaced by active enmity. The Sultans had considered India to be a Musalman country, and had taken credit to themselves whenever they graciously allowed the Hindu majority to purchase their lives by the payment of a special tax. Public exercise of the Hindu religion was illegal, and frequently was treated as a capital offence.[1]

Akbar at an early age saw the unsoundness of that position, and realized that a stable empire could not be established on the basis of the principles of the Sultanate. The most original of his ideas consisted in his recognition and practical acknowledgement of the principles that Hindus as well as Muhammadans should be considered eligible for the highest offices in the State, civil or military, and that

1. Firoz Shah Tughlak burned a Brahman alive for publicly performing the worship of idols at his house, and prided himself on having executed certain Hindus who had erected a new temple 'in a Musalman country'. He bought multitudes of 'converts' by promising exemption from the *jizya* tax (E. & D., iii, 365, 381, 386).

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the adherents of every creed should have complete liberty to worship God after their own fashions. Throughout his life, after the first few years of his reign, he maintained the theoretical validity of those two principles, although in his later years he actually infringed the second, and was guilty of a persecution of Islam.

MILITARY CHARACTER OF THE GOVERNMENT

The military character impressed on the government of Akbar by his ancestry and the circumstances of his early life continued to the end. The primary object of his policy was conquest, directed to the establishment of his sovereignty over the whole or nearly the whole of India and to the reconquest of the Central Asian kingdoms once held by his grandfather. He recognized the facts that effective conquest involved adequate organization of the conquered territories, and that such organization was unattainable without the co-operation of all classes of his subjects. He began life practically without any territory, and had to subdue the whole of the enormous empire which owned his sway at the time of his death. The bureaucracy which he organized on a Persian basis was essentially military, and almost all important officials exercising civil jurisdiction were primarily military commanders.[1] Their civil powers were attached to and dependent on their military rank. His court, even when quartered in a city, was a camp, and his camp was a travelling city.

It is fitting, therefore, that an account of his institutions should begin with the court and army. He did not possess any navy to signify.

THE MINISTERS

The sovereign, being recognized as an absolute autocrat, entitled to do what he pleased, so long as he retained his office, was not constrained by any law or custom having the force of law. As a Muhammadan his personal religious duty required him to obey the scripture and authentic traditions, but if he chose, as often happened, to disregard Koranic precepts, nobody could hinder him. The only remedies available to the orthodox against an impious or latitudinarian king were rebellion and assassination, both operations being extremely dangerous to attempt. A really strong king could defy Koranic law as far as he thought fit. Akbar did so in greater or less degree throughout most of his reign, and carried his defiance to the utmost lengths during the last twenty-three years of his life. His action endangered his throne in 1581, but when he had surmounted that crisis he was able for the rest of his time to do what he pleased. A monarch in such a position lay under no obligation to have a council or ministers at all. In practice, however, such aids to personal government were indispensable. But nothing required the autocrat to maintain any particular number of ministers or to have a council of any particular form.

In Akbar's reign the principal ministers were :

1. Even the kitchen department was organized on military lines. Ain 26 of book i (*Ain*, vol. i, p. 62) ends with the words :—'In this department nobles, *ahadis*, and other military are employed. The pay of a foot soldier varies from 100 to 400 *dams*.' Hakim Humam, the Mir Bakawal, or chief of that department, ranked as a commander of 600 (*Ain*, vol. i, p. 474, No. 205).

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1. The Vakil, or Prime Minister.
2. The Vizier (*vazier, wazir*), or Finance Minister; sometimes called Diwan.
3. The chief Bakshi, an officer, whose varied functions cannot be indicated by any English denomination. His duties, as defined by Irvine, included the recruiting of the army, and the keeping up of certain registers, comprising the list of high officials (*mansabdars*) in proper form; the roster of palace-guards; the rules as to grants of pay; list of officers paid in cash, &c. When an important battle was being arranged it was his business to assign posts to the several commanders in the van, centre, wings, or rearguard, and to lay a 'present state' or muster roll of the army before his sovereign. He might or might not assume a high command himself.
4. The Sadr, or Sadr Sudur, whose functions are equally inexpressible by any English official designation. Early in the reign, while his position was unimpaired, the Sadr ranked as the highest ecclesiastical officer, exercising the powers of a Chief Inquisitor, even to the infliction of the capital penalty, and enjoying the privilege of granting lands for ecclesiastical or benevolent purposes without the necessity of obtaining royal sanction. His reading of the *Khutbah*, or 'bidding prayer', in the name of a new sovereign legalized the accession.

In the later part of the reign Akbar clipped the powers of the Sadr, and in 1582 he abolished the office as an imperial appointment, dividing the duties among six provincial officers. In practice other officials besides the four great offices specified often enjoyed immense power. Abu-l Fazl, for instance, was never, I think, formally appointed either Vizier or Vakil, but he was for a long time Akbar's most trusted minister and Secretary of State.

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD

The person of the sovereign being regarded as precious beyond everything, the officials of the household occupied positions of high importance. The two principal officials at the palace seem to have been the First Bakshi, some of whose duties have been described above, and who, according to Irvine, is to be identified with the Mir Arz, or Lord of Requests, and secondly, the Palace Commandant. All imperial orders passed through their hands. The various household departments, such as the kitchen, water-supply, stables, and so forth, were carefully organized, but it would be tiresome to go into details. Hakim Humam, the Mir Bakawal, or Master of the Kitchen, possessed great influence at court, and ranked as one of the intimate personal friends of the emperor.[1]

THE IMPERIAL HAREM

The imperial harem constituted a town in itself. No less than

1. Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, p. 474, No. 205; and the *nauratna* picture in the Victoria Memorial Collection, Calcutta. The *nauratna* or 'nine jewels' meant nine friends, namely, Raja Birbal, Raja Man Singh, Raja Todar Mall, Hakim Humam, Mulla Dupiyaza, Faizi, Abu-l Fazl, Mirza Abdu-r rahim, Khan Khanan, and Tansen.

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five thousand women dwelt within the walls, and each of them had a separate apartment. The maintenance and control of such a multitude of women necessitated a carefully devised system of internal administration and the organization of adequate arrangements for discipline. The inmates were divided into sections, each under a female commandant (*daroga*), and the due provision was made for the supply from the ranks of clerks to keep the accounts. A strict method of check was applied to the expenditure, which was on a large scale.

The inside of the enclosure was protected by armed female guards. Eunuchs watched on the outside of it, and beyond them again were companies of faithful Rajputs, while troops of other classes posted at a greater distance gave further security.

More or less similar arrangements must necessarily have been made by earlier rulers, but there seems to be no reason to doubt that Akbar's genius for organization and his rare capacity for mastering the minute details of any subject enabled him to effect practical improvements in the administration of his household and harem, as well as in the external departments of his government.[1] He kept a watchful eye over everybody and everything.

THE STANDING ARMY AND CONTINGENTS

Akbar did not maintain a large standing army, equipped at the expense of the State and paid directly from his treasury, as the Maurya kings in ancient days are said to have done. Most of his military strength consisted of the aggregate of irregular contingents raised and commanded either by autonomous chieftains or by high imperial officers. Then, as now, a large part of the empire was in the possession of hereditary kings or chieftains, who are now known as the rulers of the Native or Protected States. In Akbar's time they recognized more or less effectively the authority of the emperor, which they supported by the more or less regular payment of tribute and the furnishing of military aid on demand. Akbar was willing to allow such kings or chieftains to retain their territories and rank, with full powers of internal administration in their own several fashions, on condition that they should attend court from time to time, humbly do homage, offer valuable gifts, recognize the Padshah as their suzerain, and give him help in his wars. When his power was at its height he is said to have had twenty such princes in constant personal attendance. They often rendered active service in war; as, for instance, the ruler of Khandesh, who fell fighting for Akbar's cause at the battle near Supa (A.D. 1597).

But the emperor relied more on the contingents furnished by the officials whom he himself had appointed for the purpose. Each of them was required to recruit and equip a certain number of men and horses, besides elephants. Regulations to which he devoted much thought and labour were devised with the object of securing the actual recruitment of the numbers prescribed and of preventing fraud in the

1. Compare the arrangements in the Hindu court of Vijaynagar (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 1900, pp. 247, 370, 382).

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provision of horses and equipment. The troops so recruited were cavalry for the most part, the infantry and artillery being of little account.[1] The men brought up to the standards by each great official looked to him as their personal chief. They were not formed into regiments or any other organized body, and were not required to drill or to observe uniformity in dress or arms.

SMALL STANDING ARMY

Blochmann calculated that the standing army, equipped by the State and paid directly from the Treasury, could not have exceeded normally 25,000 men; but we now know from the testimony of Monserrate, who accompanied the emperor, that at the time of the expedition to Kabul (1581)[2] Akbar had 45,000 cavalry equipped and paid by himself, besides 5,000 elephants and an unnumbered host of men on foot. The latter, who were little esteemed, included all sorts of people besides regular soldiers. The effort made in 1581 was exceptional, Akbar's life and throne being then in imminent danger, and it may be accepted as certain that in ordinary years he did not incur the expense of keeping under arms a force at all as large as that raised to defeat his brother's attack.

The historian specially notes that in 1573, when the emergency in Gujarat had necessitated prompt action, Akbar had opened wide the doors of his treasury and equipped his nobles' contingents at his own expense. Ordinarily, however, the Rajas and *mansabdars* were expected to provide the men of their contingents with all necessaries. Hardly any transport was engaged officially; each man had to make his own arrangements. No commissariat service existed. Supplies were provided by huge bazaars marching with the camp, and by the nomadic tribes of Banjaras, who made a profession of carrying grain with which to feed armies. Similar old-world arrangements continued in India until quite modern times. Under Akbar they were usually effective. Monserrate was much impressed by the plenty and cheapness of provisions in the great camp on its way to the Indus.[3]

MANSABDARS, OR GRADED OFFICIALS

The superior graded officials of the empire were called *mansabdars*, holders of *mansabs*, or official places of rank and profit. The Arabic word *mansab*, which was imported from Turkistan and Persia, simply means 'place'. The earliest mention of the grading of *mansabdars* in India is the statement of Tod that 'Bihar Mall was the first prince of Amber who paid homage to the Muhammadan power. He attended the fortunes of Babur, and received from Humayun

1. 'Verum tota virtus belli in equitatu posita est' (*Commentarius*, p. 585).
2. *Commentarius*, p. 585. Monserrate does not state how many of the 45,000 state-paid cavalry actually took part in the expeditionary force. It consisted of 50,000 cavalry, recruited from diverse nations, and, of course, including chieftains' and officials' contingents; 500 elephants, camels, and infantry of sorts (ibid., p. 582).
3. 'At Sacerdoti, qui in castris erat, magnam admirationem movebat, in tanta multitudine, potissimum elephantum, tanta vilitas annonae, quae Regis provida, et solerti cura, atque diligentia, contingebat' (ibid., p. 581). Terry expressed similar sentiments in the next reign.

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(previous to the Pathan usurpation) the *mansab* of 5,000 as Raja of Amber'.[1] That must have happened about 1584. The next reference to a *mansab* of definite grade known to me occurs in the fifteenth year of Akbar's reign (1570-1), when Baz Bahadur, the ex-king of Malwa, came to court and was appointed a 'mansabdar of 1,000.'[2]

But the systematic grading of the ranks was not accomplished until three years later, in the eighteenth regnal year (1573-4), after the conquest of Gujarat, a landmark in Akbar's career.[3]

The system was based on the fact that the bulk of the army consisted of contingents recruited and supplied by individual chiefs or leaders. The grades fixed by Akbar had originally indicated the number of men which each officer was expected to bring in.[4]

He classified his officers in thirty-three grades, ranging from '*mansabdars* [usually translated as 'commanders'] of 10' to '*mansabdars* of 10,000'. Late in the reign such officers numbered about 1,600 in all, and formed an official nobility. Their appointment, retention, promotion, and dismissal depended solely on the arbitrary will of the sovereign, and no incident of the dignity was heritable. On the contrary, the emperor regarded himself as the heir of all his subjects, and ruthlessly seized the entire property of every deceased official, whose family had to make a fresh start, contingent on the goodwill of the emperor.

The 10,000 and 8,000 grades were reserved exclusively for princes of the royal family. The 7,000 grade was so reserved at first, but later in the reign Raja Todar Mall and one or two other officers were raised to that rank. Each class carried a definite rate of pay, out of which the holder was required to pay the cost of his quota of horses, elephants, beasts of burden, and carts. Further, there were three gradations of rank within each class from 5,000 downwards.

A few examples will make the matter clearer. The table is condensed from Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, p. 248.

Commander of	*Horses*	*Elephants*	*Beasts of burden and carts, with strings of mules*	*Salary, monthly (in rupees)*		
				1st grade	*2nd grade*	*3rd grade*
5,000	340	100	260	30,000	29,000	28,000
1,000	94	31	67	8,200	8,100	8,000
500	30	12	27	2,500	2,300	2,100
100	10	3	7	700	600	500
10	4	—	—	100	82½	75

The pay, in subsequent reigns, was rarely drawn for the whole year, and in some cases only four months' pay was allowed. Various

1. Tod, 'Annals of Amber', chap. i; popular ed., ii, 286.
2. Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, p. 429. He does not name his authority. The statement is not in either the *A.N.* or Badaoni.
3. *A.N.*, iii, 95.
4. The system was borrowed directly from Persia. See Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia*, ed. Crooke, Hakluyt, Soc., 1915, vol. iii, p. 56. The Persian gradation extended from 'a commander of 12,000' to 'commanders of 10'. The Sultans of the Deccan had a similar organization.

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deductions also were then made, and arrears accumulated. But Akbar did not permit such irregularities. The number of men actually supplied rarely agreed with the number indicated by the rank. A 'commander of 5,000' would have done unusually well if he produced 4,000 cavalry, and ordinarily would not be asked for more than a thousand or so. Most of the men brought their own horses. In later times the ranks became purely honorary so far as supplying contingents was concerned.[1]

ADDITIONAL 'SUWAR' RANK

Another complication was introduced by the grant of *suwar* rank in addition to the personal (*zat*) class rank, that is to say, an officer was allowed to add and draw extra pay for a supplementary body of *suwars* or horsemen. The grading within each class depended on the *suwar* addition. 'From 5,000 downwards, an officer was First Class [or grade], if his rank in *zat* and *suwar* were equal; Second Class, if his *suwar* was half his *zat* rank; Third Class, if the *suwar* were less than half the *zat*, or there were no *suwar* at all.' For example :

Commander (*mansabdar*) of 1,000+1,000 *suwar* was first class or grade;

Commander (*mansabdar*) of 1,000+500 *suwar* was second class; and

Commander (*mansabdar*) of 1,000+100 *suwar* was third class.

It is unnecessary to pursue the subject further. Any reader interested will find additional details in the pages of Blochmann and Irvine. The comments of the later author clear up certain points left obscure by the earlier.[2]

'DAKHILI' TROOPS; AHADIS

Troops paid by the State, and not raised by the *mansabdars*, under whose command they were placed, were called *Dakhili*, or 'supplementary'.[3] There was also a body of gentlemen-troopers recruited individually, and called *Ahadis*. They were not distributed among the *mansabdars*' contingents, but were under the separate command of a great noble, and had a Bakshi of their own. The pay of an Ahadi sometimes exceeded 500 rupees a month, but he was paid for only 9½ months in the year.[4]

OFFICIAL TITLES

Mansabdars under the rank of 500 had no extra title. Those ranging from 500 to 2,500 were *Umara*, or Nobles, commonly anglicized as 'Omrah', and the highest classes were Great Nobles, Amir-i Azam. A few individuals from time to time were granted the rank

1. 'As, for instance, ...Lutfullah Khan Sadiq [in eighteenth century], although he held the rank of 7,000, never entertained even seven asses, much less horses or riders on horses' (Irvine, p. 59). Terry, referring to 1617 or 1618, says :— 'He who hath the pay of five or six thousand, must always have one thousand in readiness, or more, according to the king's need of them, and so in proportion all the rest' (ed. 1777, p. 391). According to the same author the salaries of the *mansabdars* were paid punctually (p. 396).
2. *Ain*, vol. i, pp. 236-49; Irvine, pp. 3-11.
3. *Ain*, vol. i, p. 254; Irvine, p. 260.
4. *Ain*, vol. i, p. 249; Irvine, pp. 10, 40, 43.

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of Premier Noble, Amiru-l Umara. Another lofty title occasionaly conferred, was that of Khan Khanan, by which Bairam Khan's son, Abdu-r rahim, is commonly designated.

JAGIRS AND CROWN LANDS

Most of Akbar's predecessors used to pay their officers by grants of land (*jagirs*), administered as temporary estates by the holders, who were expected to defray all their official expenses from the proceeds, that is to say, the land revenue, which otherwise would have been paid to the State. The theory was that the whole produce should be shared between the cultivators and the State, or its assignee. Economic rent was not supposed to exist. Akbar, following the example of the Sur kings, was hostile to the *jagir* system, because it was expensive and gave his nobles too much power and independence. Each *jagirdar* was a little king in his own domain. Akbar devoted much energy to the conversion of *jagirs* into crown lands (*Khalsa*), that is to say, whenever possible, he paid his *mansabdars* by cash salaries, not by assignments of land revenue, administering the crown land territory through his own officers. Thus he secured more money and more power, the two things which he loved most.

FRAUDS ON THE GOVERNMENT

All office-holders, as a rule, did their best to cheat the government.

'False musters were an evil from which the Moghul army suffered even in its most palmy days. Nobles would lend each other the men to make up their quota, or needy idlers from the bazaars would be mounted on the first baggage pony that came to hand and counted in with the others as efficient soldiers.'[1]

Akbar, who made incessant efforts to cope with the Protean forms of roguery practised in his service, admittedly attained only imperfect success. At first he relied on the preparation of minute descriptive rolls for each man. Later, after the conquest of Gujarat, he supplemented that measure by introducing the practice of branding each horse in the service. He trusted chiefly to continual musters and minute personal inspections for the due execution of his orders, which no subordinate was willing to enforce strictly. Indeed, the great Bengal revolt of 1580 was partly due to the resentment provoked by his insisting on the resumption of *jagirs*, the preparation of descriptive roll, and the systematic branding of horses. The last-named precaution had been practised by Sher Shah, and long before his time by Alau-d din Khilji.

ARTILLERY AND INFANTRY

Akbar took great pleasure in watching the practice of mechanical arts, and often worked at them, himself. He paid special attention to the founding of cannon and the manufacture of matchlock guns. He was an excellent shot, and killed a vast quantity of game. His

1. Irvine, p. 45. Compare Falstaff :—'I am damned in hell for swearing to gentlemen my friends, you were good soldiers and [tall ⌊fellows' (*Merry Wives*, Act, II scene ii).

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lucky hit when he shot Jaimall brought about the fall of Chitor. But, in spite of all his efforts, he never succeeded in securing either a tolerably efficient park of artillery or good infantry. His biggest guns were powerless against the walls of Asirgarh, and he fully admitted the superiority of the Portuguese ordnance. He was much disappointed when the astute authorities at Goa politely declined to furnish him with their better weapons. His infantry, too, continued to be of poor quality and little account; and to the end he relied chiefly on his irregular horsemen used in the old Central Asian manner.[1] Akbar made considerable use of elephants, which he kept in large numbers. He used to mount archers or musketeers on them.[2]

WEAKNESS OF THE MILITARY ORGANIZATION

It is abundantly clear that Akbar's military organization was intrinsically weak, although it was far better than that of his happy-go-lucky neighbours. His army could not have stood for a moment against the better kinds of contemporary European troops. Whenever his officers ventured to attack the Portuguese settlements they failed disastrously. His admirable personal qualities alone enabled him to make wonderfully effective use of an instrument essentially inefficient. After his death the quality of the army deteriorated rapidly, until in the latter days of Aurangzeb's reign its proceedings in the Deccan became ridiculous. Even in Akbar's time the court pomp and display maintained on the march and in camp were fatal to real efficiency. Alexander the Great would have made short work of Akbar's mightiest host.

UNWIELDY CAMP, A MOVING CITY

Akbar knew the value of rapid military strokes, unhampered by the cumbrous equipage of an imperial camp, and gave a notable example of his power to strike a stunning blow by his wonderful nine days' ride to Gujarat and the heroic hand-to-hand fights in which he engaged on his arrival in that province. But ordinarily he was content to follow the current practice and to encumber his fighting force when on the march with all the paraphernalia of the court and the incubus of a moving city. He could afford to run the risks involved in that practice because he never encountered an enemy sufficiently alert to take advantages of the opportunities offered to a mobile and enterprising foe. Father Monserrate, who accompanied him on the Kabul expedition, the most carefully planned military operation of the reign, gives a vivid account of the pomp and magnitude of the imperial camp, which can be amplified from the detailed descriptions in the *Ain*. The imperial consorts selected to accompany their lord were carried by she-elephants and shut up in decorated cages. The female servants, riding on camels, shaded by white umbrellas, followed their mistresses, the *cortege* being protected by a guard of five hundred men under the

1. 'Until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the French and English had demonstrated the vast superiority of disciplined infantry, the Indian foot-soldier was little more than a night watchman, and guardian over baggage, either in camp or on the line of march '(Irvine, p. 57).
2. Ibid., p. 175.

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command of grave seniors. The treasure was conveyed on a multitude of elephants and camels. Ordnance stores were carried on carts, and the imperial furniture and belongings on mules.[1] The state records also accompanied the army.

Abu-l Fazl states that

'His Majesty has invented an admirable method of encamping his troops, which is a source of much comfort to them. On an open ground they pitch the imperial seraglio, the audience hall, and the *Naqqarah Khanah* (musicians' gallery), all occupying a space the length of which is 1530 yards. To the right and left, and behind, is an open space of 360 yards, which no one but the guards are allowed to enter. Within it, at a distance of 100 yards to the left centre, are the tents of Maryam Makani [the Queen-Mother], Gulabadan Begam [Akbar's aunt], and other chaste ladies, and the tents of Prince Daniyal; to the right, those of Prince Salim; and to the left, those of Prince Shah Murad. Behind their tents, at some distance, the offices and workshops are placed, and at a further distance of 30 yards behind them, at the four corners of the camp, the bazaars. The nobles are encamped without on all sides, according to their rank.'[2]

Such arrangements, which must have been slightly varied in detail as occasion required, however well organized they were for a peaceful imperial progress, could not have been maintained in war against any capable enemy. In Aurangzeb's days the luxury and cumbrousness of the imperial encampment were carried still further to such a degree that the army became absolutely useless. If Akbar had had the misfortune to encounter the Maratha light horse it is possible that he might not have fared much better than his great-grandson did. Akbar's military organization had in it the seeds of decay and failure.[3]

LOCAL DESPOTISMS

The whole framework of the government, as has been said, was military. The only considerable officials who did not take rank as army officers were those charged with purely ecclesiastical and civil legal duties, such as the Sadrs and Kazis. Each of the more considerable *jagirdars* and *mansabdars* was vested as such with civil administrative powers, practically unlimited. A local governor was not bound by any rules of either substantive law or procedure, unless in so far as his conscience required him to follow the Koranic precepts. He was the representative of the imperial autocrat, and as such could do much as he pleased within his jurisdiction, subject to the risk of being recalled to court and punished if complaints reached the ears of his sovereign. Ordinarily, the subjects had to make the best of the treatment which their local rulers thought fit to give them. 'It is a long, long way to Delhi', as the proverb says, and nothing but exceptionally outrageous oppression had a chance of eliciting reproof from head-quarters. Even Akbar, one of the most vigilant and diligent of monarchs, could exercise only slight control over distant subordinates.

1. *Commentarius*, p. 580.
2. *Ain*, vol. i, p. 47.
3. For all details see Horn's and Irvine's works, as in Bibliography.

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The government, in short, was carried on by a vast multitude of petty local despotisms, kept in order to a certain extent by an overpowering autocracy at the top.

AKBAR'S EARLY FISCAL MEASURES

The principle laid down by Kautilya, the early Hindu writer on statecraft, that 'all undertakings depend upon finance. Hence foremost attention should be paid to the Treasury', was present to the mind of Akbar from the time that he emerged from 'behind the veil', and began to regard seriously the duties of his position. The following pages give a brief summary of the principal fiscal measures of the reign. As early as 1565 or 1566 Muzaffar Khan Turbati did something to reform the financial confusion which had existed during Maham Anaga's brief tenure of power, but the details of his measures are not recorded. Two or three years later (1568) Shihab Khan (Shihabu-d din) was appointed Finance Minister in the room of Abdullah Khan. The new minister was a careful expert and did his best to check embezzlement, although hampered by the fact that 'officers, who did not much embezzle, were few'. The exact nature of the measures taken by him is not known. It is impossible to attach any definite meaning to Abu-l Fazl's enigmatic statement that 'he abolished the yearly settlement, which was a cause of great expense and led to embezzlements, and he established a rate, and by his acuteness suppressed the fraudulent.'[1]

More definite reforms were effected in the fifteenth regnal year (1570-1), when Muzaffar Khan Turbati, with the assistance of Todar Mall, prepared a revised assessment of the land revenue based on estimates framed by the local Kanungos and checked by ten superior Kanungos at headquarters.[2] The amount of the demand was somewhat less than in former years, but the discrepancy between the estimate and the actual receipts was diminished. The early assessments had been simply rough guesses, made with little or no help from hereditary officials with local knowledge.

TODAR MALL'S 'SETTLEMENT' OF GUJARAT

The conquest of Gujarat in 1573 gave Todar Mall the opportunity for further exercise of his special abilities. He was sent to make the land revenue assessment of the newly-conquered province, and was engaged on the task for six months. Certain districts which had been conquered by the local kings were restored to neighbouring jurisdictions, so that the provincial area as taken under direct imperial administration was largely reduced. We now hear for the first time of systematic measurement as a preliminary to the 'settlement', or assessment

1. *A.N.*, ii, 488.

2. The Kanungo was an officer retained as a special authority on all customs and usages connected with the tenure of land. The office was hereditary. It still survives in the United Provinces in a modified form. Some of the old Kanungo families used to be mines of information, and they were often in possession of ancient documents. The word Kanungo means 'expounder of the law', or 'customary rules'. Akbar's Kanungos were graded in three classes, with allowances respectively equivalent to twenty, thirty, and fifty rupees a month (*Ain*, vol. ii, p. 66; book ii, Ain 12, and p. 88).

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of the land revenue; 64 out of 184 *parganas* or subdivisions were surveyed, and the measurement was so far completed in 1575. About two-thirds of the area measured were found to be cultivated or fit for cultivation, and in that portion of the total area the assessment was determined with reference to the area and quality of the land. In the rest of the province the government share of the produce was determined either by actual division of the grain heaps at harvest time or by the official selection of a certain portion of each field while the crop was still standing. The total revenue demand appears to have been largely reduced when compared with that levied by the kings, but any attempt to give exact figures is beset by formidable difficulties.

Payment in either money or kind was permitted, a preference being given to cash collections. The collectors were instructed that 'when it would not prove oppressive the value of the grain should be taken in ready money at the market price'. The 'settlement' is said perhaps erroneously, to have been made for a term of ten years, with a demand uniform for each year.

Certain other minor improvements were introduced at the same time. It thus appears that all the essential features of Raja Todar Mall's later 'settlement' in Northern India were anticipated by him in Gujarat, in 1574-5.

Shihab Khan, who governed the province from 1577 until 1583 or 1584, continued to develop the arrangements made by Todar Mall.[1]

The reader may remember that at about the same time (1574-5) as the Gujarat settlement, the conversion of *jagirs* into crown lands (*khalsa*), the grading of *mansabdars*, and the branding of army horses had been taken in hand.

THE KARORIS

In 1575-6, as already described in chapter V, Akbar decided to disregard the old traditional local jurisdictions for revenue and administrative purposes called 'parganas', and to divide the empire as it then existed, with the important exceptions of Bengal, Bihar, and Gujarat, into 182 purely artificial areas, each yielding a 'crore' or ten millions of *tankas*, equivalent to 250,000 rupees. The officers appointed to collect the revenue were styled Amils or Karoris. The change was not a success and was not persisted in, but the title of Amil or Karori long survived.

SUBAS, SARKARS, MAHALS OR PARGANAS, AND DASTURS

The most important reforms in fiscal administration were those effected in 1579-80, the 24th and 25th regnal years. The empire, as it then stood, was divided into twelve Subas, or viceregal governments, roughly equivalent in rank to the provinces, each under a local government, of modern times. The Subas comprised more than 100 Sarkars or Districts, each Sarkar being an aggregate of Parganas, also called Mahals. For example, the Suba of Agra included 13 Sarkars and 203 Parganas. The Sarkar of Agra, 1,864 square miles

1. *Bombay Gazetteer* (1896), vol. i, part i, pp. 221-4, 265-9; Bayley, *Gujarat*, pp. 20-3.

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in area, comprised 31 Parganas.[1] The territorial gradation was essentially the same as that now in existence in Northern India under different names, but, of course, infinite changes in detail have occurred.

The statistics in the *Ain* are arranged accordingly, without reference to the *karori* system.

PRINCIPLES OF THE TEN YEARS' 'SETTLEMENT'.

The early rough guess-work assessments had been largely based on the statistics of prices current, so far as they had any statistical foundation at all. It is admitted that they were largely influenced by the 'caprice of the moment'. The principles of Todar Mall's new 'settlement' are explained by Abu-l Fazl in the following terms :

'When through the prudent management of the Sovereign the empire was enlarged in extent, it became difficult to ascertain each year the prices current and much inconvenience was caused by the delay. On the one hand, the husbandmen complained of excessive exactions, and on the other, the holder of assigned lands was aggrieved on account of the revenue balances.[2]

'His Majesty devised a remedy for these evils and in the discernment of his world-adorning mind fixed a ten-years'-settlement; the people were thus made contented and their gratitude was abundantly manifested.'

The text of the next following sentences in the *Ain*[3] being uncertain and the meaning obscure, it is better to substitute a summary. It appears that the new assessment was based upon the mean or average of the ten years from the 15th to the 24th regnal year [A.D. 1570-1 to 1579-80]. Accurate statistics for the first five years of that period not being obtainable, the authority of 'persons of probity' was accepted. The figures for the second group of five years were ascertained with approximate accuracy, and in the final assessment the area under

1. Ain 15 of book ii, *Ain*, vol ii, pp. 88, 96, 115, 182, with some discrepancies in the numbers. The Kanungos used to prepare manuals or codes of instructions and tables for the use of revenue officers in particular territories. Local customs and usages vary too much to permit of one uniform code. Such local codes, specimens of which survive, were called *Dasturu-l 'Amal*, or 'Customary Practice'; and for convenience of administration parganas which followed the one code were grouped together, and the groups became known as Dasturs. Thus the Sarkar of Agra had four codes or *Dasturu-l 'amals* used in it, and consequently was said to comprise four Dasturs. The grouping of Parganas in Dasturs, which never was of much importance, has been long obsolete. See Elliot, ed. Beames, *Supplemental Glossary* (1869), vol. ii, pp. 82-146, s.v. Dastur. E. Thomas, who had read many of the documents, says :— '*Dastur-al 'Amals* are difficult to describe, as it is rash to say what they may not contain amid the multifarious instructions to Revenue Officers. They combine occasionally a court guide, a civil list, an army list, a diary of the period, summaries of revenue returns, home and foreign; practical hints about measures, weights, and coins, with itineraries, and all manner of useful and instructive information' [*Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire* (1871), p. 14 *m.*]. In the older 'settlements' under the British Government the preparation of the *Dasturu-l 'Amal* was continued under the name of *wajibul- 'arz* which was prepared for each *mahal* separately, not for groups of *mahals*.

2. The holder of a *jagir* was authorized to appropriate the land revenue or government share of the produce, which, if his *jagir* had been crown land, would have gone to the Treasury. Heavy balances, therefore, were a grave personal grievance to him.

3. *Ain*, vol. ii, p. 88; Moreland and Yusuf Ali (*J.R.A.S.*, 1918, pp. 1-42).

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the highly rated superior crops was taken into account. No term for the duration of the 'settlement' was fixed.

LINEAR AND SUPERFICIAL MEASURES

Akbar and his advisers fixed the units of measurement as the necessary preliminary to survey. The *gaz* or yard was determined as being equal to 41 digits or finger-breadths, or about 33 inches. The *tanab*, *jarib*, or 'chain', was 60 *gaz*, and the *bigha*, or unit of superficial measure, was 60 *gaz* square, or 3,600 square *gaz*. As a matter of fact, the exact length of Akbar's Ilahi *gaz*, on which the area of his *bigha* depends, is not known. The precaution of depositing at the capital carefully attested metal standards is not mentioned as having been taken; and if it had been, the standards would have been lost long ago. The assumption adopted by the British revenue authorities in 1825-6 that the Ilahi *gaz* should be deemed the equivalent of 33 inches (=83.82 cm.) was an arbitrary decision, formed for convenience, because inquiry showed that calculated values ranged from 29.20 to 33.70 inches.

Measurements had been made formerly by a hempen rope, which contracted or lengthened according to the amount of moisture in the air. From A.D. 1575 the rope was replaced by a *jarib* of bamboos joined by iron rings, which remained of constant length.[1]

CLASSIFICATION OF LANDS

The first step in the new system of 'settlement' operations was measurement. The next was the classification of lands; the third was the fixation of rates for application to the classified areas.

Modern 'settlement officers' usually prefer a classification based on either the natural or the artificial qualities of the soil, and divide the land into classes of clay, loam, irrigated, or unirrigated, and so forth. Todar Mall and Akbar took no count of soils, whether natural or artificial, and based their classification on the continuity or discontinuity of cultivation. The four classes were :

1. *Polaj*, land continuously cultivated.
2. *Parauthi*, land left fallow for a year or two in order to recover its strength.
3. *Chachar*, land that has lain fallow for three or four years.
4. *Banjar*, land uncultivated for five years or more.

Each of the first three classes was subdivided into three grades, and the average produce of the class was calculated from the mean of the three grades in it. For instance, the average produce of what in *polaj* land was worked out as nearly 13 *maunds* (12 m. 38¼ s.), the produce per *bigha* in each of the three grades being, first grade, 18 m. 0s.; second grade, 12 m. 0s.; and third grade, 8 m. 35s.

The government share was one-third of the average, or in the above case, 4 m. 12¾ s.

Parauti land, when actually cultivated, paid the same as *polaj*. *Chachar* and *banjar* land, when brought under cultivation, were

1. *Ain*, book ii, Ains 8-10; Prinsep's 'Useful Tables', in *Essays*, ed. E. Thomas (1858), vol. ii, pp. 122-30.

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taxed progressively until in the fifth year they became as *polaj*.

Only the area actually under cultivation was measured or assessed.[1]

NUMEROUS CROP RATES

The area under each crop had its own rate. The kinds of crops being numerous, the multitude of rates quoted in Abu-l Fazl's condensed tables is extraordinary. The number used in the preliminary calculations must have been enormous. The use of so many rates made the calculations needlessly complicated, and no settlement officer nowadays would dream of working such a complex system. Abu-l Fazl, who must have controlled a gigantic statistical office, had the rates worked out for nineteen years (6th of 24th regnal years inclusive) for each crop in *polaj* land, which served as the standard. A separate set of rates was compiled for the spring, and another for the autumn harvest. Those for the Subas of Agra, Allahabad, Oudh, Delhi, Lahore, Multan, and Malwa are recorded in Ain 14 of book ii.

The figures offer many difficulties and problems to expert criticism. It seems to be doubtful whether or not laborious analysis of them can yield many results of value. The subject is too technical for discussion in these pages. Abu-l Fazl, who was not a practical revenue expert, probably did not thoroughly understand the statistics collected and tabulated by his *kanungos* and clerks. It is no wonder that by the time his seven years of unremitting labour and the fifth revision of his great book were concluded he was very weary.[2]

AKBAR'S SETTLEMENT WITH CULTIVATORS DIRECT

Wilton Oldham is right in affirming that 'Akbar's revenue system was ryotwaree' (*raiyatwari*); and that 'the actual cultivators of the soil were the persons responsible for the annual payment of the fixed revenue'.[3] The 'settlement' was not made either with farmers of the revenue, as was afterwards done in Bengal by Lord Cornwallis, or with the headmen of villages, as in the modern settlements of the United Provinces. Many passages in the *Ain* prove the correctness of Oldham's proposition. For instance, the collector is directed to 'stipulate that the husbandman bring his rents himself at definite periods so that the malpractices of low intermediaries may be avoided.'[4] The Bitikchi, or accountant, was instructed that 'when the survey of the village is complete, he shall determine the assessment of each cultivator and specify the revenue of the whole village'.[5] But if the village headman should aid the authorities by collecting the full rental, he

1. The collector of the revenue was instructed : 'Let him increase the facilities of the husbandman year by year, and under the pledge of his engagements take nothing beyond the actual area under tillage' (*Ain*, book ii, Ain 5; vol. ii, p. 44).

2. See Abu-l Fazl's extremely interesting autobiography in *Ain*, vol. iii, pp. 400-51, especially pp. 402, 411, 415. Mr. W. H. Moreland, C.S.I., C.I.E., is engaged on the study of the agricultural statistics in the *Ain*, and his essays elucidate many points.

3. *Memoir of the Ghazeepoor District* (Allahabad, 1870), part i, p. 82. The author served under Mr. Wilton Oldham, who was a learned and skilled revenue expert.

4. *Ain*, book ii, Ain 5; vol. ii, p. 46.

5. Ibid., Ain 6; vol. ii, p. 48.

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was to be allowed 1/40th of each *bigha*, or otherwise rewarded 'according to the measure of his services'.[1] No special engagement was made with the headman, who was simply paid a commission not exceeding 2½ per cent. for work done.

INSTRUCTIONS TO REVENUE OFFICIALS

The instructions recorded for the several officers of the revenue department are full and judicious, and may be compared with Thomason's *Directions to Collectors*, a book with which I had to be familiar in my youth. The cultivators were to be allowed ordinarily the option of paying in kind, which they might do in any one of five different ways. But for certain of the more special and valuable crops, such as sugar-cane and poppy, cash rates were obligatory. Boundaries in the areas surveyed were to be properly marked. The records prescribed was substantially the same as those used by modern settlement officers in the United Provinces, and elaborate provision was made for the transmission of both statistics and cash to the head-quarters of the province. The 'royal presence' to which both the figures and the money were transmitted must mean the official capital of the province, not the imperial capital. The collection of miscellaneous cesses was prohibited, and Abu-l Fazl gives a long list of such cesses which were universally remitted by Akbar's order. The statistics included regular prices current. The treasury arrangements were much the same as those in force some years ago in the United Provinces, and no doubt still maintained for the most part.

In short, the system was an admirable one. The principles were sound, and the practical instructions to officials all that could be desired. But a person who has been in close touch, as the author has been, with the revenue administration from top to bottom, cannot help feeling considerable scepticism concerning the conformity of practice with precept. Even all the resources of the modern Anglo-Indian Government often fail to secure such conformity, and in Akbar's time supervision undoubtedly was far less strict and searching. Histories tell us hardly anything about the working of revenue legislation in actual practice. Stray hints are all that can be gleaned from books. A notable instance is the discrepancy already cited between the accounts of the working of the *karori* system, as expounded by Abu-l Fazl and by Badaoni. We find, too, that proclamations abolishing miscellaneous cesses and imposts were often repeated, and so draw the inference that the benevolent intentions of the autocrat were commonly defeated by distant governors enjoying practical independence during their term of office.

SEVERITY OF THE ASSESSMENT

The revenue system of the empire at the time described by Abu-l Fazl was not uniform, but varied and was adapted to local conditions. The *Ain* speaks definitely of three systems under the names *Ghallabaksh*, *Zabt*, and *Nasaq*. The first of these is the original Indian system; the second is the regulation system fully described in the *Ain* and chiefly

1. Ibid., Ain 5; vol. ii, p. 44.

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discussed in these pages; while the third is not specially defined or described in the text. Doubts as to the true readings and the meanings of technical terms render positive statements risky, but so much seems clear that the assessment was severe, and that large remissions must have been necessary in unfavourable seasons. Remissions were not easy to obtain, if we may judge from probabilities and the experience of later times. Little information on the subject for Akbar's reign seems to be available, although the collector was instructed to report cases of disaster to the crops, and submit an estimate of the amount. No specific case of the action taken on such official reports appears to be on record. But in 1586 (31st year) more than a million of rupees was remitted from the revenues of the crown lands in the Subas of Delhi, Oudh, and Allahabad, because prices were so low that the peasantry could not pay full cash rates. A similar remission had been made in the previous year.

Abu-l Fazl admits that 'throughout the whole extent of Hindustan, where at all times so many enlightened monarchs have reigned, one-sixth of the produce was exacted; in the Turkish Empire, Iran, and Turan, and fifth, a sixth, and a tenth respectively'.[1]

But Akbar asked for one-third, that is to say, double the Indian and Persian proportion. Abu-l Fazl seems to think that the abolition of a host of miscellaneous cesses and imposts justified the doubling of the government share of the produce. But it is impossible to doubt that in practice many of those imposts and cesses continued to be collected, and as Oldham drily remarks in a note, 'most, if not all, of these taxes were subsequently revived'.

He calculated that in the Ghazipur District Akbar's revenue assessment worked out at 2 rupees per acre as against 1½ in 1870, the assessment then in force being that made in 1789, when the country was in a very depressed and backward state. He points out that 'in Akbar's time only the best lands were cultivated', the cultivated area in the Ghazipur District being then only about one-fifth of the tillage in 1870. Moreover, the government in Northern India no longer deals directly with the cultivator, as Akbar did. Private rent has been allowed to develop, so that the crops have to provide for at least three parties, the State, the landlord, and the tenant. Akbar did not recognize the existence of a landlord class. He left the actual cultivator as much of the crops as was considered to be necessary for tolerable existence, and took the rest for the State.[2]

The assessment unquestionably was severe. The question whether or not it was actually oppressive depends on the nature of the administration, concerning which hardly any evidence exists. We have no knowledge of the extent to which remissions were granted, or as to the amount of the discrepancy between the assessment and the ordinary actual collections. In all probability cases of hardship

1. *Ain*, book ii, Ain 7; vol. ii, p. 55. But in the Ajmer Suba only one-seventh or one-eighth of the produce was taken as revenue, and very little was paid in cash (*Ain*, vol. ii, p. 267). In Kashmir Akbar took half the crop. The local Sultans used to take two-thirds (ibid., p. 366). For the remissions see *A.N.*, iii, 643, 749.

2. Oldham, op. cit., p. 83.

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must have been numerous. The scanty evidence available concerning the economic condition of the country during Akbar's reign will be discussed in the next chapter.[1]

THE LAND REVENUE OF THE EMPIRE

The best set of figures indicating the amount of the imperial income derived from the land revenue is that given by President van den Broecke as the sum of the collections in 1605 at the time of the accession of Jahangir, according to Akbar's official accounts. He states that the annual collections from the provinces named by him (with their dependencies, *cum limitibus*) amounted to 174,500,000 rupees (17 'crores' and 45 lakhs), or, taking the rupee to be worth 2*s.*, £17,500,000 sterling. That sum may or may not have included other items besides land revenue, but certainly was such revenue in the main. If the rupee be valued at 2*s.* 6*d.*, we may say that Akbar's share of the crops was worth £20,000,000 sterling to him at the close of his reign. The ordinary civil and military expenses were defrayed from the revenue so stated; the gigantic hoards of coin, precious metals, and jewels stored in the treasure cities being accumulated from plunder, from the presents continually offered, and from escheats. The Dutch author's figures include the Deccan provinces which had not been annexed when the *Ain* was compiled.[2]

THE SIPAH-SALAR, SUBADAR, OR GOVERNOR

We now pass to the executive as distinguished from the fiscal or revenue administration. The organization was of the simplest possible kind. Each of the fifteen provinces or Subas was a miniature replica of the empire, and the Subadar, as long as he remained in office, had powers practically unlimited. The essentially military character of the government is marked by the fact that in the *Ain*, the provincial viceroy or Subadar, as he was called in later times, is designated as Sipahsalar, or commander-in-chief. He is described as 'the vicegerent of His Majesty. The troops and people of the province are under his orders, and their welfare depends upon his just administration'. It is needless to transcribe the admirable copy-book maxims which enjoin him to practise all the virtues, but a few of the more practical instructions possess special interest and may be cited. When good counsel

1. According to Sikh tradition, Akbar remitted the land revenue of the Panjab for the famine year, 1595-6, in deference to the intercession of Guru Arjun (Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, iii, 84).

2. De Laet, p. 206/215; E. Thomas, *The Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire* (1871), pp. 5-21, 52-4. The names of the provinces, Kandahar, Kabul, Kashmir, Ghazni, Gujarat, Sind or Tatta, Khandesh, Burhanpur, Berar, Bengal, Orissa, Oudh, Malwa, Agra, and Delhi, are easily recognized in the author's spelling, except 'Benazaed' tacked on to Ghazni (*Ghassenie, & Benazaed*), which I cannot identify. It is odd to find Burhanpur and Khandesh distinguished. The list does not tally with the list of Akbar's Subas in the *Ain*, but the number, 15, is the same. During Akbar's reign and the early years of Jahangir's the trade with Europe was so little developed that a definite sterling exchange rate for the rupee hardly existed. De Laet (not van den Broecke) puts it as ranging from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 9*d.* (p. 135/141). He also quotes a 2*s.* 3*d.* rate, which was that usually current in the time of Shahjahan. Terry (p. 113) gives the range in 1618 as from 2*s.* 3*d.* to 2*s.* 9*d.*

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failed to produce the desired effect on evildoers, the governor was to be 'swift to punish by reprimands, threats, imprisonment, stripes, or amputation of limb, but he must use the utmost deliberation before severing the bond of the principle of life'. It will be observed that the penalties in the list do not include fines. The horrid punishment of mutilation, which is prescribed by the Koran, was used freely.

Neither Akbar nor Abu-l Fazl had any regard for the judicial formalities of oaths and witnesses. The governor, who like all Asiatic rulers was expected to hear many criminal cases in person, and to dispose of them in a sharp, summary fashion, was enjoined not to be satisfied with witnesses and oaths, but to trust rather to his own acuteness and knowledge of physiognomy, aided by close examination. For 'from the excessive depravity of human nature and its covetousness, no dependence can be placed on a witness or his oath'. The judge should be competent to distinguish the oppressor from the oppressed by the help of his own impartiality and knowledge of character; and, having come to a decision, he should act on it.

The proceedings were verbal, no written record being prepared.[1]

The executive authority was expected to obtain help in his judicial duties from the Kazi, an officer learned in Muslim law, and if need were he might appoint a Mir Adl, or justiciary, to carry out the Kazi's finding.[2]

THE FAUJDAR, OR DISTRICT COMMANDANT

The province was divided for executive purposes into districts, each composed of several parganas, each such district, probably identical with the area denominated Sarkar in the *Ain*, being governed by a Faujdar, or commandant, as the deputy of the Sipahsalar or governnor of the province. The Faujdar was expected to reduce rebels, always numerous, and, whenever necessary, to use his troops against recalcitrant villagers in order to enforce payment of the government dues. 'When he had captured the rebel camp, he must observe equity in the division of the spoil and reserve a fifth for the royal exchequer. If a balance of revenue be due from the village this should be first taken into account.' The existence of such instructions is clear proof of the extremely imperfect manner in which order was maintained even in the best days of the Mogul empire. Akbar usually had a rebellion somewhere or other on his hands, and the unrecorded outbreaks of disorder in the provinces, summarily dealt with by the Faujdars, must have been innumerable.[3]

THE KOTWAL

In towns the repression of crime, the maintenance of public order and decency, and all duties of a police nature were entrusted to the Kotwal. If in any town there happened to be no Kotwal, the collector of the revenue was bound to take the police duties on himself.

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1. 'Everything is done verbally' : *e tudo se iulga uerdalmente* [(Monserrate, *Relacam*, in *J. & Proc. A.S.B.*, 1912, p. 201).
2. Book ii, Ains 1 and 3; *Ain*, vol. ii, pp. 37-41.
3. 'His people are continually in revolt against him' : *na se acabam de aleuatar cotra elle* [Monserrate, *Relacam* (1582), in *J. & Proc. A.S.B.*, 1912, p. 216].

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In modern India the offices of collector and magistrate of the District are usually combined in one person. The Kotwal was authorized to inflict penalties for breach of regulations, extending even to mutilation. Probably he could not legally execute a prisoner without the sanction of superior authority, but the point is not determined by the books. We may feel assured that if an energetic officer chose to take the responsibility of drastic action against evil-doers he would not have been troubled by official censure. The whole administration was absolutely personal and despotic, directed to the stringent collection of a heavy assessment, the provision of numerous military forces, and the maintenance of imperfect public order in a rough and ready fashion under the sanction of ferocious punishments, inflicted arbitrarily by local despots.

The penalties in ordinary use included impalement, trampling by elephants, beheading, amputation of the right hand, and severe flogging.[1] But there was no effective law to hinder the infliction of many other cruel forms of punishment according to the caprice of the official.[2]

SPECIAL DUTIES OF THE KOTWAL

The duties of the Kotwal, as defined by Abu-l Fazl, were essentially the same as those prescribed for the Nagaraka, or Town Prefect, in the old Hindu books. The Kotwal was expected to know everything about everybody. In order to acquire such knowledge he was bound to employ spies, or detectives in modern language, to keep up registers of houses and persons, and to watch the movements of strangers. He was responsible for the regulation of prices, and the use of correct weights and measures. It was his business to take charge of the property of any deceased or missing person who had left no heir.

He was required to see to the observance of Akbar's special ordinances. Those included the universal prohibition of the slaughter of oxen, buffaloes, horses, or camels; the prevention of 'suttee' against the inclination of the woman; prohibition of circumcision before the age of twelve, and of any slaughter of any animals on many days in the year, as prescribed by imperial order. It was also his duty to enforce the observance of the Ilahi calendar and of the special festivals and ritual practices enjoined by the emperor. An energetic Kotwal could always find plenty of occupation.[3]

AKBAR IN PUBLIC AUDIENCE AND IN COUNCIL

Every institution of the empire derived its existence from and was dependent for its continuance on the all-powerful will of the sovereign. The most fitting conclusion to this chapter, therefore, will be a glimpse of Akbar on his throne and in council.

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1. Monserrate, *Relacam*, p. 194.
2. Prince Salim when at Allahabad inflicted the horrible penalty of flaying alive, which was commonly ordered by Mongol chiefs, and was inflicted by Babur on at least one occasion. Akbar disapproved of that form of cruelty.
3. 'The Faujdar', book ii, Ain 2; 'the Mir Adl and the Kazi', ibid'., Ain 3; 'the Kotwal', ibid.. Ain 4; 'the Collector of the Revenue', ibid., Ain 5; in *Ain*, vol. ii, pp. 40-7.

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Before daybreak his people, high and low, assembled in the outer court of the palace to wait for the appearance of their lord. Shortly after sunrise he showed himself to his subjects of all ranks, who watched eagerly for the *darsan*, or view of him on whom their good or evil fortune depended. Before retiring he often disposed of matters of business. His second formal public appearance generally took place after the first watch of the day, but sometimes at a later hour. Only persons of distinction were then admitted. He also frequently appeared informally at other hours at the window (*jharokha*) opening on the audience hall, and would sometimes stand there for two hours, hearing petitions, receiving reports, disposing of judicial cases, or inspecting parades of men or animals. Usually he preferred to stand, but would sometimes sit, either cross-legged on cushions in the Asiatic manner, or on a raised throne after the European fashion. The princes and great nobles were ranged near him according to their several degrees.

The proper officers, who came on duty in accordance with a regular roster, presented petitions or persons with due form and solemnity, and orders were passed at once. Scribes stood by who took accurate notes of every word which fell from his lips.[1]

In private council he was ready to hear the opinions of his inner circle of advisers. It was his practice to announce the view he took and his reasons. Ordinarily his resolve would be greeted by all with expressions of assent and the prayer, 'Peace be with the King'. But if any one present felt and expressed doubts, His Majesty would listen patiently to the objections raised, and reserve the intimation of his decision. Whatever anybody might say, the final resolve was his alone.[2]

1. The practice was continued by Jahangir. 'And when the King sits and speaks to any of his people publicly, there is not a word falls from him that is not written by some scriveners, or scribes, that stand round about him' (Terry, ed. 1777, p. 393). So also at Vijayanagar (Nuniz in Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 375). Jahangir used to appear three times a day.

2. *Ain*, vol. i, pp. 156-9; Ains 72-4 of book i; Monserrate *Relacam*, p. 202; Peruschi, p. 24.

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CHAPTER XIV

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE

THE 'SIMPLE ANNALS OF THE POOR'

'A HISTORY of the people', Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole observes, 'is usually assumed in the present day to be more stimulating and instructive than the records of kings and courts; but, even if true, this can only be understood of Western peoples, of peoples who strive to go forward, or at least change. In the East, the people does not change, and there, far more than among more progressive races, the "simple annals of the poor", however moving and pathetic, are indescribably trite and monotonous, compared with the lives of those more fortunate, to whom much has been given in opportunity, wealth, power, and knowledge.'[1]

Mr. Lane-Poole is right. The Indian commonalty has no history that can be told. There has been practically no evolution of institutions, and when we read descriptions of Indian social conditions recorded by Megasthenes twenty-two centuries ago, we feel that his words are still applicable in the main to present conditions in India 'up-country', where the ancient structure of society and the habits of daily life have been very slightly affected by changes of government or by modern influences.

In Europe we can watch with intense interest the slow overthrow of paganism by Christianity, the conflict between Roman and Teutonic ideals, the birth and decay of the feudal system, the growth of municipal autonomy, the development of representative government, and a hundred other political and social changes, which go down to the very roots of national life, and make the Europe of to-day fundamentally different from the Europe of Alexander the Great.

LACK OF MATERIAL

Although it would be absurd to affirm that India does not change from age to age, or that there is nothing in its history at all comparable with the changes in Europe, it is true that basic revolutions in essential institutions have been few. The Indian autocrat, whatever his name might be, always was essentially the same in kind, while the daily life of the twentieth-century villager differs little from that of his ancestor two thousand years ago. The history of India in the Muhammadan period must necessarily be a chronicle of kings, courts, and conquests, rather than one of national and social evolution. The main interest of the story must lie in the delineation of the characters of individual rulers, who, although essentially one in type, yet varied widely in personal qualities. In Akbar's case that personal

1. *Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule*, 1903, Preface, p.v.

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interest is supreme. He was truly a great man and a great king deserving of the most attentive study.

But when we try to picture the effect of his qualities on the people whom he conquered and governed, and seek to decide whether or not they were happier and more prosperous under his rule than under that of many other despots personally inferior in character and genius, it is not easy to draw even an outline sketch. The record is painfully defective. We hardly ever hear anything definite in the histories about the common people or their mode of life. Information about the actual working of the revenue administration, a matter all-important to the Indian peasant, is almost wholly lacking, and the record of the state of education, agriculture, and commerce is extremely meagre.

THE AIN-I-AKBARI

A reader glancing hastily at the *Ain-i Akbari*, or 'Institutes of Akbar', and seeing the elaborate statistical tables, the prices current, the details of wages paid, and the chapters headed education, building materials, shawl manufacture, &c., might suppose that Abu-l Fazl's remarkable work contains ample materials for an economic history or description of the country under the rule of his master. But closer study would soon dispel the illusion. All subjects are considered solely with reference to the sovereign and the court, and little or no attempt is made to compare the conditions under Akbar with those existing under his predecessors. The important subject of 'Regulations regarding Education' (book ii, Ain 25), for instance, is dismissed with a few perfunctory words intimating that boys should be taught reading and writing in an intelligent way, and should be required to read 'books on morals, arithmetic, the notation peculiar to arithmetic, agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, the rules of government, medicine, logic, the theological (*ilahi*), the mathematical and physical (*riyazi* and *tabi'i*) sciences, as well as history, all of which may be gradually acquired'. Particular school-books are recommended for Sanskrit studies. 'No one should be allowed to neglect those things which the present time requires.' That is all. The section is closed by the baseless assertion that 'these regulations shed a new light on schools, and cast a bright lustre over Muslim schools (*madrasahs*)'. The curriculum recommended obviously has no relation to the facts. No school in India or elsewhere has ever attempted to work such a programme. The author simply desired to lay another morsel of flattery on the altar of Akbar's shrine.

DIFFICULTIES OF INTERPRETATION

When the statistics in the *Ain* are examined with attention something more may be learned, although the figures offer many difficulties of interpretation. Some of the difficulties which embarrass the student of the revenue statistics have been already mentioned. When the tables of prices and wages are considered obstacles to com-

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plete understanding of them become immediately manifest. As a preliminary, the meaning of the terms referring to coinage, weights, and measures has to be settled. That can be done with a considerable, although not absolute, degree of certainty. The figures themselves, apart from the question of arithmetical and copyists' errors, suggest doubts of many kinds. The tables published by Abu-l Fazl are made up of abstract averages. Nothing is known about the method of compilation, or the area from which the statistics are drawn, and it is obvious that the figures must be subject to criticism from different points of view. Still, notwithstanding such hindrances to complete understanding, Abu-l Fazl is entitled to the gratitude of later ages for the industry and skill with which he handled his embarrassing mass of material. Nothing approaching his survey of the empire is to be found anywhere else in the sixteenth century.

COPPER COINAGE; THE *DAM*

A considerable part of the information about wages given in Ain 87 of book i (*Ain*, vol. i, p. 225) is intelligible and of interest.

The *dam*, *paisa*, or *fulus*, was a massive copper coin, copied from Sher Shah's issues, and weighing normally 323·5 grains, or very nearly 21 grammes (20·962). The normal relative value of copper to silver was 72·4 to 1, and for purposes of account 40 of the copper *dams* were reckoned uniformly as equivalent to the silver rupee of 172·5 grains, the silver being practically pure. In practice the bazaar rate equating the 'pice' or *dams* with the silver rupee varied somewhat, but the actual rate did not depart widely from the standard of 40 *dams* to one rupee. Wages, of course, were paid in real coins, and not in the money of account. Poor people then, as now in India, thought in terms of copper coins, and the revenue accounts were made up in *dams* at the rate of 40 to the rupee. The *dam* was divided into 25 *jitals* for account purposes, but no coin called *jital* then existed. Very small change was provided by certain subsidiary coins and by cowrees.[1] The coinage in silver and gold was abundant and of excellent quality.

DAILY WAGES

It is needless to attempt to make out the exact meaning of the rates for piece-work given by Abu-l Fazl. The daily rates for wages are more easily understood, subject to the preliminary observations already made that we do not know either the area to which they apply or the sources from which they were obtained.

1. See Ain 10 of book i in *Ain* vol. i, p. 31, 'The Coins of this Glorious Empire'. Abu-l Fazl says that the old copper coins used to be called *Bahlok*. That is true, but the Bahlolis of Bahlol and his son Sikandar bin Bahlol Lodi weighed only about 140 grains (E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, p. 362). 'Practically', Thomas observes, 'the *dam* was the ready money of prince and peasant. Abu-l Fazl relates that a *kror* of *dams* was kept ready for gifts, &c., within the palace, "every thousand of which is kept in bags".' Smaller pieces were the ½, ¼, and 1/8 of a *dam*. Double *dams* were also struck. See the *Catalogues of Coins*, as in Bibliography.

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The normal rate for an unskilled labourer employed in the Court departments was two *dams*, the twentieth part of a rupee, or four-fifths of an anna in modern currency. A first-class carpenter got, or should have got, seven *dams*, seven-fortieths of a rupee. Those two limiting rates, assuming their approximate accuracy, may be taken as the basis of discussion. In practice deductions must often have been made.

The value of the rupee in English money was estimated to range from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 9*d.*, and more generally might be taken as 2*s.* 3*d.*, or 27 pence. Consequently, the normal wage of an unskilled labourer may be taken as $\frac{2}{5}\frac{7}{0}d.$, or from $1\frac{1}{4}d.$ to $1\frac{1}{8}d.$ a day.

The first-class skilled workman drawing 7 *dams* got less than one-fifth of a rupee, about three annas in modern currency, or $\frac{7}{2}\frac{7}{0}$ of 27 pence, that is to say, about $4\frac{1}{4}d.$ a day, according to the rate of exchange then prevailing.

LOW PRICES : THE *MAN* OR 'MAUND'

The table of average prices shows the amount of food that could be purchased wholesale in normal times for either 2 or 7 *dams*, that is to say, for from $1\frac{1}{4}d.$ to $1\frac{1}{8}d.$ or for about $4\frac{1}{4}d.$ The figures certainly express, as E. Thomas justly observed, 'the extraordinary cheapness of food'. It must be understood, of course, that they are average figures calculated from a mass of details no longer in existence, and that they can refer only to purchases for the Court and to years of ordinary plenty. India in Akbar's time, as will be shown presently, was by no means exempt from famine in its most appalling form.

Abu-l Fazl gives the wholesale price per *man*, or 'maund'. It is well established that that term in his book expresses a weight equivalent roughly to half a hundredweight (56 pounds avoirdupois), or more exactly, to $55\frac{1}{3}$ pounds. His 'maund', therefore, was approximately two-thirds of the present standard 'maund' of 82 pounds. In both cases 40 'seers' (*ser*) go to the 'maund'. The modern 'seer' is a trifle over 2 pounds, and nearly agrees with the kilogramme. The 'seer' of Akbar was slightly more than two-thirds of 2 pounds, or about 21 ounces.

With these preliminary explanations, the prices of the principal articles of food and the amount obtainable by an unskilled labourer for 2 *dams*, or by a skilled artisan for 7 *dams*, may be stated in tabular form.[1]

1. Prinsep's view ('Useful Tables', p. 111) that Akbar's *man* was 'in round terms' about 'one-half of our present standard *man*' of 82 pounds is erroneous. The true value of about $55\frac{1}{3}$ pounds avoirdupois has been worked out by E. Thomas (*Chronicles*, p. 430), and in a different way by Wilton Oldham, *Memoir of the Ghazeepoor District* (1870), part i, p. 84. Hawkins also defined Jahangir's *man* as 55 pounds. De Laet, following him, correctly states that 'Maune item est pondus LV libr. Angl.' (p.136/142). The table following has been compiled from Ain 27 of book i, 'Statistics of the Prices of Certain Articles'; Ains 27 and 87 of same (*Ain*, vol. i, pp. 62, 225); and from Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 430.

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AMOUNT OF FOOD OBTAINABLE IN AKBAR'S REIGN, ABOUT A.D. 1600, AT AVERAGE PRICES IN NORMAL YEARS.

Article	*Price per 'maund' or man of 55⅓ lb. avoirdupois in* dams *at 40 to rupee*	*Obtainable by*	
		Unskilled labourer at 2 dams *or 1/20 of rupee per diem*	*Skilled artisan at 7* dams *or 7/40 of rupee per diem*
		lb. oz.	lb. oz.
Wheat.	12 (=194¼ lb. per rupee of 40 dams)	9 4	32 6
Barley.	8 (=277½ lb. per rupee)	13 14	48 9
Rice, best.	110 (=20¾ lb. per rupee)	1 0	3 8
,, worst.	20 (111 lb. per rupee)	5 9	19 7
Mung pulse (*Phaseolus mungo*).	18 (=37 lb. per rupee)	6 3	21 10
Mash pulse (*Phaseolus radiatus*).	16 (=138¼ lb. per rupee)	6 15	24 4
Moth pulse (*Phaseolus aconitifolius*).	12 (=194¼ lb. per rupee)	9 4	32 6
Gram, or chick-pea (*Cicer arietinum*).	16½ (=134¼ lb. per rupee)	6 2	21 7
Juwar millet (*Holcus sorghum*).	10 (=222 lb. per rupee)	nearly 11 2	38 15
White sugar.	128 (=17⅓ lb. per rupee)	nearly 0 14	3 1
Brown ,,	56 (=39½ lb. per rupee)	nearly 2 0	nearly 7 0
Ghi, or clarified butter.	105 (=13⅕ lb. per rupee)	1 1	3 11
Sesamum oil (*tel*).	80 (=27¼ lb. per rupee)	1 6	4 13
Salt.	16 (=138¾ lb. per rupee)	6 15	24 4

Four of the leading items may be compared with the most recent set of average retail prices as given in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, 1907. The table there is made out for 'seers' per rupee. Taking the 'seer' as two pounds, the 'seer' figures may be doubled to get pounds and so compared with the rupee prices as given in brackets in the preceding table.

PRICES PER RUPEE

Article	*Pounds avoirdupois per Rupee*	
	In Akbar's time A.D. 1600.	In 1901-3 (*I.G.*).
Wheat	194·25	29·0 (seers 14·5)
Barley	277·50	43·8 (seers 20·9)
Gram	134·25	33·0 (seers 16·5)
Juwar millet	222·0	41·2 (seers 20·6)

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LOW PRICES OF MEAT AND MILK

The low prices were not confined to grain. Nearly everything else was equally cheap. For instance, sheep of the ordinary kinds could be bought for a rupee and a quarter or a rupee and a half each. Mutton is priced at 65 *dams*, per 'maund', equivalent to 34 pounds or 17 'seers' for the rupee. Milk sold at 25 *dams* the maund. A rupee therefore would purchase 89 pounds, or 44 seers. The larger seer of the present day is reckoned as equal to a quart. Deducting one-third from the figure 44, the price in Akbar's day works out at about 30 quarts for the rupee, or a penny a quart, if the rupee be taken at 2*s*. 6*d*. (30 pence) as it usually was by Terry, early in the reign of Jahangir, which was simply a continuation of Akbars', so far as social and economic conditions were concerned, as well as in most other respects. The historian of Akbar, therefore, is fully justified in using the evidence of Roe, Terry, and Tom Coryate, who all resided in northern and western India between 1615 and 1618. Their testimony emphatically confirms that of the *Ain* respecting the lowness of prices and wages, while adding to it by distinctly affirming the abundance of provisions in ordinary years. In 1585 and 1586 prices were so exceptionally low that the full cash revenue rates could not be paid, and considerable remissions became necessary in three provinces.

LOW PRICES IN WESTERN ASIA

The low cash retail prices were not confined to India. They extended all over Western Asia. That fact is conclusively proved by the experience of Tom Coryate, 'the Wanderer of his age', a most accurate observer and truthful writer, whose trustworthiness was not in any way affected by his eccentricities. He entered the Mogul dominions by way of Kandahar and Lahore, having travelled overland from Syria on foot through Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Persia. During the journey of ten months from Aleppo to Kandahar he spent in all £3 sterling, but out of that 10*s*. had been stolen, so that he lived on twopence a day all round, and at times on a penny.[1]

VALUE OF THE RUPEE IN STERLING

In October 1616 he managed to secure access to court without the knowledge of Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador, and extracted a hundred rupees from Jahangir in recompense for a flattering oration in Persian. The recipient reckoned the gift as the equivalent of £10 sterling, valuing the rupee expressly at 2*s*.; but Terry, who also tells the story, valued the present as equal to £12 10*s*., which implies that he then estimated the rupee at 2*s*. 6*d*. He states in general terms that the 'meanest' rupees were worth 2*s*. 3*d*., and the best 2*s*.

1. The epithet 'Wanderer of his age' is from Terry's verses (p. 73). Coryate's *Crudities*, a queer medley, as originally published in 1611, in a single rare volume of 653 pages plus the index and some supplementary matter, deals with Europe only. The reprint of 1776, in three volumes octavo, adds the Letters from India in vol. iii, which are not paged. Another reprint, by MacLehose of Glassgow, was issued in 1905. I have used the 1776 edition. The eccentric traveller died at Surat in December 1617. Terry gives a good account of him, which is included in the 1776 edition of the *Crudities*, and occupies pp. 55-74 of the 1777 edition of Terry, whose first edition appeared in 1655.

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9*d*. sterling. On another occasion, when paying a rupee as compensation for an injury, he valued it at 2*s*. 9*d*. In another place Terry reckons the pay of an ordinary servant or follower at 5*s*. a month, meaning apparently two rupees.[1] These instances explain de Laet's remark in 1631 that rupees ranged in value from 2*s*. to 2*s*. 9*d*.[2]

PLENTY OF PROVISIONS

The statistics show that that small sum would have purchased 194×2=398, or nearly 400 pounds of wheat in 1600. Abu-l Fazl does not state the price of flour, which, of course, must have been appreciably higher. It is clear, however, that a man could feed himself adequately for a cost of from a penny to twopence a day.

Terry further states that fish were purchaseable 'at such easy rates as if they were not worth the valuing',[3] and that, generally speaking, 'the plenty of all provisions' was 'very great throughout the whole monarchy'; 'every one there may eat bread without scarceness'.[4]

PRICES IN 1870 AND 1901-3

Oldham, writing in 1870 with reference to the Ghazipur District in the eastern part of the United Provinces, was of opinion that 'according to the prices given in the *Ayeen Akbery*, a rupee in the days of Akbar would purchase at the very lowest computation about four times the amount of agricultural produce that can now be bought for a rupee'.[5] Things were cheaper in 1870 than they were in 1901-3, for which the *Gazetteer* statistics have been quoted. It may be as well to compare the figures for the four selected grains in the two recent periods.

PRICE PER RUPEE IN POUNDS AVOIRDUPOIS

1.	2.	3.	4.	*Percentage to col.* 2	
Article	*Akbar* A.D. 1600	1866—70	1901—3	*of col.* 3.	*of col.* 4.
Wheat	194·25	39·4 (seers 19·7)	29·0 (seers 14·5)	20·3	15·0
Barley	277·50	58·0 (seers 29·0)	43·8 (seers 21·9)	20·9	15·7
Gram	134·25	47·2 (seers 23·6)	33·0 (seers 16·5)	35·6	24·2
Juwar	222·0	53·6 (seers 26·8)	41·2 (seers 20·6)	24·3	18·4

These figures indicate that the rise in prices from the period 1866-70 to that of 1901-3 has been large. Even when Oldham wrote, his estimate that the purchasing power of the rupee in 1600 was more than four times what it was in 1870, fell below the mark except in the case of gram. For the later period the purchasing power of the rupee is far less.

EFFECT OF LOW PRICES

When the material condition of the people is the question under consideration, a rise in prices is immaterial if the buyer is provided with additional cash in the same proportion. The rise in prices in the

1. pp. 113, 167, 173.
2. 'Per *Rupias*; quae communiter valent duos solidos & novem denarios Angl. interdum etiam tantum duos' (p. 135/141).
3. p. 89 4. p. 105. 5. *op. cit.*, part i, p. 84.

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course of three centuries has been something like 500 or 600 per cent. The rise in wages has not been so great. I doubt if it comes up to 300 per cent. In Akbar's time the daily wage of the unskilled labourer was one-twentieth of a rupee. During my service in the United Provinces, between 1871 and 1900, the familiar current rate paid by Europeans was one-eighth of a rupee, but natives of the country often paid less. The fraction one-eighth is 250 per cent. larger than one-twentieth. The increase in the wage of skilled labour may be even less, and has hardly more than doubled. I refer to 'up-country' conditions, not to Calcutta or Bombay. On the whole, so far as I can judge, the hired landless labourer in the time of Akbar and Jahangir possibly had more to eat in ordinary years than he has now. But in famine years, such as 1555-6 and 1595-8, he simply died. Now, even in seasons of severe famine, he is often kept alive.

The advance in prices does not affect cultivators so much. When prices are exceptionally low they find it impossible to pay cash revenue rates based on a normal scale of prices. High prices mean for them enhanced incomes as well as enhanced cost, and they have greater security than they used to have, while the demand made by the State is less. We must remember that the absolutely landless labourer is not common in the country districts. I doubt if the cultivators on the whole were better off three centuries ago than they are now, and it is possible that they may have been less prosperous.

URBAN POPULATION

When we come to compare the conditions of the town population then and now, exact, or approximately exact figures were lacking. It is obvious that the disappearance of the imperial court and of many splendid viceregal and princely courts has adversely affected certain localities and trades. But the development of commerce in modern times has been so great that towns people on the whole may be better off than they were in Akbar's day. It would carry me too far to pursue the subject in detail. Contemporary travellers undoubtedly were much impressed by the wealth and prosperity of the great cities in the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir. Fitch, for example, in 1885, tells us in a passage already quoted that

'Agra and Fatepore are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous. Between Agra and Fatepore are 12 miles [*scil. kos*], and all the way is a market of victuals and other things, as full as though a man were still in a town, and so many people as if a man were in a market.'[1]

Terry, from the testimony of others, describes the Panjab as 'a large province, and most fruitful. Lahore is the chief city thereof, built very large, and abounds both in people and riches, one of the most principal cities for trade in all India' (p. 76). Monserrate, speaking from personal knowledge of the same city as it was in 1581, declares that Lahore was not second to any city in Europe or Asia. Every kind of merchandise was to be found in its shops, and the streets were block-

1. Fitch, p. 98. The distance between Agra and Fathpur-Sikri is about 23 miles.

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ed by dense crowds.[1] Similarly, Burhanpur in Khandesh was 'very great, rich, and full of people' (p. 80). Abu-l Fazl is enthusiastic over the glories of Ahmadabad in Gujarat, 'a noble city in a high state of prosperity', which 'for the pleasantness of its climate and its display of the choicest productions of the whole globe is almost unrivalled'. It was reputed to contain a thousand mosques built of stone.[2] Kabul was a place of busy trade, crowded with merchants from India, Persia, and Tartary.[3] Such testimonies concerning the conditions of the great inland towns, which might be largely multiplied, permit of no doubt that the urban population of the more important cities was well to do. Whether or not it was better off on the whole than the townspeople of the twentieth century are it is hard to say. I am not able to express any definite opinion on the subject.

FAMINES IN VILLAGES

'Famine', as has been truly said, 'lies broad written across the pages of Indian history'.[4] We hear of it in the remote age when the Buddhist *Jataka* stories were composed,[5] and from time to time in every age. The occurrence of famine, resulting from the absolute non-existence of crops, was and is inevitable in a country like India, where the possibility of sowing and reaping a crop depends on seasonal rains, which often fail, and where the mass of the people are, and always have been, extremely poor. The modern extension of communications and of irrigation on a gigantic scale has done much to remove the causes of extreme famine, but nothing can absolutely prevent its recurrence. When it does come it is now fought with all the resources of a highly organized and philanthropic government. Even so, as recent experience proves, intense suffering cannot be prevented whenever there is a widespread failure of the rains, and appalling mortality still results. Pestilence, in one form or another, inevitably dogs the steps of famine.

ANCIENT FAMINES

The old governments, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, were not so highly organized as the existing Anglo-Indian government. Perhaps the most elaborate native organization which ever existed in India was that of the Maurya dynasty in the fourth and third centuries before Christ. The extant descriptions of the Maurya administration, and the indubitable facts which prove the wide extent of dominion ruled by Asoka, his father, and grandfather, as well as the firm grip of the government on remote territories, leave on my mind the impression that Akbar's machine of government never attained the standard of efficiency reached by the Mauryas eighteen or nineteen centuries before his time. Nevertheless, the iron hand of the great Maurya emperors could not coerce the clouds or save their much-governed realm from the miseries of famine. The traditions of the Jains give

1. *Commentarius*, p. 622.
2. *Ain*, vol. ii, p. 240.
3. *Commentarius*, p. 617.
4. Sir Harcourt Butler in *I.G.*, iii (1907), chap. x p. 475. The whole chapter is worth reading.
5. *Jataka*, No. 199, in Cambridge transl., ii, 94.

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prominence to the terrible famine which occurred late in the fourth century B.C. towards the close of the reign of Chandragupta Maurya, and lasted for twelve years.[1] Famines recur throughout all ages; as, for instance, early in the tenth century after Christ, when a Hindu king reigned in Kashmir, that pleasant land was desolated by a famine of the severest kind.

'One could scarcely see the water in the Vitasta (Jihlam), entirely covered as the river was with corpses soaked and swollen by the water in which they had long been lying. The land became densely covered with bones in all directions, until it was like one great burial-ground, causing terror to all beings.'[2]

Similar scenes occurred over and over again under Muhammadan kings in various parts of India, and the glorious reign of fortunate Akbar was not an exception.

THE FAMINE OF 1555-6

The year of his accession (1555-6) was marked by a famine as grievous as any on record. Abu-l Fazl, who was a child five years old at the time, retained in after life 'a perfect recollection of the event', and learned further details from elder eyewitnesses. The capital (Delhi) was devastated, and the mortality was enormous.[3] The historian Badaoni 'with his own eyes witnessed the fact that men ate their own kind, and the appearance of the famished sufferers was so hideous that one could scarcely look upon them.....The whole country was a desert, and no husbandmen remained to till the ground.'[4]

FAMINES, 1573-98

Gujarat, one of the richest provinces of India, and generally reputed to be almost exempt from the risk of famine, suffered severely for six months in 1573-4. Pestilence, as usual, followed on starvation, so that 'the inhabitants, rich and poor, fled the country and were scattered abroad'.[5]

Abu-l Fazl, with characteristic vagueness, records that in 1583 or 1584, 'as prices were high on account of the dryness of the year, the means of subsistence of many people came to an end'.[6] He does not trouble to give any details or even to mention which provinces were affected. If we may judge from the slovenly way in which he treats the tremendous calamity of 1595-8, we may infer that the famine of 1583-4 was serious. It does not seem to be mentioned or even alluded to by other chroniclers.

The famine which began in 1595 (A.H. 1004) and lasted three or four years until 1598 equalled in its horrors the one which had occurred in the accession year, and excelled that visitation by reason of its longer duration. Abu-l Fazl, as already observed in chapter x, slurs over the calamity by using vague words designed to conceal the severity of the

1. *E.H.I.*, 3rd ed., p. 146.
2. Ibid., p. 374.
3. *Ain*, vol. iii, p. 475.
4. Badaoni, tr. Ranking, i, 549-51; E. & D., v, 490, 491. See *ante*, chap. ii.
5. *Tabakat*, in E. & D., v, 384.
6. *A.N.*, vol. iii, chap. lxxiv, p. 625.

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distress, and to save the credit of the imperial government.[1] A minor historian, who was less economical of the truth, lets us know that 'during the year 1004 H. [August 1595—August 1596] there was a scarcity of rain throughout the whole of Hindostan, and a fearful famine raged continuously for three or four years.....Men ate their own kind. The streets and roads were blocked up with dead bodies, and no assistance could be rendered for their removal.'[2]

The Jesuit missionaries witnessed the effects of the famine and pestilence in Lahore and Kashmir, but no contemporary authority cared to record details or to give any estimate of the extent of the havoc wrought. Nothing is known concerning the process of recovery, which must have occupied a long time. The modern historian would be glad to sacrifice no small part of the existing chronicles if he could obtain in exchange a full account of the famine of 1595-8 and of its economic effects.

EPIDEMICS AND INUNDATION

Pestilence, as already observed, was the inevitable accompaniment and consequence of widespread starvation. The vague statements of the historians give no clue to the nature of the diseases occasioned by the two great famines and the minor visitations of Akbar's reign. Cholera, which usually appears under similar conditions, probably caused a large part of the mortality in the sixteenth century. Bubonic plague was regarded by Jahangir as a novelty when it appeared in 1616.[3]

The deadly epidemic of 1575, which extended over Bengal, and was particularly virulent at Gaur, seems to have been a kind of malarial fever, or rather several kinds of that multiform disease.

The destructive inundation which occurred in the Megna delta in 1584-5 may be mentioned here as one of the calamities which occasionally marred Akbar's record of prosperity. The Sarkar of Bagla, in which the disaster happened, extended, we are told, along the sea-shore. 'In the 29th year of the Divine Era, a terrible inundation occurred at three o'clock in the afternoon, which swept over the whole *Sarkar*.....Nearly 200,000 living creatures perished in this flood.'[4]

RELIEF MEASURES

The ancient governments, Hindu or Muhammadan, did nothing, as a rule, in the way of famine relief. The King of Kashmir in the

1. He gives details of the famine in the accession year in order to show that things improved when Akbar ascended the throne.
2. E. & D., vi, 193.
3. Jahangir, R.B., i, 330, 442; E. & D., vi, 346; Terry, pp. 226-8. Sir Thomas Roe's suite was attacked by the disease at Ahmadabad in May 1616.
4. *Ain*, vol. ii, p. 123. The Sarkar of Bagla or Bogla, more correctly spelt Bakla, corresponded roughly with the southern part of the modern Bakarganj District. The *Ain* (vol. ii, p. 134) names four mahals which I cannot identify. The district, much of which lies below sea-level, is still liable to disastrous inundations. It was visited in 1586 by Ralph Fitch, who calls it Bacola. The position of the town of that name is not known. The Jesuit missionaries who were in the district in 1599 and 1600 write the name as Bacola, Bacola or Bacalu. See *I.G.* (1908); vi, 172; and Beveridge, *The District of Bakarganj*, London (Trubner), 1876.

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tenth, and Hemu in the sixteenth century, both showed heartless indifference to the sufferings of their people. The most considerable effort to relieve distress seems to have been that made by Akbar during the famine of 1595-8, when Shaikh Farid of Bokhara, a man of naturally generous disposition, was put on special duty to superintend relief measures. But no particulars of his operations are recorded, and it is certain that their effect was extremely limited. The definite famine relief policy of the British Government as now practised may be said to date from 1877, its main principle being the determination to save human life so far as possible, even at enormous cost. Notwithstanding the heroic exertions made for that purpose, the mortality in the widespread famine of 1900 reached gigantic figures. We dare not expect that similar calamities can be altogether averted in the future.

FORESTS

A few particular, though rather desultory observations may be made to illustrate the actual condition of various parts of India in Akbar's time and to emphasize the contrast with present conditions.

'Pergunnahs [parganas]', as Oldham correctly states, 'are now subdivisions of a district, containing a large number of villages, and called by a fixed name. In the early days of the Mahomedan empire they appear to have been clearings or cultivated spaces in the forest, occupied generally by a single, but sometimes by more than one fraternity or clan.

'The Emperor Babur, in his Autobiography, mentions that the pergunnahs were surrounded by jungles, and that the people of the pergunnahs often fled to these jungles to avoid paying their revenue.[1]

'In the days of the Emperor Baber, the rhinoceros abounded in the country adjacent to the Ghogra; and wild elephants, first met with in numbers at Karrah, now in the Futtehpoor[2] District, became more common as a traveller proceeded eastward. We may, therefore, fairly conclude that the Ghazeepoor District, which is situated on the Ghogra, and far east of Karrah, must have been in a great degree a forest, swarming with herds of elephants and rhinoceros, three or four hundred years ago.'[3]

I lived in that District more than forty years ago, and can testify from personal knowledge that no large game was then to be found anywhere in or near it. Even the black buck was rare, and there was practically no shooting to be had except wild-fowl.

INCREASE IN CULTIVATED AREA

The area under cultivation undoubtedly has increased vastly almost everywhere during the last three hundred years. It is not possible to give general comparative statistics, and attempts to work out the figures for any individual modern administrative District are difficult and yield indeterminate results. In certain cases, as in that

1. The same state of things continued to exist in Oudh until the annexation in 1856. See Sleeman, *Tour in Oudh*, 1858, *passim*, with reference to the facts as in 1849-50.
2. *sic*; read 'Allahabad'.
3. Op. cit., p. 51.

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of Sarkar Mungir (Monghyr) in Bihar, the *Ain* omits the figures of area altogether, and in a hundred other ways obstacles beset the path of the inquirer who seeks to map out the Sarkars of Akbar and compare them with modern Districts. Elliot, Beames, and many local officers have attempted the task and attained partial, but admittedly only partial success.[1] The proportionate extension of the cultivated area has, of course, varied infinitely in different localities. For instance, Mr. Moreland estimates that in the Fatehpur District, United Provinces, as a whole, the tillage has about doubled, but in different parts of the district the increase varies between 50 and 400 per cent. Oldham, writing in 1870, estimated the cultivated area of the Ghazipur Sarkar in the east of the United Provinces to have been one-sixth of the total area in the reign of Akbar, as against more than five-sixths when he was writing. All such estimates are merely rough approximations, and it is not worth while to pursue the subject in further statistical details.

WILD BEASTS

The range of the *Rhinoceros indicus* or *unicornis* is now restricted to the forests of the Himalayas and the swampy tracts at the base of the mountains, but the great beast was hunted by Babur in the neighbourhood of Peshawar as well as on the banks of the Gogra.

Akbar captured wild elephants in many places where now one would be as likely to meet a mammoth, and he shot tigers near Mathura.

In ancient times the lion used to be found throughout the greater part of North-western and Central India. At the present time it is almost extinct, only a few specimens surviving, it is believed, in Kathiawar.

But in 1615, when Terry was encamped at Mandu in Central India, now included in the Dhar State, lions troubled the camp as they do at the present day in parts of Africa.

'In those vast and extended woods', Terry writes, 'there are lions, tigers, and other beasts of prey, and many wild elephants. We lay one night in that wood with our carriages, and those lions came about us, discovering themselves by their roaring, but we keeping a good fire all night, they came not near enough to hurt either ourselves or cattle; those cruel beasts are night-walkers, for in the day they appear not.'

At the same place, a little later :

'One night, early in the evening, there was a great lion, which we saw, came into our yard (though our yard was compassed about with a stone wall that was not low); and my Lord Ambassador having a little white neat shock that ran out barking at him, the lion presently snapt him up, leapt again over the wall, and away he went.'

Jahangir and his courtiers used to ride down lions, and kill them 'with their bows and carbines, and launces'.[2] It would be easy to give further illustrations of a like kind, but so much may suffice.

1. For Subas Agra, Allahabad, and Delhi see Elliot, *Supplemental Glossary*, ed. Beames, 1869, vol. ii, pp. 83-146; and for Subas Oudh (Awadh) and Bihar, Beames in *J.A.S.B.*, part i, 1884, pp. 215-32; and 1885, pp. 162-82, with maps.

2. 'Shock' or 'shough', a longhaired or shaggy dog. Terry, pp. 182, 184, 403. The last recorded lion outside Kathiawar was shot in the Gwalior State on June 11, 1872.

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GARDENS

The benefits conferred on India either directly by the Mogul emperors or in their time were not confined to the administrative reforms already noticed or to the developments of art and literature to be discussed in the next chapter.

Babur grumbled much at the deficiencies of the burning plains of India in comparison with the delights of his pleasances at Samarkand and Kabul. He missed nothing more than the gardens with their murmuring streams to which he had been accustomed, and did his best to make a colourable imitation of them by the help of wells and brick water-courses. Whenever he settled for a time at any place, his first thought was a garden, and he straightway set to work to make one. So at Agra, across the river, he built a garden palace, where, after four years of sovereignty in India, his restless spirit passed away. He left directions that his body should be transported to Kabul, and there laid to its final rest in 'the sweetest spot of the neighbourhood', a lovely garden at the foot of a 'turreted mountain' beside a tumbling cascade.

Akbar inherited his grandfather's love for gardens and flowers, and made many 'paradises', as the old English monks called such retreats. The scene of his accession was set in a well-planned garden, and other similar abodes of delight were constructed at Fathpur-Sikri, Sikandara, and various places. His son Jahangir frequently expresses his passion for flowers and gardens. The scarlet blossom of the *dhak* tree, he remarks, 'is so beautiful that one cannot take one's eyes off it'. Shahjahan, the author of the Taj and its exquisite gardens, continued the family tradition, but the puritan Aurangzeb cared for none of those things. The Mogul gardens certainly were a boon to India, and their merit is only now beginning to be frankly recognized. Those laid out round the great buildings of the period were an essential element in the architectural design, and cannot be tampered with, save at the cost of spoiling the full expression of the architects' ideas.[1]

NEW FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

A garden is naught unless it is graced by a good selection of flowers and fruits. Babur, who could not be content with the somewhat meagre assortment which satisfied the taste of the Rajas, devoted much attention to the subject of enriching the stock of the Indian gardener. He never rested until the local horticulturist was able to supply him with good grapes and musk melons. His successors followed his example and much improved the variety and quality of the flowers, vegetables, and fruits cultivated in Hindostan.

The potato, meaning probably the 'sweet potato' (*Batatas edulis* or *Ipomaea batatas*), which had been brought from Brazil to Spain in 1519, early found favour in India.[2] Terry mentions the vegetable as being grown along with carrots in Northern India; and when Asaf Khan, Jahangir's brother-in-law, feasted the ambassador,

1. See C.M. Villiers Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, A. & C. Black, London, 1913; an interesting and well-illustrated book.

2. Chambers, *Encyclopaedia*, 1904, and *Encycl. Brit*, ed. 11, s.v. 'Potato' and 'Sweet Potato'. It is hardly possible that Terry's potatoes can have been *Solanum tuberosum*.

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'potatoes excellently well dressed' were an item in the numerous dishes. The conscientious chaplain tasted them all, to his satisfaction.[1]

ASAF KHAN'S BANQUET

Terry's account of the entertainment alluded to deserves quotation in full as being an authoritative description, such as is not to be found elsewhere, of the manners of a great Muhammadan noble in the days of Akbar and his son. It is as follows :

'The Asaph Chan entertained my Lord Ambassador in a very spacious and a very beautiful tent, where none of his followers besides myself saw or tasted of that entertainment.

'That tent was kept full of a very pleasant perfume; in which scents the King and grandees there take very much delight. The floor of the tent was first covered all over with very rich and large carpets, which were covered again in the places where our dinner stood with other good carpets made of stitcht leather, to preserve them which were richer; and these were covered again with pure white and fine callico cloths; and all these covered with very many dishes of silver; but for the greater part of those silver dishes, they are not larger than our largest trencher plates, the brims of all of them gilt.

'We sat in that large room as it were in a triangle; the Ambassador on Asaph Chan's right hand, a good distance from him; and myself below; all of us on the ground, as they there all do when they eat, with our faces looking each to the other, and every one of us had his separate mess. The Ambassador had more dishes by ten, and I less by ten, than our entertainer had; yet for my part I had fifty dishes. They were all set before us at once, and little paths left betwixt them, that our entertainer's servants (for only they waited) might come and reach them to us one after another, and so they did; so that I tasted of all set before me, and of most did but taste, though all of them tasted very well.

'Now of the provision itself; for our larger dishes, they were filled with rice, dressed as before described; and this rice was presented to us, some of it white, in its own proper colour, some of it made yellow with saffron, some of it was made green, and some of it put into a purple colour; but by what ingredient I know not; but this I am sure, that it all tasted very well : And with rice thus ordered, several of our dishes were furnished; and very many more of them with flesh of several kinds, and with hens and other sorts of fowl cut in pieces, as before I observed in their Indian cookery.

'To these we had many jellies and culices;[2] rice ground to flour, then boiled, and after sweetened with sugar-candy and rose-water, to be eaten cold. The flour of rice, mingled with sweet almonds, made as small as they could, and with some of the most fleshy parts of hens, stewed with it, and after, the flesh so beaten into pieces, that it could not be discerned, all made sweet with rose-water and sugar-candy, and scented with Ambergrease;[3] this was another of our dishes,

1. Terry, pp. 92, 197.

2. Also spelt 'cullises', and said to mean savoury meat jellies. Webster quotes 'caudles and cullises' from Beaumont and Fletcher.

3. Now spelt 'ambergris', *scil. ambre gris*, or grey amber. It is a morbid secretion from the intestines of the sperm whale, and in Europe is used only as a material for perfumery.

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and most luscious one, which the Portuguese call *mangee real*, food for a King. Many other dishes we had, made up in cakes, of several forms, of the finest of the wheat flour, mingled with almonds and sugar-candy, whereof some were scented, and some not. To these potatoes excellently well dressed; and to them divers sallads of the curious fruits of that country, some preserved in sugar, and others raw; and to these many roots candied, almonds blanched, raisons of the sun,[1] prunellas,[2] and I know not what, of all enough to make up the number of dishes before named; and with these *quelque chose*[3] was that entertainment made up.

'And it was better a great deal, than if it had consisted of full and heaped up dishes, such as are sometimes amongst us provided for great and profuse entertainments. Our bread was of very good excellent wheat, made up very white and light, in round cakes; and for our drink, some of it was brew'd, for ought I know, ever since Noha's flood, that good innocent water, being all the drink there commonly used, (as before) and in those hot climates (it being better digested there than in other parts) it is very sweet, and allays thirst better than any other liquor can, and therefore better pleaseth, and agreeth better with every man that comes and lives there, than any other drink.

'At this entertainment we sat long, and much longer than we could with ease cross-legged; but all considered, our feast in that place was better than Apicius, that famous Epicure of Rome, with all his witty gluttony (for so Paterculus calls it, *ingeniosa gula*)[4] could have made with all provisions had from the earth, air, and sea.'[5]

TEMPERANCE AND INTEMPERANCE

Asaf Khan gave his guests nothing to drink except water, adhering strictly to the precepts of his religion. His sovereign, as is well known, had no scruples on the subject, and drank more or less heavily, generally more, during the greater part of his life. Intemperance was the besetting sin of the Timurid royal family, as it was of many other Muslim ruling families. The grace with which Babur describes his frequent orgies wins forgiveness for the elegant toper, and the thoroughness of his temporary reformation when he became a teetotaller at a crisis in his fortunes compels admiration. Humayun, who is not recorded to have indulged in excessive drinking, made himself stupid with opium. Akbar, as we have seen, permitted himself the practice of both vices. Some of the mad freaks in which he indulged while under the influence of liquor have been narrated. They, naturally, occurred while he was still young. Later in life he rarely drank wine, but habitually consumed opium. The evil example set by the sovereigns was followed only too faithfully by the princes and nobles. Akbar's two younger sons died in early manhood from

1. The sun-dried grapes, now commonly sold packed in cotton-wool in chip boxes, and known as Kabuli.
2. Dried plums, the *aru Bokhari* of the bazaars.
3. More common in the corrupt form 'kickshaws'.
4. C. Velleius Paterculus, author of a compendium of history finished in A.D. 30, and now rarely read; served under Tiberius, and was contemporary with Apicius.
5. Terry, pp. 195-8. Indian cookery is described in the pages preceding.

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chronic alcoholism, and their elder brother was saved from the same fate by a strong constitution, not by virtue. The biographies of the nobles recorded by Blochmann record a surprising number of deaths due to intemperance. One of the most conspicuous victims of that vice was Mirza Jani Beg of Sind, who drank himself to death in the Deccan soon after the fall of Asirgarh. Another noble of high rank (Shahbeg Khan, No. 57) used to drink a terrible mixture of wine, hemp, and two forms of opium. Many other examples might be cited.

But the vice of intemperance which so disgraced court circles was not common in decent society elsewhere. Terry was much impressed by the general sobriety of all ranks, both Hindu and Musalman, and declares that 'none of the people there are at any time seen drunk (though they might find liquor enough to do it) but the very offal and dregs of that people, and these rarely or very seldom'. The same eminently sympathetic author names 'temperance, justice, and unwearied devotion' as characteristic Indian virtues.[1]

The fighting Rajput clans all consumed opium freely, and often to ruinous excess. Speaking generally, the habits of the people in relation to strong drink and potent drugs seem to have been much the same as they are now. Princes, being free from the control of public opinion, always have been liable to the temptations of vicious excess, and fearful examples may still be found. Individuals of good social position below the princely order sometimes give way to intemperance, but the population, as a whole, is a sober one to-day, as it was in the days of Akbar and Jahangir. Certain castes which permit drinking are apt to exceed the limits of seemly conviviality on the occasions when they exercise their liberty. Public opinion in the mass, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, is distinctly opposed to intemperance, and so it has always been.

INTRODUCTION OF TOBACCO IN 1604-5

Tobacco was introduced into the Mogul empire at the close of Akbar's reign, either late in 1604 or early in 1605. The story is so well told by Asad Beg that his narrative, although long, deserves to be quoted in full. Bijapur must have received the drug from Portuguese traders. Asad Beg writes :

'In Bijapur I had found some tobacco. Never having seen the like in India, I brought some with me, and prepared a handsome pipe of jewel work. The stem, the finest to be procured at Achin, was three cubits in length, beautifully dried and coloured, both ends being adorned with jewels and enamel. I happened to come across a very handsome mouthpiece of Yaman cornelian, oval-shaped, which I set to the stem; the whole was very handsome. There was also a golden burner for lighting it, as a proper accompaniment. Adil Khan [the Sultan of Bijapur] had given me a betel bag, of very superior workmanship; this I filled with fine tobacco, such, that if one leaf be lit, the whole will continue burning. I arranged all elegantly on a silver tray. I had a silver tube made to keep the stem in, and that too was covered with purple velvet.

1. Terry, pp. xi, 232.

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'His Majesty was enjoying himself after receiving my presents, and asking me how I had collected so many strange things in so short a time, when his eye fell upon the tray with the pipe and its appurtenances; he expressed great surprise, and examined the tobacco, which was made up in pipefuls; he inquired what it was, and where I had got it. The Nawab Khan-i 'Azam replied :—"This is tobacco, which is well known in Mecca and Medina, and this doctor has brought it as a medicine for Your Majesty."[1] His Majesty looked at it, and ordered me to prepare and take him a pipeful. He began to smoke it, when his physician approached and forbade his doing so. But His Majesty was graciously pleased to say he must smoke a little to gratify me, and taking the mouth piece into his sacred mouth, drew two or three breaths. The physician was in great trouble, and would not let him do more. He [*scil.* Akbar] took the pipe from his mouth, and bid the Khan-i 'Azam try it, who took two or three puffs. He then sent for his druggist, and asked what were its peculiar qualities. He replied that there was no mention of it in his books; but that it was a new invention, and the stems were imported from China, and the European doctors had written much in its praise. The first physician said, "In fact, this is an untried medicine, about which the doctors have written nothing. How can we describe to Your Majesty the qualities of such unknown things ? It is not fitting that Your Majesty should try it." I said to the first physician, "The Europeans are not so foolish as not to know all about it; there are wise men among them who seldom err or commit mistakes. How can you, before you have tried a thing and found out its qualities, pass a judgment on it that can be depended on by the physicians, kings, great men, and nobles? Things must be judged of according to their good or bad qualities, and the decision must be according to the facts of the case." The physician replied, "We do not want to follow the Europeans, and adopt a custom, which is not sanctioned by our own wise men, without trial." I said, "It is a strange thing, for every custom in the world has been new at one time or other; from the days of Adam till now they have gradually been invented. When a new thing is introduced among a people, and becomes well known in the world, every one adopts it; wise men and physicians should determine according to the good or bad qualities of a thing; the good qualities may not appear at once. Thus the China root, not known anciently, has been newly discovered, and is useful in many diseases."[2] When the Emperor heard me dispute and reason with the physician, he was astonished, and being much pleased, gave me his blessing, and then said to Khan-i 'Azam, "Did you hear how wisely Asad spoke ? Truly, we must not reject a thing that has been adopted by the wise men of other nations merely because we cannot find it in our books; or how shall we progress ?" The physician was going to say more, when His Majesty stopped him and called for the

1. This seems to be the only indication that Asad Beg was regarded as being a physician.

2. Asad Beg speaks as an expert. The 'China root' is the tuberous root or underground stem of various species of *Smilax*, especially *S. chinensis*. It was produced in plenty in the Sylhet Sarkar (*Ain*, vol. ii, p. 124). See Yule and Burnell, *Glossary*, and Balfour, *Cyclopaedia*, s.v.

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priest.[1] The priest ascribed many good qualities to it, but no one could persuade the physician; nevertheless, he was a good physician.

'As I had brought a large supply of tobacco and pipes, I sent some to several of the nobles, while others sent to ask for some; indeed, all, without exception, wanted some, and the practice was introduced. After that the merchants began to sell it, so the custom of smoking spread rapidly. His Majesty, however, did not adopt it.'[2]

Some years later, in 1617, Jahangir made up his mind that tobacco was productive of disturbance in most temperaments and constitutions. Accordingly, he forbade the practice of smoking, as his fellow sovereign, Shah Abbas, had done in Persia.[3] But the prohibitions of those autocratic potentates were no more effectual than the *Counterblast to Tobacco* issued by their contemporary, James I of England. The cultivation of various species of the tobacco plant (*Nicotiana*) spread quickly in both India and Persia, and, as everybody knows, smoking is now nearly universal in India. The Indian tobacco trade in many forms is of great magnitude.

'The statistical returns for British India give the average area under tobacco for the ten years ending 1899-1900 as approximately 1,700 square miles. It is believed, however, that the actual cultivation is much higher than these figures indicate. More than half the recorded area is in Bengal; the other chief centres of cultivation, in order of importance are Madras, Bombay, Burma, the Punjab, and the United Provinces.'[4]

MANUFACTURES AND INLAND TRADE

The information about the state of manufactures in Akbar's empire is scanty and slight. Such notices as exist refer chiefly to articles of luxury used at court. The emperor naturally encouraged the production of the well-known Kashmir shawls, which were made on a large scale at Lahore as well as in their place of origin. Carpets and other fine textiles were woven at Agra and Fathpur-Sikri. Good cotton cloths were made at Patan in Gujarat, and at Burhanpur in Khandesh. Sunargaon in the Dacca District of Eastern Bengal was famous for its delicate fabrics, 'the best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in all India'.[5]

In the autumn of 1585 Fitch travelled from Agra to Satgaon by river 'in the companie of one hundred and fourscore boats laden with Salt, Opium, Hinge [assafoetida], Lead, Carpets, and divers other commodities down the river Jemena [Jumna]'. He observes that 'great store' of cotton goods was made at Benares. Patna had extensive trade in raw cotton, cotton cloths, sugar, opium, and other commodities. Tanda in Bengal also was a busy cotton mart. Terry noticed that 'many curious boxes, trunks, standishes [pen-cases],

1. Presumably meaning a *mulla;* but, perhaps, one of the Jesuits is meant.
2. E. & D., vi, 165-7.
3. Jahangir, R.B., i, 370; E. & D., vi, 351.
4. *I.G.* (1907), vol. iii, pp. 49-52, and general index. In Northern India tobacco is grown usually in small patches, the statistical record of which is apt to be imperfect.
5. Fitch, pp. 94, 109.

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carpets, with other excellent manufactures were to be had in the Mogul's dominions.[1] The ordinary village industries, of course, were practised as they always have been throughout the ages.

FOREIGN TRADE

The foreign trade of the empire, chiefly in articles of luxury so far as imports were concerned, was considerable, and both Akbar and Jahangir took an interest in its extension. The seaports, as Terry observes (p. 397), were not numerous. On the western coast, Surat, a safe and busy harbour, was the most important;[2] and on the eastern side, Satgaon, close to Hooghly (Hugli), seems to have been the chief mart. 'Satagaon', Fitch says (p. 141), 'is a faire city for a city of the Moores, and very plentiful of all things.'

Terry notes that the customs duties were 'not high, that strangers of all nations may have the greater encouragement to trade there with him [*scil.* the Great Mogul]'. But, in accordance with the accepted economic theory of the age, traders were strictly forbidden to 'carry any quantity of silver thence'. Silver was largely imported, as it always has been and still is; and in Terry's time the English purchases were chiefly paid for in that metal (p. 112). The trade with England had not been established before Akbar's death.

The chaplain considered indigo and cotton wool to be 'the most staple commodities', that is to say, the principal articles of export in the empire (p. 105). Abu-l Fazl does not explain the system of customs. The only distinct reference to port dues in the *Ain* which I can find is a table (vol. ii, p. 259) giving the revenue from that source obtained from ten small ports in Sarkar Sorath, Gujarat, as amounting to the petty sum of 125,228 *mahmudis*, equivalent to about £6,000 sterling.

The *sair* or miscellaneous revenue collected from Mahals Bandarban, and Mandawi in the Satgaon Sarkar (vol. ii, p. 141) amounting to 1,200,000 *dams* or 30,000 rupees, must have been customs and export duties.[3] The smallness of the amount confirms Terry's statement that the rate of duty was low.

Akbar himself was a trader, and did not disdain to earn commercial profits.[4]

CHINESE PORCELAIN

The articles of luxury imported from foreign countries included considerable quantities of Chinese porcelain of high quality, which was largely used both by the emperor and by his Muhammadan nobles. Caste prejudices prevent Hindus from using pottery, except of the most fragile and impermanent kind. Akbar's dinner used to be brought to him in porcelain dishes imported from China.[5] When he died in 1605,

1. Terry, p. 111.
2. Monserrate (1582) writes :—'Frequens est n ea mercatorum conventus, et navium concursus : amne ab ipsis faucibus, ad urbem ipsam, praealto, ac lato, ad quam est tutus portus' (*Commentarius*, p. 551).
3. *Bandar* means 'a port', and *Mandawi*, 'a market'.
4. 'Ac ne aliquid praetermittere videatur, quod ad peculium augendum, pertineat; mercaturis faciendis, rem quaerit; eamque non mediocriter auget' (*Commentarius*, p. 646).
5. Peruschi, p. 19.

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he left in Agra alone more than two millions and a half of rupees worth of 'most elegant vessels of every kind in porcelain and coloured glass'.[1] The glass probably came from Venice. Little or nothing of that vast store now exists, but the Indian bazaars still yield occasionally, or yielded some years ago, good specimens of porcelain imported during the Mogul period. The favourite ware was that known to European connoisseurs as 'celadon', but at Delhi called 'Ghori'.

'The ware is extremely heavy. The basis is red, and the glaze, which is very thick, has a dark willow-green colour. The vases are generally crackled, and the plates or dishes are deep and sometimes have fluted or gadrooned edges. Beneath the glaze are usually bouquets of flowers (generally chrysanthemums), fishes, and other designs.'

Most of the good Indian examples seem to belong to the Ming period (A.D. 1368-1644), but a few pieces may go back to the Sung period (A.D. 960-1280). The ware was specially esteemed because it was believed to split or break if brought into contact with poisoned food. Other kinds of Chinese pottery also were imported.[2]

SECURITY OF LIFE AND PROPERTY

The successful prosecution of commerce is dependent on the existence of reasonable security for life and property. Three hundred years ago people did not expect to find in either Europe or Asia the elaborate police arrangements now deemed essential, nor did they consider it a hardship to meet with robbers now and again, or to be compelled to defend their persons and goods with their own stout arms. In Akbar's reign the roads must have been fairly secure in the more settled parts of the country, although they were never so safe that precautions in travelling could be dispensed with. Some of the wilder regions, especially the Bhil country in the west, were much infested by daring banditti, and travellers were well advised to move in large caravans. Sometimes guards were furnished by the local authorities. In 1595 the members of the Third Jesuit Mission, when going to Lahore through Gujarat and Rajputana, were obliged to join company with a huge caravan comprising 400 camels, 100 horses, 100 wagons, and a great multitude of poor folk on foot. They had a very unpleasant and tedious journey through sandy and desolate country, where the supplies were scanty, until they came within sixty leagues from Lahore, when they reached fertile and prosperous districts. Late in 1615, when Terry was marching up country to Mandu in order to meet Sir Thomas Roe, who had summoned him from Surat, he made the long journey of four hundred miles 'very safely', although his company was small, comprising only four other Englishmen and about twenty natives of the country. In some of the more dangerous spots they were protected by guards deputed by the governor. The party was attacked only once, near Baroda.[3]

1. De Laet and Manrique in 'The Treasure of Akbar', *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 242.
2. Hendley, 'Foreign Industrial Art Products imported into India', *J.I.A.*, No. 129, January 1915, p. 1, and plates. See also a valuable article in the first number of the *Journal of the Hyderabad Historical Society*, 1916.
3. pp. 161, 171. Terry spells 'Broders'.

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ROADS AND BRIDGES

The roads, except certain great highways, were not good, and permanent bridges over even the smaller rivers were rare. Terry did not happen to see any, but a few existed, of which the most notable, perhaps, was the substantial structure erected early in Akbar's reign by Munim Khan at Jaunpur. It still stands and does good service. Ordinarily, rivers had to be crossed by fords, ferries, or bridges of boats, and the passage was extremely difficult when the streams were in flood. Akbar's chief engineer, Kasim Khan, was specially skilful in constructing bridges of boats for the passage of the imperial army. He built several such over the rivers of the Panjab in 1581. At Agra and some other cities boat bridges were kept up for ordinary traffic as long as the state of the rivers permitted. Tom Coryate immensely admired the 'Long Walk', four hundred miles in length, 'shaded by great trees on both sides', which was the king's highway between Lahore and Agra. 'This', says Terry (p. 81) 'is looked upon by travellers, who have found the comfort of that cool shade, as one of the rares and most beneficial works in the whole world.' The section of the highway between Agra and Delhi had been constructed by Sher Shah, to whom Akbar was indebted for so many ideas.[1] Sarais, or public inns, and wells were provided on the main roads. The provision of such conveniences on high ways was in accordance with the practice of the best Hindu kings in ancient times.

1. 'Sher Khan made the road which now runs from Delhi to Agra [*scil.* that going west of the Jumna through Mathura], by cutting through jungles, removing obstacles, and building *sarais*. Before that time people had to travel through the Doab [*scil.* the tract east of the Jumna lying between that river and the Ganges] between those two places. There was so much security in travelling during his reign, &c.,' (Nuru-l Hakk, in E. & D., vi, 188).

NOTE

My observations in this chapter require modification in the light of the essays by W.H. Moreland entitled, 'Prices and Wages under Akbar' (*J.R.A.S.*, 1917, pp. 817-25) and 'The Value of Money at the Court of Akbar' (ibid., 1918, pp. 375-85). Certain consequent changes have been introduced into the text, but large alterations being impracticable, it is desirable to record this explanatory note. Mr. Moreland's table (*J.R.A.S.*., 1917, p. 820), which agrees with mine (*ante*, p. 283) for barley and *juwar*, differs in other items. He holds (ibid., p. 825) that while we are 'justified in saying that Akbar's workmen did not get more than two *dams* a day', there is 'a substantial probability that they actually got less'. He maintains that 'the conclusion is not justified that the hired landless labourer had *probably* more to eat under Akbar and Jahangir than he has now'. Accepting that view, I have altered 'probably' to 'possibly' in line 12 of p. 286 *ante*. Mr. Moreland in his later essay finds (1) that in Akbar's time money, measured in country produce, was worth about six times more than it was immediately before the Great War; (2) that the low prices 'benefited mainly the upper classes'; (3) that urban labourers were as well off for food as at present, but were worse supplied with clothes and metal utensils; while (4) 'the peasants were much worse off than now in regard to all articles which they had to purchase.'

The systems of revenue 'settlement' are discussed by the same author and Mr Yusuf Ali in 'Akbar's Land Revenue System as described in the *Ain-i Akbari*' (ibid.. 1918, pp. 1-42). Several emendations have been made accordingly in chap. xiii *ante*, .

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CHAPTER XV

LITERATURE AND ART

INDO-PERSIAN LITERATURE

The Indo-Persian literature of Akbar's reign, putting aside commentaries on the Koran and other purely theological or technical works, may be classified under the heads of translations, histories, letters, and verse. Probably nobody nowadays reads the translations from Sanskrit books so laboriously made by Badaoni and other people at the command of Akbar. It would be difficult to obtain a competent opinion on their literary merit, and it does not seem worth while to try to obtain it. The principal collection of letters, that by Abu-l Fazl, has not been translated. The histories, which are enumerated in the bibliography, are of value as records of fact rather than as literature. Nizamu-d din, who says that he wrote purposely in a simple style, seems to have succeeded in so doing. The language of Badaoni is more difficult. His composition is utterly lacking in arrangement and literary proportion. Abu-l Fazl alone among the historians aimed at producing a work worthy to be ranked as literature, but can hardly be said to have succeeded, as will be explained presently.

The versifiers, or so-called poets, were extremely numerous. Abu-l Fazl tells us that although Akbar did not care for them 'thousands of poets are continually at court, and many among them have completed a *diwan* (collection of artificial odes), or have written a *masnawi* (composition in rhymed couplets)'. The author then proceeds to enumerate and criticize 'the best among them', numbering 59, who had been presented at court. He further names 15 others who had not been presented but had sent encomiums to His Majesty from various places in Persia.[1] Abu-l Fazl gives many extracts from the writings of the select 59, which I have read in their English dress, without finding a single sentiment worth quoting; although the extracts include passages from the works of his brother Faizi, the 'king of poets', which Abu-l Fazl considered to enshrine 'gems of thought'.

Most of the authors prostitute the word love to the service of unholy passion, and Faizi sins in that way like the others.

Many of the persons who claimed the honourable name of poet had no better claim to that title than the composer of acrostics for a magazine has. They exercised their perverse ingenuity in torturing words into all sorts of shapes, omitting words with dotted letters, constructing cunningly devised chronograms, and such like trivialities. Exercises of the kind, whatever their technical merits may be, certainly are not poetry. Blochmann held that 'after Amir Khusrau

1. *Ain*, vol. i, pp. 548, 611.

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of Delhi, Muhammadan India has seen no greater poet than Faizi'.[1] No critic could be in a better position to judge. Admitting the justice of Blochmann's verdict, I can only say that the other 'poets' of Muhammadan India must be worth very little. They do not seem to have written anything with substance in it sufficient to stand the ordeal of translation. All or nearly all of them, if an opinion may be formed upon the strength of Blochmann's translation of Abu-l Fazl's picked extracts, are disgraced by the filthiness to which allusion has been made.

ABU-L FAZL

No such reproach can be levelled against Abu-l Fazl, undoubtedly the ablest among the authors of the reign, writing in Persian. However severe may be the criticisms of his literary style, he is absolutely free from impurity. His prose style, as read in Mr. Beveridge's translation of the *Akbarnama*, is intolerable to me. Simple facts are wrapped in a cloud of almost meaningless rhetoric, and an indelible impression is produced on the mind of the reader that the author lacks sincerity. Nevertheless, Blochmann endorsed the judgement of the author of the *Ma'asiru-l Umara* that 'as a writer Abu-l Fazl stands unrivalled. His style is grand and free from the technicalities and flimsy prettinesses of other *munshis* (secretaries), and the force of his words, the structure of his sentences, the suitableness of his compounds, and the elegance of his periods are such that it would be difficult for any one to imitate them.'[2]

Few Europeans can honestly agree with that criticism. By far the most satisfactory of Abu-l Fazl's compositions, in my judgement, and probably in that of most western readers, is the interesting autobiography which he appended to the third volume of the *Ain-i Akbari*. The style, although not altogether free from the wearisome affectation in which the author delighted, is far more straightforward and sincere than that of the *Akbarnama*.

On the whole, so far as I can see, the Indo-Persian works of Akbar's age possess little interest as monuments of literary art.

THE GREATEST MAN OF THE AGE

It is a relief to turn from the triviality and impurity of most of the versifiers in Persian to the virile, pure work of a great Hindu—the tallest tree in the 'magic garden' of mediaeval Hindu poesy. His name will not be found in the *Ain-i Akbari*, or in the pages of any Muslim annalist, or in the books by European authors based on the narratives of the Persian historians. Yet that Hindu was the greatest man of his age in India – greater even than Akbar himself, inasmuch as the conquest of the hearts and minds of millions of men and women effected by the poet was an achievement infinitely more lasting and important than any or all of the victories gained in war by the monarch. Although the poet numbered among his friends and admirers both Raja Man Singh of Amber and the

1. *Ain*, vol. i, Biography, p. xvi.
2. *Ain*, vol i, Biography p. xxix.

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Khan Khanan (Mirza Abdu-r rahim),[1] tho two most powerful nobles of Akbar's later years, he does not appear ever to have been brought to the notice of either the emperor or Abu-l Fazl. Probably the explanation may be that the two nobles named did not become acquainted with the poet until after the death of Akbar, in 1605. Neither the secretary nor his master showed any unwillingness to recognize Hindu merit, and if they had known of the genius who lived a quiet life at Benares they would not have been slow to acknowledge his excellence and encourage him in his undying labours.

TULSI DAS, HIS LIFE

Tulsi Das was the name of the Hindu for whom such pre-eminence is claimed. He enjoyed no advantages of birth, fortune, or education, being the son of ordinary Brahman parents, who exposed him in his infancy to live or die, because he had been born in an unlucky hour. Fate or providence willed that the child should be picked up by a wandering mendicant, who gave him sustenance as well as instruction in the legendary lore of Rama. The rescued child wandered about with his adoptive parent, living for some time at Chitrakut and Rajapur, in the Banda District of Bundelkhand. Most of the latter part of his long life was spent at Benares, where he wrote the bulk of his poems. His literary career, which did not begin until he was past the age of forty, lasted for forty years, from 1574 to 1614. In 1623 he died, aged over ninety. Such are the simple facts of his life, which matter little. His writings matter much.

THE RAMAYAN, OR RAMCHARIT MANAS

The principal composition of Tulsi Das, on which his fame mainly rests, is the huge epic poem in seven books, commonly known as the *Ramayan*, but entitled by the author the 'Lake of the Deeds of Ram' [*Ram-charit manas*]. The title was intended to signify that the reading and recitation of the poem would purify the student from sin, as bathing in the waters of a sacred lake is believed to purify the pilgrim. The work is so large that Growse's prose translation occupies 562 quarto pages.[2] The subject is the story of the deeds of the hero Ram or Rama, who is regarded as God manifested in the flesh, and entitled to the deepest reverence. Whatever the explanation of the fact may be, it is certain that the theology approaches so closely to that of Christianity that many passages might be applied to Christian uses by simply substituting the name of Jesus for that of Ram. Grierson cites a long prayer, which, as

1. The Khan Khanan (Grierson, *Vernacular Literature*, No. 108), who wrote fluently under the name of Rahim in Persian as well as in Arabic, Turki, Sanskrit, and Hindi, was reckoned the Maecenas of his age (Blochmann, in *Ain*, vol. i, p. 332). For the *Ma'asir-i Rahimi* see E. & D., vi, 237. Raja Man Singh (No. 109 of Grierson) also was a liberal patron of learning and literature. Sir George Grierson informs me that the friend of Tulsi Das named Todar Mall was a merchant of Benares, and not the famous finance minister, as Sir George formerly supposed him to be.

2. Growse's excellent version deserves the highest praise. Written in good English, it represents the original as faithfully as prose can reproduce verse.

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he justly observes, might be printed in a Christian prayer-book. The morality of the poem is as lofty as the theology, and there is not an impure word or idea in it from beginning to end. Rama's wife, Sita, is depicted as the ideal of womanhood. The poem is to the Hindus of Northern India even more than the Bible is to ordinary British Christians. 'In its own country it is supreme above all other literature and exercises an influence which it would be difficult to exaggerate.' That influence is all for good. The religion taught is that of the love of God—a personal God, who loves and cares for his children, and makes himself understood through his incarnation, Rama the Saviour.

LITERARY MERITS OF THE POEM

The poem is written in archaic Hindi, the vernacular of Ajodhya and surrounding districts in the sixteenth century, recorded phonetically. It is consequently difficult for European students, and very few people of European birth are able to read it in the original with ease. Sir George Grierson, one of the few, is firmly convinced that the poem is 'the work of a great genius'. He admits that 'as a work of art it has to European readers its prolixities and episodes which grate against Occidental tastes'; but, notwithstanding, he holds to the opinion that the poem is a masterpiece. He points out that the style varies with the subject, some passages being filled with 'infinite pathos', while others are expressed in the form of sententious aphorisms, so much favoured by Hindu authors. The characters, each of which has a well-defined personality, 'live and move with all the dignity of a heroic age'. The opinion of other competent experts coincides with that of Grierson, and, although my acquaintance with the original is extremely slight, I may say that I concur cordially. In a letter dated January 30, 1916, Sir George Grierson expresses himself even more strongly than he has done in print, and declares that 'I still think that Tulsi Das is the most important figure in the whole of Indian literature'.

NATURE SIMILES OF TULSI DAS

Tulsi Das, although not averse to using the conventional language of Indian poets in many passages, is rightly praised because his narrative 'teems with similes drawn, not from the traditions of the schools, but from nature herself, and better than Kalidasa at his best'. The three examples following, which I venture to clothe in material garb, may be thought sufficient to justify the criticism quoted.

i

Humility

E'en as the tree with golden fruitage blest
Gladly bows down to earth its lofty crest;
Just so, the more enrich'd by fortune kind,
More and more humble grows the noble mind.

ii

The tortured heart

In time of drouth the scorching earth finds rest
By cracking; but within my burning breast

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The tortured heart, enduring ceaseless grief,
Cracks not, while God's decree forbids relief.

iii

The teacher's word

As at the healthful breath of autumn's breeze
The noxious swarm of rain-fed insects flees ;
So, at the teacher's word, the mist of doubt
And error vanishes in headlong rout.[1]

SUR DAS

Among the numerous Hindu poets who graced the court or reign of Akbar, the second place after Tulsi Das is accorded by unanimous consent to Sur Das, 'the blind bard of Agra', who, with his father, Ramdas, is included in Abu-l Fazl's list of thirty-six singers and musicians employed at court.[2] Abu-l Fazl does not refer to the written compositions of Sur Das, which, according to Grierson, are characterized by 'cloying sweetness.' He is said to have excelled in all styles.

It is impossible in this place to go farther into detail. Readers who desire to pursue the subject will find guidance in the works enumerated in the bibliography.

CAUSES OF DEVELOPMENT OF HINDI POETRY

The brilliant development of original Hindi poetry in the time of Akbar may be ascribed partly, like the contemporary development of literature in England, to the undefinable influence exercised by a glorious and victorious reign, which necessarily produces a stimulating effect on all the activities of the human mind. The emperor's known and avowed partiality for Hindu practices and modes of thought, and the active interest which he showed in acquiring a knowledge of the ancient literature of India, contributed to the satisfactory result, as did the comparative peace secured by a government stronger than its predecessors. Although the achievement of Tulsi Das may not have been brought to the personal knowledge of Akbar, the poet felt that he could carry on his prolonged labours without fear of disturbance or persecution. Almost all Hindu poetry of merit is closely associated with the unrestricted

1. The references to Growse's translation are No. 1, book iii, *Doha* 35 (=43 of standard ed. of text); No. 2, book ii, *Doha* 141 (=146 of text); No. 3, book iv, *Doha* 17 (=18 of text).

Growse renders in prose :

i. 'The tree laden with fruit bowed low to the ground, like a generous soul whom every increase of fortune renders only more humble than before.'

ii. 'My heart bereft of its beloved is like clay drained of water, but it cracks not; now I know how capable of torture is the body that God has given me.'

iii. 'Under the influence of the autumn earth is rid of its insect swarms, as a man, who has found a good teacher, is relieved from all doubt and error.'

Grierson translates the last passage more literally thus :

'The swarms of living creatures with which, in the rainy season, the earth was fulfilled, are gone. When they found the Autumn approaching, they departed. So, when a man findeth a holy spiritual guide, all doubts and errors vanish.'

2. *Ain*, vol. i, p. 612.

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practice of the Hindu religion, which was absolutely assured by the government of Akbar. Muhammadans alone had reason to complain that the imperial principles of universal toleration were often disregarded to their detriment. The Muhammadan literature of the time, written mainly by courtiers and officials, appears to be far inferior in originality to the Hindi poetry. The impetus given to Hindi literature by the policy of Akbar lasted long after his death, throughout the reign of Jahangir, who ordinarily continued his father's system of government, and even into the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, the temple-breakers.[1]

MUSIC AND SONG

The cognate subject of music, to which reference has been made already in chapter iii, requires more explicit notice. Akbar, we are told,

'pays much attention to music and is the patron of all who practise this enchanting art. There are numerous musicians at court, Hindus, Iranis, Turanis, Kashmiris, both men and women. The court musicians are arranged in seven divisions, one for each day of the week.' Abu-l Fazl goes on to give a list of thirty-six singers and performers on sundry instruments, which includes the name of Baz Bahadur, the ex-king of Malwa, who had been appointed a *mansabdar* of 1,000, and is described as 'a singer without rival.'

The fact that many of the names are Hindu, with the title Khan added, indicates that the professional artists at a Muhammadan court often found it convenient and profitable to conform to Islam. The list does not include any women. Several of the persons named were poets as well as singers.

According to Abu-l Fazl, Akbar was the master of 'such a knowledge of the science of music as trained musicians do not possess ; and he is likewise an excellent hand at performing, especially on the *nakkarah* (kettle-drum).' The emperor made a special study of Hindi vocalization under Lal Kalawant, or Miyan Lal, who taught him 'every breathing and sound that appertains to the Hindi language.'[2] Details of the daily routine of the formal performances by the palace band are given in the *Ain-i Akbari*.

TANSEN

All authorities and traditions are agreed that the best performer at Akbar's court was Miyan Tansen, whom Akbar, in the seventh year of the reign, had required the Raja of Riwa to surrender. Abu-l Fazl declared that 'a singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years.' He was a close friend of Sur Das, and, like many of his contemporaries, received much of his musical education at Gwalior, where Raja Man Singh Tomar (1486-1518) had founded a school of music. Tansen became a Muhammadan, assumed or

1. For Shahjahan's extensive destruction of temples see *Badshah-nama* in E. & D., vii, 36. Elphinstone exaggerated the supposed 'beneficent and paternal' conduct of Shahjahan. Jahangir occasionally did a little desecration of temples when policy required him to pose as a good Musalman.

2. Jahangir, R.B., i, 150.

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was given the title of Mirza and is buried in Muslim holy ground at Gwalior. Unfortunately, he permitted himself to be ensnared by the prevailing vice of Musalmans in that age. His talents included the composition of verse. He died in the thirty-fourth year of the reign, late in April, A.D. 1589 (A.H. 997), probably at Gwalior.[1]

TRANSLATIONS FROM SANSKRIT, &C.

The active interest shown by Akbar in the ancient Sanskrit literature of India, to which allusion has been made, was chiefly manifested by his orders for the preparation of Persian translations and adaptations of the epics and other famous works. The versions, when completed with magnificent bindings and illustrations, were consigned to the immense imperial library at Agra. The Sanskrit books translated or paraphrased comprised the *Atharva Veda*; both of the great epics, namely, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* of Valmiki; the *Lilavati*, a treatise on arithmetic; and many others. The work of translation was not confined to Sanskrit authors. Greek and Arabic books were also dealt with. The Khan Khanan rendered into Persian the celebrated *Memoirs* of Babur, which ad been written in Turki.[2] Faizi made the version of the treatise on arithmetic, and Badaoni, to his intense disgust, was compelled to labour on the infidel *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. He could find only faint comfort in the thought that he was a blameless victim of destiny :

'But such is my fate, to be employed on such works. Nevertheless, I console myself with the reflection that what is predestined must come to pass.'[3]

The nobles were required to take copies of the illustrated adaptation of the *Mahabharata*, which was entitled the *Razmnama*.[4]

LIBRARY

Akbar's ancestors, notwithstanding their stormy lives, had loved and collected books. Akbar, although he had not taken the trouble to learn to read, yet, 'by a peculiar acquisitiveness and a talent for a selection, by no means common, had made his own all that can be seen and read in books'.[5] In order that material for his studies through the medium of the ear might not be lacking, he collected an enormous library of extraordinary pecuniary value, to which probably no parallel then existed or ever has existed in the

1. For Akbar's music and Tansen see *ante*, chap. iii; *Ain*, vol. i, pp. 51 (Ain 19, with plates) and 611; *A.N.*, ii, 279; Grierson, *Vernacular Literature*, No. 60, &c; *A.S.R.*, ii, 370, with description of Tansen's tomb; A.H. Fox Strangways, *The Music of Hindostan*, Oxford, 1914, p. 83. Jahangir confirms Abu-l Fazl's opinion of Tansen's skill (Jahangir R.B., i, 413). Tansen is labelled as Mirza in the *nauratna* drawing. Raja Man Singh Tomar of Gwalior must not be confounded with his namesake, the Kachhwaha of Amber (Jaipur). A full-length portrait of Tansen, on a small scale, is included by an anachronism in a picture of Jahangir's reign, depicting a court group, which is in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society.
2. *Ain*, book i, Ain 34; vol. i, pp. 103-6.
3. Badaoni, ii, 330, 347, 425.
4. See Colonel Hendley's fine edition (1883) of the plates in the Jaipur copy (vol. iv, of *Memorials of the Jeypore Exhibition*).
5. Badaoni, ii, 263.

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world. All the books were manuscripts. Akbar cared nothing for printed volumes, and got rid of the choice specimens presented to him by the first Jesuit mission. When the inventory of his treasures preserved in the fort of Agra was taken after his death, in October 1605, the books, 'written by great men, mostly by very ancient and serious authors', adorned with extremely valuable bindings, and in many cases enriched with costly illustrations by the best artists, numbered 24,000, valued at nearly six and a half millions of rupees (6,463,731). The average valuation for each volume therefore comes to from £27 to £30, according to the rate of exchange assumed. The total value similarly was equivalent to £646,373 or 737,169. 4,300 choice manuscripts had been transferred from Faizi's library after his death, in 1595. The figures of the inventory are beyond doubt, being taken from official registers copied independently by two European authors.[1]

PRINTING

No native Indian Government or private speculator attempted to use the art of printing by types until near the close of the eighteenth century, when certain Bengali works were printed under European supervision. The earliest Indian printing had been done by the Jesuits in presses at Goa and Rachol, beginning about the middle of the sixteenth century. Very few specimens of the productions of those presses have survived, and not even one example can be traced of the books printed at Ambalacatta in Cochin during the seventeenth century. It is difficult to cut satisfactory types for the Perso-Arabic alphabet, which was used for the works in Akbar's library, and it is impossible to produce with types results at all comparable with the beautiful calligraphy of the best manuscripts written in Persian. Akbar, who did not want books written in European languages, would have been horrified to see the works of his favourite authors reproduced by a mechanical process, instead of by the artistry of the skilful penmen who found liberal patronage at his court. His inability to read did not hinder him from enjoying and appreciating the beauty of the writing turned out by the best calligraphists, who were esteemed as artists at least as highly as the draughtsmen and painters who enriched the manuscripts with delicately executed illustrations.[2]

CALLIGRAPHY

Asiatic connoisseurs in China, Persia, Central Asia, and India treat fine handwriting or calligraphy seriously as a branch of art, and are often attracted by the penmanship of a manuscript more than by the illustrations, if any. Specimens of the handiwork of

1. The authors are Manrique and de Laet. See 'The Treasure of Akbar' in *J.R.A.S.*, April 1915. Mandelslo, who gives the same figures, does not count, as his editor copied from either Manrique or de Laet. For Faizi's library see Blochmann in *Ain*, vol. i, p. 491.

2. See Balfour, *Cyclop. of India*, 3rd ed., 1885, s.v. Printing; *J.A.S.B.*, 1913, pp. 149-68; and Hosten (*Catholic Herald of India*, Jan. 1916). The Tibetan block-printing, derived from China, never came into use in India, so far as I know.

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the more celebrated artists in writing were carefully collected and preserved with reverence in albums, of which many still exist. Abu-l Fazl enumerates eight styles of writing as being current in his day in Turkey, Turkistan, Persia, and India, distinguished one from the other chiefly by the proportion of curved to straight lines. In the Kufic script the straight lines were five-sixths of the whole, whereas in the Nastalik, which Akbar preferred, all the lines were curved. The author of the *Ain-i Akbari* goes into much detail on the subject, which would not interest many modern readers. The most renowned master of Nastalik in Akbar's time was Muhammad Husain of Kashmir, who was honoured by the title of 'Gold-pen' (*Zarrin-kalam*). Many other names of eminent scribes are recorded. The taste for elegant penmanship is not extinct, but the art is now little practised in India because it is no longer profitable. Sir John Malcolm, writing of experience in Persia early in the nineteenth century, remarks :

'I have known seven pounds given for four lines written by Derweish Mujeed, a celebrated penman, who has been dead some time, and whose beautiful specimens of writing are now scarce.'[1]

It is unlikely that any Indian connoisseur would now pay such a price.

ORIGIN OF INDO-PERSIAN PICTORIAL ART

During the early years of his reign Akbar had had no time to spare for the luxuries of art. A hard fight was needed to recover the Indian dominions of his father and grandfather, and to free himself from the control of his womankind and the Uzbeg nobles. In 1569, when he decided to build Fathpur-Sikri as a memorial of the birth of his son and heir, much fighting remained to be done; but he had then become master of Hindostan with its great fortresses, and was able to feel himself to be indeed a king. From about that year his active patronage of art and artists may be dated. The amenities of life in the Mogul court were regulated on the Persian model. The monarchs of Persia, who belonged to the dissenting Shia sect of Islam, took a lively interest in various forms of art and paid little regard to the ancient Mosaic and Koranic prohibition of the artistic use of images. The Persian draughtsmen and painters were thus able to create an important school, and produce multitudes of coloured drawings—often loosely called miniatures—filled with dainty representations of men, women, beasts, and birds. The earliest works of that school date from the thirteenth century. The Persian master most closely connected with the Indian branch of the school founded by Akbar was Bihzad of Herat, the contemporary of Babur. His work, more than that of any other man, was taken as a model by the numerous artists whom Akbar collected round him at Fathpur-Sikri. The *Darabnamah*, a story-

1. *Hist. of Persia*, new ed., 1829, vol. ii, p. 421 *n*. For the subject generally see Huart, *Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l'Orient Musalman*, Paris 1908. A work in Persian or Urdu, by Professor M. Hidayat Husain, entitled *Tadhkira-i Khushnavisan*, is said to be good, but I have not examined it.

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book prepared to Akbar's order, includes a composition by Bihzad, touched up by Abdu-s samad (Abdul Samad), who had been the drawing-master of Akbar as a boy. That picture may be regarded as one of the earliest book illustrations of the Indo-Persian school, and it is possible that it may even antedate the foundation of Fathpur-Sikri.[1]

The main subject, two men and a woman seated among purely conventional rocks, is in the older Persian style. It is not difficult to recognise the touch of Abdu-s samad in the little bits of feathery foliage inserted on the right.[2]

KHWAJA ABDU-S SAMAD

Khwaja Abdu-s samad, the most notable artist at Akbar's court in the early years of the reign, and a native of Shiraz in Persia, had been an intimate friend of Humayun. His title *Shirin-kalam*, or 'Sweet-pen', indicates that he must have been a skilled calligraphist. Akbar appointed him to be Master of the Mint at the capital in the twenty-second regnal year, and subsequently sent him to Multan as Diwan or Revenue Commissioner. Although his official grading was only that of a 'commander of 400' he enjoyed much influence at court. His skill of eye and hand was so marvellous that he is recorded to have written on a poppy seed the much venerated chapter 112 of the Koran, which is reputed to be worth a third of the whole book.[3] It runs thus :

'In the Name of the most merciful God. Say, God is our God ; the eternal God : he begetteth not, neither is he begotten ; and there is not any one like unto him.'[4]

Jahangir, a competent judge, was of opinion that the Khwaja 'in the art of painting had no equal in the age'. That emperor, immediately after his accession, promoted the artist's son, Sharif Khan, to the office of Vizier, invested him with the lofty title of Amiru-l Umara, or 'Premier Noble', and raised him to the princely dignity of 'commander of 5,000'.[5] The foundation of the Indo-Persian school of pictorial art may be attributed to Khwaja Abdu-s samad, working with the powerful aid of Akbar's imperial patronage.

AKBAR'S LOVE OF PAINTING

Akbar although not in a position to bestow extensive patronage on artists until his throne had been secured, had shown a great predilection for painting from his earliest youth. Characteristically, he sought a theological justification for his personal taste, remarking to friends assembled at a private party :

1. The portrait of Akbar as a boy aged about fifteen (Johnson Collection, I.O., vol. xviii, fol. 4) must have been painted about 1557, and may be the earliest known work of the Indo-Persian school (frontispiece of this work). It is anonymous, and probably the original. The style is crude and the picture ill-arranged.
2. *H.F.A.*, Pl. cxiii (from B.M. Or. 4615, fol. 103 rev.).
3. Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, pp. 107, 495 (No. 266).
4. Sale's version.
5. Jahangir, R.B., i, 15. The splendid reward was for services rendered to Prince Salim in the contest with his father, and especially, it was believed, for arranging the murder of Abu-l Fazl.

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'There are many that hate painting; but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognizing God: for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the Giver of life and will thus increase in knowledge.'[1]

Late in the reign Abu-l Fazl was able to affirm that more than a hundred painters had become famous masters of the art, while many more had attained moderate success.

SEVENTEEN EMINENT ARTISTS

The same author gives the names of seventeen specially distinguished artists. Examples of the work of all those persons, with the exception, perhaps, of one, are to be seen in London.[2] The collection of signed pictures from the *Akbarnama* at South Kensington alone would suffice as material for a critical examination of the merits of each of the principal artists of Akbar's reign. But no modern critic has yet attempted the task of accurately discriminating the styles of the various draughtsmen and colourists of the age. Jahangir professed his ability to identify the work of any artist.

'As regards myself,' he observes, my liking for painting and my practice in judging it have arrived at such a point that when any work is brought before me, either of deceased artists or of those of the present day, without the names being told me, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such a man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits, and each face be the work of a different master, I can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any other person has put in the eye and eyebrow of a face, I can perceive whose work the original face is, and who has painted the eye and eyebrows.'[3]

We may feel assured that the accuracy of the imperial guesses was never disputed. Although Akbar is not recorded to have claimed such marvellous connoisseurship, there can be little doubt that he too was well acquainted with the several merits of individuals in the crowd of artists whom he gathered around him. His exceptionally powerful memory and firm grasp of minute details must have been effective aids to his natural good taste. Jahangir's words allude to the curious practice of the collaboration of several persons on one small work, which was frequent, and is abundantly vouched for by the signatures.

HINDU ARTISTS

The death of the artist Daswanth, a pupil of Abdu-s samad, in 1584, has been mentioned already in chapter viii. His tragic story is of peculiar interest as affording definite proof that when Akbar and Abdu-s samad introduced Persian technique into India they had a foundation of indigenous art on which to build. Un-

1. *Ain*, vol. i, p. 108.
2. The exception is Haribans, of whose art I have not seen a specimen, but examples of his skill may exist, which have escaped my search.
Jahangir, R.B., i, 70.

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fortunately, the Indian works executed during the long period of nine centuries between the latest paintings at Ajanta and the earliest at Fathpur-Sikri have perished almost without exception, and but for Abu-l Fazl's express testimony the continued existence of Hindu schools of painting throughout the ages would be matter of faith and inference rather than of positive certainty. Akbar made full use of the abundant indigenous talent at his disposal. Out of the seventeen artists of his reign named as being pre-eminent no less than thirteen are Hindus. Abu-l Fazl specially admired the productions of the Hindu painters, and declares that 'their pictures surpass our conceptions of things. Few, indeed, in the whole world are found equal to them'.

Basawan disputed with Daswanth the first place among the Hindu artists of Akbar's age. The Indian influence quickly asserted itself and resulted in the evolution of a school differing profoundly in spirit from the Persian school, which at first had been directly imitated.[1]

PORTRAITS

The Indians, both Hindu and Muhammadan, speedily established a distinct superiority in the art of portraiture.

'His Majesty himself sat for his likeness, and also ordered to have the likenesses taken of all the grandees of the realm. An immense album was thus formed; those that have passed away have received a new life, and those who are still alive have immortality promised them.'[2]

The gnawing tooth of time and the heavy hand of barbarous men have dealt hardly with that 'immense album'. Few of the separately executed portraits of Akbar's time seem to have survived in original, and it may be doubted if any of the portraits now extant come from the court album.

At the time of Jahangir's accession a picture gallery was attached to the library in the Agra fort, both institutions being under the care of Maktub Khan.[3]

ORGANIZATION

The liberal patronage accorded to painters and calligraphers necessarily involved the maintenance of a large staff of skilled artisans employed as binders, gilders, &c., who were classed as infantry soldier in accordance with the military framework of Akbar's government. Similarly, the artists and other principal people held military rank as *Mansabdars* or *Ahadis*, and as such drew their salaries. The emperor was in the habit of examining the works produced at weekly inspections, when he distributed rewards or increased salaries at his royal pleasure. Jahangir, who was more free-handed than Akbar, mentions on one occasion the bestowal of

1. See *H.F.A.*, chaps. ix (sec. 5) and xv, and Dr. Coomaraswamy's publications on Rajput painting.
2. *Ain*, vol. i, p. 108. See *post*, Bibliography, section F.
3. Jahangir, R.B., i, 12. The emperor quotes an ingenious chronogram composed by the librarian.

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2,000 rupees on Farrukh Beg the Kalmak (Calmuck), an excellent painter, whom Akbar had taken over from his brother.[1] The donations bestowed by Akbar probably were on a more economical scale.

FRESCOES

The labours of Akbar's artists were not confined to book illustrations or small album pictures. The art of fresco painting on a large scale was sedulously and successfully cultivated, being applied to the interior walls of many buildings at Fathpur-Sikri and elsewhere during the reigns of both Akbar and his son. The extant fragments, few and sadly mutilated, are sufficient to show that the art of the fresco painter was of high quality. It was Persian in technique on the whole, but much modified by Indian, Chinese and European influence. The most interesting fragment surviving is that of the fine composition on the north wall of Akbar's bedroom at Fathpur-Sikri, which may be called 'Eight Men in a Boat'.[2] The building may be dated about 1570 or 1571.

Numerous decorative patterns, which are better preserved than the figure subjects, are of the highest excellence. Akbar was glad to engage the services of a good artist from any country, and allowed each to work in the style suited to him.[3]

ARCHITECTURE OF THE REIGN

Architecture, 'the queen of arts', naturally was practised with eminent success under the sway of Akbar, whose tolerant policy permitted the votaries of all creeds to worship God each in his own fashion and to build fanes of any pattern in honour of the divine ruler of the universe. The requirements of a magnificent imperial court and of many lesser viceregal and princely courts throughout the provinces demanded dignity and splendour in public buildings of a civil kind, while the security of property was assured in a degree sufficient to encourage the accumulation of private wealth and its free disbursement on palaces, domestic dwellings, tombs, and other edifices. Each architect was at liberty to adopt any style that he fancied. The edifices erected consequently included examples purely Muhammadan in conception, others purely Hindu, and a great number executed in different varieties of an eclectic style—sometimes designated as Hindu-Muhammadan—which combined the characteristic features of Muhammadan architecture, the dome and pointed arch, with the equally characteristic Hindu horizontal construction and many peculiarities of Indian decoration. The story of Indian architecture during the reign of Akbar and that of his son Jahangir, which, as already observed, may be regarded as a continuation of Akbar's rule, has not yet been written. In this work it is not practi-

1. *H.F.A.*, p. 470; *A.N.*, iii, 714.
2. E.W. Smith, *Fathpur-Sikri*, part i, pl. xiii, in colour; *H.F.A.*, p. 480, pl. cxiv, uncoloured.
3. For further information on the subject of pictorial art in Akbar's reign the reader is referred to *H.F.A.*

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cable to offer more than a general sketch of the architectural achievement of Akbar's reign only.

EXISTING BUILDINGS

The existing buildings are less numerous than might be expected, if the immense complex of edifices, civil and religious at Fathpur-Sikri be excluded from consideration. One reason for the comparative paucity of structures of Akbar's time is that Shahjahan cleared away nearly all of his grandfather's numerous buildings in the Agra fort in order to replace them by others designed in accordance with his own taste. The lapse of time and the ruthless violence of man during the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth account for many losses, while not a little injury has been wrought by carelessness, neglect, and stupid destruction effected by officials destitute of historical sense or artistic taste. Some of the earlier work of the reign seems to have been pulled down by order of Akbar himself. Not a vestige remains of his buildings at Nagarchain, and in all probability the famous House of Worship was levelled soon after 1580. We also hear of the destruction of mosques in the later years of the reign, but no specific instance seems to be recorded, and it is impossible to say anything about the date of the doomed buildings. Jahangir disapproved of the plans passed by his father for the mausoleum at Sikandara. The unique existing structure, finished in A. D. 1612-13 (A. H. 1021), is wholly the result of instructions given by Jahangir.[1]

The remains of Akbar's buildings at Allahabad, Ajmer, Lahore, and other places have not been accurately surveyed or described.[2]

BUILDINGS IN HINDU STYLE

It is certain that many Hindu (including Jain) temples were erected during Akbar's reign, and it may be assumed that in numerous cases the style was not affected by Muhammadan influence. But the enormous destruction wrought by Shahjahan and Aurangzeb has left few specimens of that period standing. The surviving half-ruined temples at Brindaban near Mathura are in the 'mixed' style. Temples of Akbar's time, purely Hindu in character, if such still exist, must be sought in remote parts of Rajputana or in other out-of-the-way places not easily reached by Muslim iconoclasts.

Some of the civil buildings erected by Akbar may be classed as almost purely Hindu in style. The best-known example of the kind is the so-called Jahangiri Mahall in the Agra Fort, which, as Fergusson justly observed, would hardly be out of place at Chitor or Gwalior.[3] A few kiosks and minor decorations, perhaps, may display the influence of Islamic art, but the palace, as a whole, undoubtedly is Hindu in style. The best modern opinion holds that it dates from Akbar's time, late in the reign. The so-called

1. Part of the cloisters in the enclosure may date from Akbar's time.
2. Akbar's palace at Ajmer is now the Rajputana Museum (H. B. Sarda, *Ajmer, Historical and Descriptive* (Ajmer, 1911), pp. 111, 113, and plates). The buildings have been altered. The same author enumerates other buildings erected by Akbar and still in existence at Ajmer, including a handsome mosque.
3. *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, ed. 1910, p. 293.

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'Jodh Bai's Palace' at Fathpur-Sikri, which has a general resemblance to the 'Jahangiri Mahall', was built about 1570, and is considerably earlier in date than the building in the Fort. The palace built subsequently by Jahangir for his own residence in Agra was pulled down by his son. The central hall of Akbar's original palace in the Fort, built about 1565, appears from the photograph to be purely Hindu in style and construction.[1] The Sati Burj, a quadrangular tower of red sandstone at Mathura, built in 1570 to commemorate the self-immolation of a wife of Raja Bihar Mall of Amber (Jaipur), is an interesting and exceptional monument of Hindu architecture.[2]

BUILDINGS IN MUHAMMADAN STYLE

The extant buildings of the age in purely Muhammadan style are not numerous. Most of the sixteenth-century edifices, even those probably not at all influenced by deference to Akbar's personal opinions, display certain features of Indian, that is to say, Hindu origin, resulting from the employment of Hindu craftsmen and from the general influence of the environment. India, from time immemorial, has rivalled Greece in her conquest of her conquerors. No information is at my disposal concerning the 'handsome mosque erected by Akbar' at Mirtha (Merta) in Rajputana, and it may or may not be purely Muslim in design. The *liwan*, or service portion of the great mosque at Fathpur Sikri, finished in A.D. 1571, although it professes to be copied from a model of Mecca, yet exhibits Hindu construction in the pillars and roofing. The noble gateways of that mosque, perhaps, may be reckoned as being the most purely Muslim in character of Akbar's buildings designed on a considerable scale.

TOMB OF HUMAYUN

The famous tomb of Humayun at Old Delhi, completed to the order of Haji Begam early in 1569, and designed by Mirak Mirza Ghiyak, presumably a Persian, admittedly is the most Persian in style of all the larger structures of the age. Indeed, at the first glance it seems to be purely foreign and un-Indian. Nevertheless, the ground-plan, based on the grouping of four chambers round one great central room, is purely Indian. The building offers the earliest example in India of a double dome with slightly swelling outline standing on a high neck. That mode of construction, copied from the tombs of Timur and Bibi Khanam (A. D. 1403) at Samarkand, may be traced back ultimately to the Umayyad mosque at Damascus, built about A. D. 1082. The theory that the Mogul swelling dome, of which Humayun's tomb is the earliest Indian specimen, was the lineal descendant of Hindu forms appears to be purely fanciful and opposed to clear evidence. Akbar and his architects are entitled to the credit of introducing into India that pleasing Persian form, which far excels in beauty and effectiveness

1. *Ann. Report A.S. India* for 1907-8, pl. iv *a*.
2. Growse, *Mathura*, 3rd ed. (1883), p.148, with plate. The plastered dome is modern.

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the low-pitched so-called 'Pathan' domes. It must not however, be supposed that domes of that kind were altogether superseded by the Persian novelty. On the contrary, they continued to be built in large numbers, and at Fathpur-Sikri they are common. The tomb of Humayun is regarded by most writers as the prototype of the Taj ; but as Mr. Cresswell justly points out, the ruined tomb of the Khan Khanan, which stands to the east of Humayun's mausoleum, has a better claim to be regarded as the model of Shahjahan's masterpiece.[1]

The buildings of Akbar's time, as a rule, obviously combine both Hindu and Muhammadan features, and so may be described correctly as being designed in an eclectic or mixed Hindu-Muhammadan style. Sometimes the Hindu, sometimes the Muhammadan element predominates.

TOMB OF MUHAMMAD GHAUS AT GWALIOR

One of the most remarkable edifices of the reign, although comparatively little known, is the tomb at Gwalior of the saint Muhammad Ghaus, who died in 1562. The building, consequently, is approximately contemporary with the mausoleum of Humayun, but its design is totally distinct, and nobody could mistake it for anything but an Indian monument. The building is a square, measuring 100 feet on each side, with a hexagonal tower attached by an angle to each corner. The single tomb-chamber, 43 feet square, is surrounded by a deep verandah, protected by extraordinarily large eaves. The exterior formerly was covered by blue glazed tiles in the Persian fashion. The dome is of the 'Pathan' type, rather high, with sides vertical for some distance. Some of the kiosks are Muslim in form, while others with square columns and bracket capitals might belong to a Hindu temple. The queer undisguised mixture of Muhammadan and Hindu elements seems to be due to local conditions, rather than to any theoretical attempt at harmonizing Hinduism with Islam. It is not likely that Akbar's opinions can have had influence on the architect, and at the time the building was erected the emperor still was a zealous Musalman.[2]

REFLEX OF AKBAR'S MIND

When Abu-l Fazl declared that 'His Majesty plans splendid edifices, and dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay', the imposing phrase is not merely a courtly compliment.[3] It is sober truth, as Fergusson puts the matter, that

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1. See Mr. Cresswell's papers : 'The Origin of the Persian Double Dome' (*Burlington Mag.*, November-December, 1913); 'Persian Domes before 1400 A.D.,' (ibid., January-February, 1915); 'Indian Domes of Persian Origin' (*Asiatic Rev.*, November 1914); and 'The History and Evolution of the Dome in Persia' (*Ind. Ant.*, 1915, pp. 233-59). The rival erroneous theory is advocated by Mr. Havell in *Indian Architecture* (Murray, 1915) and other works. For the despoiled tomb of the Khan Khanan see Carr Stephen, p. 214; Harcourt, *Guide to Delhi* (1866), No. 35; and *Ain*, vol. i, p. 336. Cresswell gives a photo of it in the *Ind. Ant.*

2. *A.S.R.*, ii (1871) p. 369; Beale, *Dict.*, s.v. Muhammad Ghaus, Shaikh; *I.G.* (1908), s.v. Gwalior; Lepel Griffin, *Famous Monuments of Central India*, 1886, pl. xlvii; Fergusson, ed. 1910, p. 292, fig. 422.

3. *Ain*, book i, Ain 85; vol. i, p. 222.

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Fathpur-Sikri is 'a reflex of the mind of the great man who built it',[1] and it is certain that Akbar not only mastered every detail in the working of his Public Works Department, but supplied ideas which were carried out by the able architects whom he gathered around him. The names of those brilliant artists, who adopted no precautions to secure the applause of posterity, have perished utterly. It is true that a small mosque and pillared tomb outside the walls, near the Tehra (Terha) gate of Fathpur-Sikri, expressly commemorate Bahau-d din, who is remembered by tradition as the overseer of works or superintending engineer engaged on the building of the city, but there is no evidence that he designed any of the monuments. The building work, as Father Monserrate mentions, was pressed on with extraordinary speed under the personal supervision of Akbar,[2] and it is clear that many architects or master-masons of the highest skill must have been employed simultaneously.

FATHPUR-SIKRI OCCUPIED FROM 1570 TO 1585

The greater part of the palace-city of Fathpur-Sikri, planned and begun in 1569, was built between 1570 and 1580. Nothing, except certain small mosques and tombs erected by private individuals, is later than 1585, when Akbar moved to the Panjab for a residence of thirteen years in that province. In 1598, when he came south, he went to Agra, and not to Fathpur-Sikri, where he never resided again. While on his way back from the Deccan in May 1601, as already explained in chapter iv, he merely paid a flying visit to his former capital, and marched on to Agra. Fathpur-Sikri, which is known to have been mostly in ruins in the summer of 1604, must have decayed rapidly from the date of its desertion by the emperor in 1585, immediately after the visit of Ralph Fitch. The effective occupation of the place, therefore, did not exceed fifteen or sixteen years, the period from 1570 to the autumn of 1585. The site being unhealthy and destitute of all natural advantages as a residence, there was no reason why a city should continue to exist there after the withdrawal of the court on which its life was dependent. A small country town has always remained.

WALLS AND GATES

Akbar's city, nearly seven miles in circumference, was built on

1. Fergusson, ed. 1910, p. 297. It may be noted that even in that recent edition several mis-statements of fact occur in the short section dealing with Akbar. For instance, it is not true that 'there is no trace of Hinduism in the works of Jahangir' (p. 288); or that Fathpur-Sikri was Akbar's favourite residence 'during the whole of his reign' (p. 293); or that 'Allahabad was a more favourite residence of this monarch than Agra, perhaps as much so as even Fathpur-Sikri' (p. 298).

2. *Commentarius*, pp. 560, 642. A peristylar building, 200 feet long, was finished in three months, and a great range of baths, with all its appurtenances, was completed in six months. All the material, prepared according to specification (*secundum propositam aedificandi descriptionem*), was brought complete and ready to the place where it was to be used. Monserrate was reminded of the scriptural precedent : 'And the house, when it was in building, was built of stone made ready before it was brought thither : so that there was neither hammer nor ax nor any tool of iron heard in the house, while it was in building' (1 Kings vi, 7). For Bahau-d din see E. W. Smith, *Fathpur-Sikri*, iv, 30.

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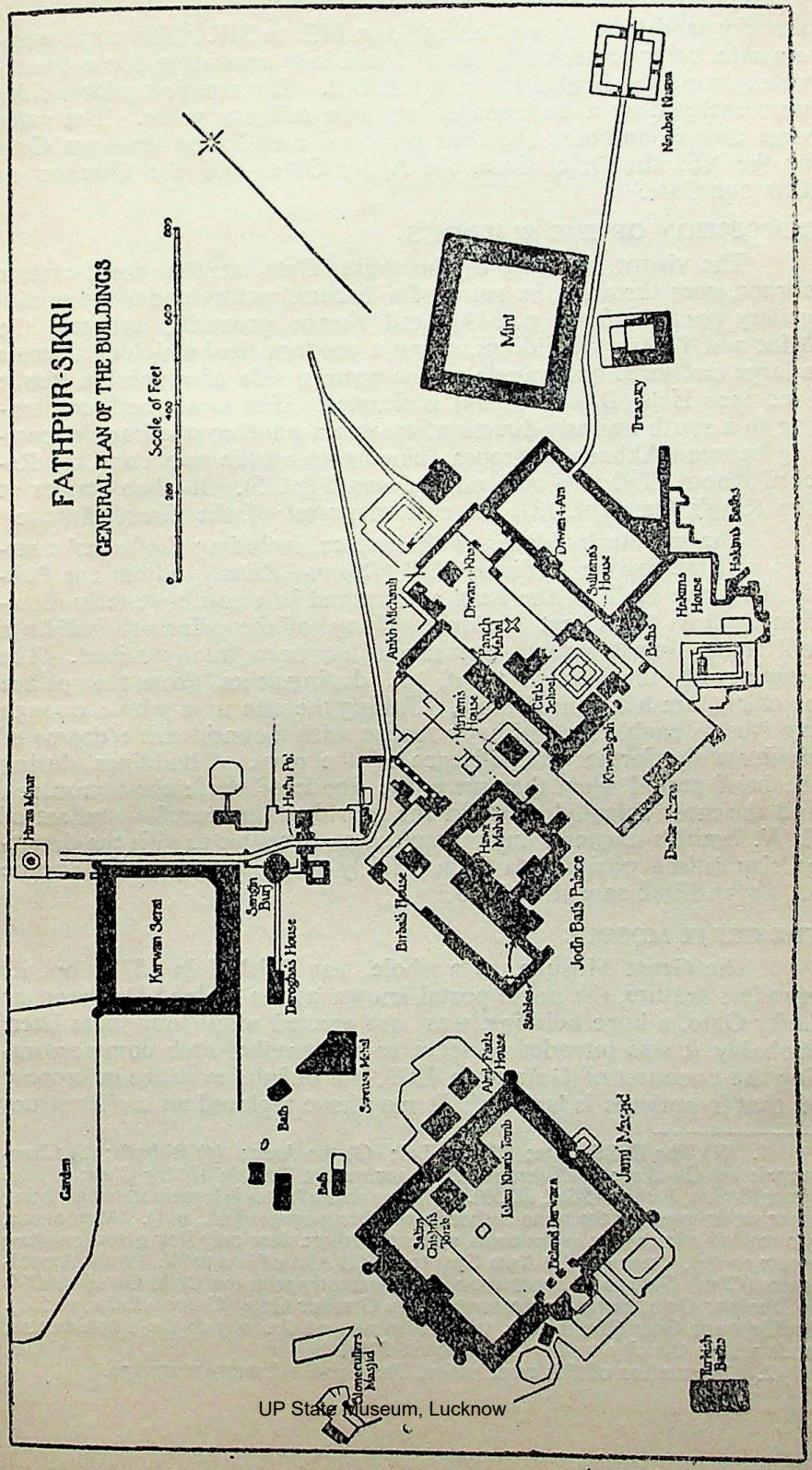

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a rocky sandstone ridge running from NE. to SW. The north-western side, being protected by an artificial lake measuring some twenty miles round the banks, was not fortified. The remaining three sides were enclosed by a wall possessing little military value. The gates were nine in number ; the four principal ones being the Agra Gate on the NE., the Delhi Gate, the Ajmer Gate, and the Gwalior or Dholpur Gate.[1]

DISPOSITION OF THE BUILDINGS

The visitor, entering by the Agra Gate at the north-eastern corner, goes through the ruins of a bazaar, passes under the music-gallery (*naubat-khana*, p. 319), and thence proceeds, between the Mint and Treasury buildings, along a modern road which cuts across a large cloistered quadrangle on the western side of which the Public Audience Hall (*Diwan-i Amm*) is situated. The same road, continuing in a south-westerly direction, traverses another quadrangle, passing between Akbar's bedroom (*khwabgah*) on the north and the Record Room (*daftar khana*) on the south (pl. 5). It then arrives at the King's Gate (pl. 12), the eastern portal of the Great Mosque.

The private buildings of the palace, including the ladies' quarters and the Private Audience Hall (*Diwan-i Khass*), adjoin the Public Audience Hall on the west, and extend in a south-westerly direction towards the Great Mosque. Many of the principal buildings still stand almost intact, but much has been totally ruined. The remains of the ancient town, as distinguished from the palace precincts, are not considerable. Taking the site as a whole, enough survives to enable the visitor to realize with a considerable degree of vividness the former magnificence of the mass of buildings during the brief period when they were the abode of the richest monarch and the most splendid court in the world. The careful student of E. W. Smith's masterly monograph, even if unable to visit the deserted city, is in a position to form a fairly accurate notion of the scene as Ralph Fitch saw it in 1585.[2]

THE GREAT MOSQUE

The Great Mosque, as a whole, was finished in 1571 ; but its grandest feature, the noble portal known as the Buland Darwaza, or Lofty Gate, a huge building, was not erected until four years later. Probably it was intended to serve as a triumphal arch commemorating the conquest of Gujarat in 1573, but definite evidence in support of that hypothesis is lacking. It may have replaced an earlier struc-

1. (1) The Delhi Gate; (2) the Lal; (3) the Agra; (4) Birbal's; (5) Chandanpal; (6) Gwalior; (7) Tehra (or more accurately, Terha); (8) the Chor; (9) the Ajmer (Smith, *Fathpur-Sikri*, iii, 59). The number of gates is loosely stated as being either six or seven by the same author in another passage (ibid., p. 1). Monserrate, who resided a long time in the town, states that there were only four gates (*quattuor tantum portis*), namely, (1) Agra Gate to E., (2) Ajmer Gate to W., (3) the Amphitheatre (*Circi*) Gate to N., corresponding apparently with the Delhi Gate; and (4) the Dholpur Gate, certainly the same as the Gwalior Gate (*Commentarius*, p. 561). The Elephant Gate (Hathi Pol), which also was on the way to the amphitheatre, stands within the city walls. See map (p. 319).

2. The author of this work visited Fathpur-Sikri many years ago.

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ture similar to the other three gates, but no direct evidence exists as to that matter either. The inscription on the gateway commemorating the victories in the Deccan and Akbar's safe return was recorded in May 1601, while the emperor made a brief halt at his former capital. It has nothing to do with the erection of the building, which took place in A.H. 983 (1575-6).[1] Pl. 13, illustrating one of the minor *mihrabs* or prayer-niches, gives some slight notion of the elaborate nature of the mosaic and painted decoration of the mosque. The 'cornice and string' in the top part of the drawing is exquisitely painted, the prevailing colour being chocolate.[2]

THE KING'S GATE

The King's Gate (pl. 12),[3] being the entrance to the Great Mosque from the palace, must have been used constantly by Akbar, presumably every day, for several years during which he was a conforming Musalman paying respect to the ordinances of Islam. He was careful to offer prayer five times a day in canonical fashion until 1578. In the year following he recited the *khutba* in the Great Mosque, and, no doubt, he took part in public worship on other subsequent occasions from time to time when policy demanded a show of orthodoxy. He was very pious in his behaviour while on his way to Kabul in 1581, but when he returned victorious at the end of that year he again ceased to offer the prescribed prayers. In the year following, namely in 1582, he promulgated his own Divine Faith, and thence-forward had little use for the King's Gate.

TOMB OF SHAIKH SALIM CHISHTI

The most exquisite, although not the most imposing, edifice at Fathpur-Sikri is the white marble mausoleum of the old saint Shaikh Salim Chishti, in whose honour the mosque and the whole city were built. He died early in 1572. The building, which stands within the quadrangle of the Great Mosque on the northern side, facing the Buland Darwaza, was finished some years later. To the eye it seems to be wholly composed of white marble, but the dome is really built of red sandstone, which originally was coated with plaster, although now covered by a veneer of marble. The marble lattices enclosing the ambulatory round the cenotaph chamber, and the rich mosaic flooring, which were not included in the original design, were added by Kutbu-d din Koka, foster-brother of Jahangir, probably at the beginning of the reign of that emperor.

It is surprising to find unmistakable Hindu features in the architecture of the tomb of a most zealous Musalman saint, but the whole structure suggests Hindu feeling, and nobody can mistake the Hindu origin of the columns and struts of the porch.

The inlay of mother-of-pearl and ebony on the canopy is wonderful and unique work.[4]

1. See *ante*, chap. iv.
2. Smith, *Fathpur-Sikri*, part iv, pl. xlviii.
3. Smith, op. cit., part iv. pl. iii.
4. The tomb is carefully described in Smith, *Fathpur-Sikri*, part iii, chap. ii. 'The cenotaph chamber rises considerably above the verandahs which are only 12′ 6″ in height. It is surmounted by a red sandstone dome veneered on the outside with

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MATERIAL AND DECORATION

All Akbar's undoubted buildings at Fathpur-Sikri are constructed with the excellent local red sandstone. The apparent exception presented by Salim Chishti's tomb is only apparent, if it be true, as seems to be the case, that the monument originally was built of sandstone. Akbar ordinarily used marble only as a decorative material in the form of inlay. The *pietra dura* kind of inlay, formed by bedding thin slices of semi-precious stones in marble, as practised by Shahjahan, was not known to Akbar's craftsmen, who relied for decorative effect chiefly on carving the sandstone, usually in low relief ; on marble inlay ; and on painting plastered surfaces. Occasionally, examples of ornaments executed in plaster may be seen, but they are not common. Gilding was applied in suitable places. The marvellous mother-of-pearl and ebony inlay of the canopy at Salim Chishti's tomb is unique, and possibly may have been executed after Akbar's death. The remains of wall-paintings, both figure subjects and elegant decorative patterns, exist chiefly in Akbar's bedroom (the *Khwabgah*) and Miriam's House.

In Birbal's House, one of the most charming of the domestic buildings, erected in A. D. 1572, the rich decoration, with the exception of some insignificant coloured bands, is confined to sandstone carving, in which Hindu and Muhammadan elements are combined with much ingenuity and excellent effect. The architect did not hesitate to crown an essentially Hindu building with two 'Pathan' domes (pl. 14).[1]

THE THRONE PILLAR

One more monument at Fathpur-Sikri, perhaps the most remarkable in the city, and certainly absolutely unique, demands

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a greyish marble, but originally coated with cement' (ibid., p. 12). Jahangir (R.B., ii, 71) states the cost of the whole mosque (not only the tomb) to the public treasury as having been half a million (5 lakhs) of rupees, figure incredibly low, if he refers to the total cost. He goes on to say : 'Kutbu-d din Khan Kokaltash made the marble railing (*mahjar*) round the cemetery, the flooring of the dome and portico, and these are not included in the five lakhs.' Kutbu-d din, the foster-brother of Jahangir, was killed in 1607, so the work contributed by him must be earlier than that date. Latif (*Agra*, p. 144), after stating that 'the tomb of the Saint is of pure white marble, surrounded by a lattice work of the same material', proceeds to affirm that 'as originally built by Akbar, the tomb was of red sandstone, and the marble trellis-work, the chief ornament of the tomb, was erected subsequently by the emperor Jahangir.' As that emperor succeeded his father in October-November 1605, and his foster-brother was killed in 1607, the exquisite marble lattice would seem to date from 1606. The observation of E.W. Smith that the dome is built of red sandstone, originally coated with cement, but now veneered with marble, proves that a substantial portion of the structure was built of sandstone in the first instance, and subsequently made to look like marble. The material of the tomb (except the dome) and porch appears now to be solid marble. If sandstone was originally used, either the building must have been pulled down and rebuilt or extensively veneered. I do not rightly understand what happened, and no exact record of the subject seems to exist. The porch itself may be an addition to the original design; and date from the reign of Jahangir rather than that of Akbar.

1. Smith, op. cit., part ii, pl. 1 *a*. For deatails of the Hindu-Muhammadan carving see especially the remarkable drawing in the double-page plate xxxvi of Smith, *Fathpur*, part ii. The names of the accomplished draughtsmen, 'Bhairav Baksh' and 'Fazul-ud-din' deserve commemoration.

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notice. The Private Audience Hall, or Privy Council Chamber (*Diwan-i Khass*), when viewed from the outside appears as a double-storied building, with a domed kiosk at each corner ; but the interior is a single apartment open from floor to roof. A massive octagonal column, elaborately carved, rises from the centre of the tessellated pavement as high as the sills of the upper windows. It is surmounted by an enormous circular capital composed of three tiers of radiating brackets, each tier projecting above and in front of that below. The top of the pillar is ten feet in diameter. From it four stone beams, each ten feet long, radiate to the corners of the building, where the quadrant-shaped ends of the beams are received on corbelling similar in structure to the brackets of the capital. The summit of the pillar and the galleries radiating from it were guarded by parapets of pierced stone lattice-work about fifteen inches high. Tradition affirms, and no doubt with truth, that Akbar, comfortably seated on cushions and rugs, occupied the central space, while a minister stood at each corner of the room awaiting his orders. According to local belief the ministers so favoured were the Khan Khanan, Raja Birbal, Abu-l Fazl, and Faizi, but, as a matter of fact, the personages in attendance on the emperor must have varied from time to time (pl. 15).[1]

THE MEANING OF FATHPUR-SIKRI

The building of Fathpur-Sikri was the freak of an irresponsible autocrat, acting under the impulse of overpowering superstitious emotion, and enjoying the sensation of absolute freedom from financial limitations. Happily the autocratic whim, conceived originally in a broad-minded spirit, was carried into effect under the control of sound practical sense and truly artistic taste. Akbar, a man of large ideas, would not allow the plan of an imperial capital to be marred by pettiness of thought or ill-timed economy. All the needs of court and capital were considered by the lavish provision of mosques, waterworks, Turkish baths, schools, hospitals, and other amenities, besides the ordinary requisites of an Asiatic town in the sixteenth century. On the palace and its appurtenances no cost was spared. The world was ransacked to supply craftsmen and artists of every kind ; and the buildings which express their skill, even if they were ill to live in, certainly are unsurpassed in their way as achievements of architectural art.

Nothing like Fathpur-Sikri ever was created before or can be created again. It is 'a romance in stone'—the petrification of a passing mood in Akbar's strange nature, begun and finished at lightning speed while that mood lasted—inconceivable and impossible at any other time or in any other circumstances. The world may well feel grateful to the despot who was capable of committing such an inspired folly.[2]

1. Keene's absurd suggestion that the Diwan-i Khass was the Ibadat-Khana or House of Worship has been disposed of in an earlier passage. Mr. Havell's symbolical explanation of the throne pillar is fanciful and unproved. It seems to symbolize dominion over the four quarters.

2. Fergusson's remark that 'Akbar seems to have had no settled plan when he commenced building there' (ed. 1910, ii, 293) is singularly unfortunate. The plan,

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BRINDABAN TEMPLES IN ECLECTIC STYLE

The most notable examples of the eclectic style of Akbar's age, with a predominance of Hindu elements, outside of Agra and Fathpur-Sikri, are to be found at Brindaban in the Mathura District, the reputed abode of the demi-god Krishna. Local tradition affirms that in 1573, the year of the conquest of Gujarat, Akbar was induced to pay a visit to the Gosains, or holy men of Brindaban, and was taken blindfold into the sacred enclosure of the Nidhban ('Grove of the Nine Treasures'), where a vision was revealed to him so marvellous that he was constrained to admit that he had been permitted to stand upon holy ground. The Rajas who bore him company expressed a desire to commemorate the visit and do honour to Krishna by the erection of four temples, which were constructed in due course many years later.[1]

The most interesting of the four is the noble shrine of Gobind Deva, which Growse considered to be

'the most impressive religious edifice that Hindu art has ever produced, at least in upper India.'

The same author continues :

'The body of the building is in the form of a Greek cross, the nave being a hundred feet in length and the breadth across the transepts the same. The central compartment is surmounted by a dome of singularly graceful proportions ; and the four arms of the cross are roofed by a waggon vault of pointed form, not, as is usual in Hindu architecture, composed of overlapping brackets, but constructed of true radiating arches as in our Gothic cathedrals. The walls have an average thickness of ten feet and are pierced in two stages, the upper stage being a regular triforium, to which access is obtained by an internal staircase....This triforium is a reproduction of Muhammadan design, while the work both above and below it is purely Hindu.'

The original design provided for five towers, which were never completed. The architect was Gobind Das of Delhi, who was commissioned by Raja Man Singh of Amber (Jaipur).[2]

THE STYLE OF THE FUTURE

The eclectic Hindu-Muhammadan style of Akbar's age in its different forms seems to offer great possibilities of development in the hands of a modern architect of genius. An accomplished writer

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which was well defined, was governed by the configuration of the ridge and the position of the saint's dwelling.

1. The four temples, all more or less ruined, are (1) Gobind Deva, A.D. 1590; (2) Madan Mohan, exact date unknown; (3) Gopinath, perhaps the earliest of the four; and (4) Jugal Kishor, A.D. 1627.

2. H. H. Cole, *Illustrations of Buildings near Muttra and Agra showing the Mixed Hindu-Muhammadan Style of Upper India*, London, India Office, 1873. Photograph No. 6'69, facing p. 24, shows the Muhammadan triforium clearly, and also the mosque or *idgah* wall on the summit erected by Aurangzeb to desecrate the temple as a Hindu shrine. Photograph No. 5'69, facing p. 22, gives a good view of the wagon roof. The mosque wall has been removed since. The photographs in Growse, *Mathura*, 3rd ed. (1883), chap. ix, do not bring out the Muhammadan features distinctly. See also Fergusson, ed. 1910, p. 157, fig. 351.

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on the subject, who has had the advantage of considerable practical experience, is of opinion that for the purpose of effecting a renaissance of revival of Indian architecture,

'the best model on which to work is the style used by Akbar, who has claims to be regarded as the founder of a really national Indian style, combining the best features of both Hindu and Muhammadan architecture.'[1]

Growse, who also much admired the mixed style, and desired to see it developed in a manner suitable to modern conditions, has recorded the wise caution that

'simple retrogression is impossible. Every period has an environment of its own, which, however studiously ignored in artificial imitations, must have its effect in any spontaneous development of the artistic faculty.'

He suggests that wedding the style of Akbar's age to European Gothic, which has 'a strong natural affinity' to it, may possibly result in the evolution of a satisfactory national Indian style adapted to the needs of the present age. Perhaps.[2]

1. F.O. Oertel, lecture before E.I. Assoc., July 1913.
2. Select examples of modern buildings are described in an official publication entitled *Modern Indian Architecture at Delhi*, & c. (Allahabad, Government Press, 1913). Those at Bikaner are the most pleasing.

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APPENDIX C

CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE AND REIGN OF AKBAR

NOTE.—Dates A.D. are in old style throughout. Chronological discrepancies in the Persian authorities are numerous, sometimes amounting to two years. The exact conversion of A.H. to A.D. dates is subject to considerable uncertainty, partly owing to difficulties about intercalation, partly to the fact that the Muhammadan day begins at sunset, and occasionally to other causes. The Hijri year is lunar. The months are (alternately 30 and 29 days) : (1) Muharram; (2) Safar; (3) Rabi' I; (4) Rabi' II; (5) Jumadi I; (6) Jumadi II; (7) Rajab; (8) Sha'ban; (9) Shawwal; (10) Ramazan; (11) Zu-l ka'da; (12) Zu-l hijjat.

The Ilahi year was solar, a modification of the Persian year, and about 11 days longer than the Hijri year. Akbar dropped the Persian intercalation, and made his adaptation by changing the lengths of the months, some being 30, some 31 days, and some 32. Unluckily, we are not informed as to the exact length of each month, so that accurate conversion into A.D. dates is impossible in most cases. The names of the months were: (1) Faridun; (2) Ardibihisht; (3) Khurdad; (4) Tir; (5) Mardad or Amardad; (6) Shahryar or Shahryur; (7) Mihr; (8) Aban; (9) Azar; (10) Dai; (11) Bahman; (12) Ispandarmaz or Isfandarmuz. The spelling varies. I have followed Codrington's Persian (*Musalman Numismatics*, 1904, p. 208). The chronology in vol. iii of the *A.N.* is ordinarily based on the Ilahi calendar, and in consequence the *exact* A.D. equivalents usually cannot be worked out.

Date		*Event*	*References and Remarks*
A. D. (O. S.)	A.H.		
16th cent.		*Before the birth of Akbar.*	
21.4.26		Defeat of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat.	'First battle of P.'
27.4.26		Babur proclaimed as Padshah at Delhi.	
16.3.27		Defeat of Rana Sanga at Khanua (Kanwa, Kanwaha, Khanwah).	
—5.29		Defeat of Afghan chiefs at battle of the Ghaghra (Gogra) river.	
26.12.30		Death of Babur at Agra : accession of Humayun as Padshah of Delhi.	
26.6.39	9 Safar, 946	Defeat of Humayun by Sher Khan (Shah) at Chausa.	Beale.
17.5.40	10 Muh., 947	Defeat of same by same at Kanauj : expulsion of Humayun.	,,
1541		Marriage of Humayun and Hamida Bano Begam.	
25.1.42	7 Shawwal, 948	Formal accession of Sher Shah.	
		From the birth to the accession of Akbar (A.)	
23.11.42	Th. 14 Sha'ban, 949	Birth of Akbar at Umarkot in Sind.	According to Jauhar. The official date is Sun., 5 Rajab =Oct. 15.
— 11.43 winter, 1544—5		A. left with his uncle Askari. A. and his half-sister sent to Kabul.	

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Date		Event	References and Remarks
A.D. (O.S.)	A.H.		
24.5.45	12 Rabi' I, 952	Death of Sher Shah.	
29.5.45	17 ,, ,,	Enthronement of Islam (Salim) Shah Sur.	
15.11.45		Humayun entered Kabul and recovered A.	*A.N.*, i, 480 *n.*
? 3.46		Circumcision of A.	,, 483.
late in 1546		Expulsion of H. from Kabul, which he besieges; exposure of A. on the walls by Kamran.	,, 511.
27.4.47		Escape of Kamran from Kabul.	,, 514.
—1147		A.'s first tutor appointed.	,, 519.
1548		Reconciliation of H. with Kamran.	,, 536.
1549		Failure of H. in Balkh.	,, 549.
1550		Recovery of Kabul and person of A. by Kamran.	,, 565.
later, 1550		Final recovery of Kabul and person of A. by H.	,, 571.
— 11.51	Zu-l kada, 958	Prince Hindal killed in a skirmish.	,, 583.
end of 1551, or beg. of 1552		A. sent to Ghazni as nominal governor.	,, 586.
30.10.53	22 Zu-l k, 960	Death of Islam (Salim) Shah Sur : usurpation of Muhammad Shah Adil Sur.	,, 616.
? 12.53	960	Kamran captured and blinded.	,, 604.
19.4.54	15 Jum. I, 961	Birth of Muhammad Hakim.	,, 609.
— 10.54	end of 961	Munim Khan appointed guardian of A.	,, 612.
— 11.54		Humayun started on invasion of India.	,, 620.
22.6.55		Victory of H. at Sihrind over Sikandar Sur : restoration of Humayun (23.7.55).	,, 631, 634.
— 11.55		A. appointed governor of the Panjab.	,, 640.
1555-6	962, 963	Severe famine in Northern India.	*A.N.*, ii, 57; *Ain*, iii, 425.
24.1.56		Death of Humayun.	*A.N.*, i, 655*n.*
		Reign of Akbar.	
14.2.56	2/3 Rabi 'II, 963	Enthronement of Akbar at Kalanaur.	*A.N.*, ii, 5.
11.3.56	27/28 Rabi' II, 963	Beginning of Ilahi era and of 1st **regnal or Ilahi year** (25 days from enthronement counted as part of year 1).	*A.N.*, ii, 15, 23, 32; *Ain*, ii, 30.
5.11.56	2 Muh., 964	Hemu defeated at Panipat by A. and Bairam Khan.	'Second battle of P.'
1556-7	963 or 964	Occupation of Ajmer (Taragarh).	*A.N.*, in E. & D., vi, 22.
11.3.57	9 Jum. I, 964	**2nd regnal year began.**	
early in 1557		Arrival of the court ladies from Kabul.	*A.N.*, ii, 86.
24.5.57	27 Ram. 964	Surrender of Sikandar Sur at Mankot.	,, 91.
31.7.57	2 Shawwal, 964	A. moved towards Lahore.	,, ,,
10/11.3.58	20 Jum. I, 965	**3rd regnal year began.**	*A.N.*, ii, 101; E. & D., v, 246.
30.10.58	17 Muh., 966	A. arrived at Agra (Badalgarh).	*A.N.*, ii, 117.

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Date		Event	References and Remarks
A.D. (O.S.)	A.H.		
1558 or 1559		Occupation of Daman by the Portuguese.	Burgess gives 1559; other books 1558.
Jan.-Feb., 59	Rabi 'II, 966	Surrender of Gwalior (month Bahman).	*A.N.*, ii, 118.
10-12.3.59	2. Jum. II, 966	**4th regnal year began.**	*A.N.*, ii, 124; E. & D., v, 246.
1559		Annexation of Jaunpur.	*A.N.*, ii, 126.
10-12.3.60	13 Jum. II, 967	**5th regnal year began.**	*A.N.*, ii, 137; E.&D., v,246.
19.3.60	20 ,, ,,	A. left Agra.	*A.N.*, ii, 141.
27.3.60	28 ,, ,,	A. arrived at Delhi. Fall of Bairam Khan.	,, 142
8.4.60	12 Rajab, 967	Bairam Khan moved towards Alwar.	,, 152.
18.4.60	22 ,, ,,	A. marched from Delhi.	,, ,,
ab. 23.8.60	Zu-l h., 967	Defeat of Bairam Khan.	,, 170.
10.9.60	18 Zu-l h., 967	Munim Khan appointed Vakil and Khan Khanan.	,, 174.
17.9.60	26 ,, ,,	A. visited Lahore.	,, 177.
— 10.60	Muharram, 968	Submission of Bairam Khan (Aban, 8th month).	,, 181
24.11.60	4 Rabi' I, 968	A. returned to Delhi.	,, 187.
31.12.60	12 Rabi' II, 968	A. arrived at Agra; and nobles began to build houses.	,, ,,
31.1.61	14 Jum. I, 968	Murder of Bairam Khan.	,, 202.
early in 1561		A. ill with pustules (? small-pox).	,, 205.
,, ,,		A. on recovery began to attend to State affairs.	,, 208.
10.3.61	24 Jum. II, 968	**6th regnal year began.**	
early in 1561		Adham Khan's doings in Malwa.	,, ,,
27.4.61	11 Sha'ban, 968	A. left Agra for Malwa.	,, 218.
— 5.61		Surrender of Gagraun fortress.	,, ,,
13.5.61	27 ,, ,,	A. arrived at Sarangpur.	,, ,,
17.5.61	2 Ram., 968	A. started on return journey.	,, 221.
4.6.61	19 ,, ,,	A. arrived at Agra.	,, 222.
		A.'s wanderings in disguise.	,, 226.
17.7.61	4 Zu-l k., 968	A. marched from Agra eastwards.	,, 228.
29.8.61	17 Zu-l h., 968	Khan Zaman and Bahadur having submitted, A. returned.	,, 230.
		Adventure with the elephant Hawai.	,, 232.
— 11.61	Rabi' I, 969	Shamdu-d din appointed Prime Minister.	,, 230.
14.1.62	8 Jum. I, 969	A. started on his first pilgrimage to Ajmer.	,, 240.
		A.'s marriage with daughter of Raja Bihar Mall at Sambhar; introduction of Man Singh at court	,, 243.
13.2.62	8 Jum. II, 969	A. arrived at Agra.	,, 244.
11.3.62	5 Rajab, 969	**7th regnal year began.**	
1562		Abolition of enslavement in war.	,, 246.
ab.—4.62		Capture of fortress of Mirtha (Merta).	,, 249.
		Fight at Paronkh.	,, 253.
		Death of Pir Muhammad; temporary recovery of Malwa by Baz Bahadur.	,, 259.

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Date		Event	References and Remarks
A.D. (O.S.)	A.H.		
16.5.62	12 Ram., 969	Murder of Shamsu-d din by Adham Khan.	*A.N.*, ii, 269.
about 11.62		A. attended to State business, and appointed Itimad Khan to charge of revenue department.	,, 276.
		Tansen, musician and singer, brought to court.	,, 280.
10/11.3.63	15 Rajab, 970	**8th regnal year began.**	
		Remission of pilgrim tax.	,, 295.
		A. walked from beyond Mathura to Agra.	,, ,,
8.1.64	25 Jum. I, 971	A. moved to Delhi, and made irregular marriages.	,, 312.
11.1.64	28 ,, ,,	Attempt on his life.	Bad., ii, 60.
21.1.64	6 Jum. II, 971	A. returned to Agra.	*A.N.*, ii, 315.
11.3.64	27 Rajab, 971	**9th regnal year began.**	
early 1564		Abolition of *jizya*.	,, 317.
about 3.64		Punishment of Khwaja Muazzam.	,, 334.
— 4.64	Id Ram., 971	Execution of Shah Ma'ali at Kabul	,, 321.
1564		Conquest of Garha Katanga or Gondwana.	,, 331.
2.7.64	21 Zu-l k., 971	A. marched against Abdullah Khan Uzbeg, who rebelled in Malwa; elephant-hunting with brilliant success.	*A.N.*, ii, 341.
10.8.64	2 Muh., 972	A. arrived at Mandu.	*A.N.*, ii, 350.
9.10.64	3 Rabi' I, 972	A. returned to Agra.	,, 357.
		Building of Nagarchain.	,, ,,
1564		Haji Begam went on pilgrimage.	,, 366.
late 1564		Birth and death of twin sons to A.	,, 357.
11.3.65	8 Sha'ban, 972	**10th regnal year began.**	
1565		Founding of Agra Fort.	,, 372.
,,		Shaikh Abdu-n Nabi appointed Sadr.	,, 373.
early 1565		Khan Zaman and Bahadur Uzbegs rebelled.	,, 376.
,, ,,		Private execution of Kamran's son, Abu-l Kasim.	Beale.
24.5.65	23 Shawwal, 972	A. marched against rebels.	*A.N.*, ii, 378.
13.7.65	14 Zu-l h., 972	A. at Jaunpur.	,, 380.
16.9.65	20 Safar, 973	Revolt of Asaf Khan.	,, 382.
— 12.65		Meeting of Khan Zaman and Munim Khan.	,, 387.
24.1.66	3 Rajab, 973	A. marched towards Benares.	,, 393.
3.3.66	11 Sha'ban, 973	A. marched towards Agra.	,, 399.
10/11.3.66	18 Sha'ban, 973	**11th regnal year began.**	
28.3.66	7 Ram., 973	A. arrived at Agra; went on to Nagarchain.	,, 401.
1566		Revised assessment by Muzaffar Khan Turbati.	,, 402.
,,		Invasion of Panjab by Muhammad Hakim.	,, 407.
17.11.66	3 Jum. I, 974	A. marched northwards.	,, 411.
		Visit to partly built tomb of Humayun.	,, ,,
— 2.67	Rajab, 974	A. arrived at Lahore.	,, ,,
1566-7		Rebellion of the Mirzas.	,, 413.
11.3.67	29 Sha'ban, 974	**12th regnal year began.**	,, 416.
— 3.67		Great battue (*Kamargha*) hunt.	,, ,,

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Date		Event	References and Remarks
A.D. (O.S.)	A.H.		
—3.67		Asaf Khan (I) pardoned.	*A.N.*, ii, 419.
23.3.67	12 Ram., 974	A. marched towards Agra.	,, 422.
—4.67		Fight of Sanyasis at Thanesar.	,, 423.
6.5.67	26 Shawwal, 974	A. marched eastward against Uzbeg chiefs.	,, 427.
9.6.67	1 Zu-l h., 974	Defeat of Khan Zaman and Bahadur Khan at Mankuwar.	,, 430,434
18.7.67	11 Muh., 975	A., marching through Kara-Manikpur, Allahabad, Benares (plundered), and Jaunpur, arrived at Agra.	,, 437.
30.8.67	25 Safar, 975	A. marched to Dholpur, against the Mirzas.	,, 442.
—9.67		War with the Rana decided on.	,, 445
—9.67		Faizi presented at court.	,, ,,
20.10.67	19 Rabi' II, 975	Camp formed to invest Chitor.	,, 464.
17.12.67	15 Jum. II, 975	Mines exploded.	
23.2.68	25 Sha'ban, 975	Fall of Chitor.	,, 471.
28.2.68	29 ,, ,,	A. started for Ajmer on foot.	
6.3.68	7 Ram., 975	A. arrived at Ajmer.	,, 477.
10.3.68	11 Ram., 975	**13th regnal year began.**	
13.4.68	15 Shawwal, 975	After a tiger adventure, A. arrived at Agra.	,, 484.
1568		Continued revolt of the Mirzas, who occupied Champaner and Surat.	,, 485.
—8.68	Rabi' I, 976	Regulation of the Atka Khail.	,, 486.
1568		Shihabu-d din Ahmad Khan appointed Finance Minister.	,, 488.
10.2.69	21 Sha'ban, 976	Siege of Ranthambhor began.	,, 490.
11.3.69	22 Ram., 976	**14th regnal year began.**	
22.3.69	3 Shawwal, 976	Capitulation of Ranthambhor.	,, 495.
11.5.69	24 Zu-l k., 976	After visit to Ajmer, A. arrived at Agra and lodged in the new Bengali Mahall.	,, 497.
11.8.69	29 Safar, 977	News received of surrender of Kalanjar.	,, 498.
30.8.69	17 Rabi' I, 977	Birth of Prince Salim.	,, 504*n*.
1569		Orders given for building Fathpur-Sikri.	
21.11.69	11 Jum. II, 977	Birth of A.'s daughter, Shahzada (Sultan) Khanam.	,, 509.
—2.3.70	Ram., 977	A. arrived at Delhi after a pilgrimage on foot (16 stages) from Agra to Ajmer.	,, 511.
11.3.70	3 Shawwal, 977	**15th regnal year began.**	
—4.70		A. visited newly completed tomb of Humayun.	Badaoni, ii. 135.
7.6.70	3 Muh., 978	Birth of Prince Murad.	*A.N.*, ii, 514.
—9.70	Rabi' II, 978	A. visited Ajmer and erected buildings there and at Nagaur.	,, 516.
1570		Marriages with princesses of Bikaner and Jaisalmer; adventure in hunting wild asses; submission of Baz Bahadur.	,, 518, 522.
1570-1		Revised revenue assessment.	*Ain*, ii, 88.
11.3.71	14 Shawwal, 978	**16th regnal year began.**	Beveridge (*A N.*, ii, 525) gives 13. 3.71

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Date		Event	References and Remarks
A.D. (O.S.)	A.H.		
— 3.71		A. visiting shrine at Pak Pattan on Sutlaj.	
17.5.71	22. Zu-l h., 978	A. arrived at Lahore.	*A.N.*, ii, 529.
21.7.71	1 Rabi' I, 979	A., marching through rains, arrives at Ajmer.	„ 530.
7.8.71	17 „ „	A. at Fathpur-Sikri (Fathabad), superintending building.	„ 531.
11.3.72	25 Shawwal,979	**17th regnal year began.**	
1572		Embassy from Abdullah Khan Uzbeg of Turan.	„ 534.
		Disgrace of Muzaffar Khan Turbati.	„ „
„		A. started for campaign in Gujarat.	„ 538.
4.7.72	20 Safar, 980	A. left Ajmer.	„ 540.
1.9.72	22 Rabi' II, 980	Birth of Prince Daniyal.	„ 543.[1]
9.9.72	2/3 Jum. I, 980	A. encamped at Nagaur.	„ 544.[2]
17.9.72	9 „ „	News of death of Sulaiman Kirani of Bengal.	*A.N.*, iii, 6*n*[3]
11.10.72		A. encamped at Patan (Pattan), or Nahrwala.	„ 8.
7. 11. 72	Rajab, 98	Capture of Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat.	„ 9.
— 11.72	— „ „	A. camped near Ahmadabad.	„ 11.
20.11.72	14 „ „	A. at Cambay; took a trip on the sea.	„ 13.
12.12.72	6 Sha'ban, 980	Fight at Sarnal.	„ 22
21.12.72	?15 „ „	A. at Surat; siege began.	„ 25.
11.1.73	7 Ram., 980	Negotiations with Portuguese.	*J. & Proc. A.S. B.*, 1912, p. 217 *n.*
— „	— „ „	Capitulation of Surat.	*A.N.*, iii, 40.
26.2.73	23 Shawwal, 980	Submission of chief of Nasik (Baglana).	„ 41.
10/12.3.73	6 Zu-l k., 980	**18th regnal year began.**	
13.4.73	10 Zu-l k., 980	A. started on march homewards.	„ 48.
3.6.73	2 Safar, 981	A. arrived at Fathpur-Sikri; Shaikh Mubarak's address.	„ 55.
		Severities on Mirza prisoners.	*A.N.* iii, 56; Badaoni, ii, 163.
1573	981	Rebellion in Gujarat.	*A.N.*, iii, 59.
23.8.73	24 Rabi' II, 981	A. started on ride to Gujarat.	„ 62.
31.8.73	2. Jum., I, 981	Review of troops at Balisna.	„ 66.
2.9.73	5 „ „	Battle of Ahmadabad.	„ 73.
13.9.73	16 „ „	A. started on homeward march.	„ 90.
5.10.73	8 Jum., II, 981	A. arrived at Fathpur-Sikri.	„ 91.
1573-4		Revenue settlement of Gujarat by Raja Todar Mall.	E. & D.,v, 371.
22.10.73	25 Jum., II,981	Circumcision of the three princes.	*A.N.*, iii, 103.
11.3.74	17 Zu-l k., 981	**19th regnal year began.**	
31.3.74		A. arrived at Fathpur-Sikri.	„ 114.

1. Jahangir (R.B., i, 34) says 'on the night of Jumada-l awwal 10th, A.H. 979', which is the wrong year. The year 980 began on Wednesday, May 14, 1572, according to Cunningham's Tables; Abu-l Fazl gives 2 Jumada I, 'according to visibility' [*scil.* of the moon], and 3 'according to supreme decree' [*scil.* astronomical tables].
2. At this point the historical narrative of vol. ii of the *Akbarnama* ends.
3. Badaoni (ii, 166) rightly dates the death of Sulaiman in 980. Stewart (p. 151) gives 981.

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Date. A.D. (O.S.)	Date. A.H.	Event	References and Remarks
1574		Abu-l Fazl and Badaoni presented at court.	*A.N.*, iii, 116.
15.6.74	29 Safar, 982	A. embarked on river voyage to east	„ 122.
3.8.74	15 Rabi' II, 982	A. halted near Patna.	„ 135.
—9.74		Capture of Hajipur (25 Amardad); flight of Daud, king of Bengal.	„ 137,141
—9.74		Patna occupied (26 Amardad).	„ 142.
late in 9.74		A. teturned to Jaunpur; conquest of Bengal entrusted to officers.	„ 145.
„ „		News of Munim Khan's defeat of Daud.	„ 153.
1574		Famine in Gujarat.	E. & D., v, 384
„		Administrative reforms : (1) branding regulation; (2) *mansabdar* gradations; (3) conversion of *jagirs* into *khalsa*.	*A.N.*, iii, 95.
—1.75		A. at Fathpur-Sikri; orders for building the *'ibadat-Khana*.	„ 157.
3.3.75	20 Zu-l k., 982	Battle of Tukaroi in Balasore District.	„ 174.
10/11.3.75	27 „ „	**20th regnal year began.**	
12.4.75	1 Muh., 983	Munim Khan made peace with Daud.	„ 185.
summer, 1575		Muzaffar Khan placed in charge of Bihar from Chausa to Telia Garhi.	„ 200.
1575		Branding regulations, &c. enforced.	„ 208.
autumn, 1575		Gulbadan Begam, &c. went on pilgrimage.	„ 206.
ab. 23.10.75	Rajab, 983[1]	Death of Munim Khan; pestilence.	„ 226.
15.11.75		Khan Jahan appointed to Bengal.	„ 229.
1575-6		The 'Karori' arrangement, &c.	*A.N.*, iii, 167; E. & D., v, 383; Badaoni
11.3.76	9 Zu-l h., 983	**21st regnal year began.**	
—6.76		Battle of Gogunda or Haldighat.	*A.N.*, iii, 245.
12.7.76		Battle of Rajmahal; death of Daud.	„ 253.
—9.76		A. at Ajmer.	„ 259.
—10.76		Khwaja Shah Mansur appointed Vizier, or Diwan.	*A.N.*, iii, 274; E. & D., v, 401.
1576			
11.3.77	20 Zu-l h., 984	Two Jesuit missionaries in Bengal.	Bartoli, p. 7
9.77		**22nd regnal year brgan.**	*A.N.*, iii, 298.
about 11.77		A. at Ajmer.	„ 316.
		Comet; Todar Mall resumed office of Vizier; reorganization of mint.	„ 320.
11.3.78	2 Muh., 986[2]	**23rd regnal year began.**	
—4.78		Fortress of Kumbhalmer taken.	„ 340.
—5.78		A.'s vision at Bhera (Bahra).	„ 346.
1578		Escape of Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat	*Ain*, i, 334.
„		Pietro Tavares and Antonio Cabral at court.	Maclagan.
—12.78		Invitation for priests sent to Goa.	„

1. Beale gives the date 12 October = 9 Rajab.
2. The whole Hijri year 985 was included in the longer solar year, Ilahi 22; and consequently 985 does not appear in the notices of initial days of the Ilahi years. The fact has caused some confusion in the chronology, especially in the work of Nizamu-d din.

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Date		Event	References and Remarks
A.D. (O.S.)	A.H.		
1278		Death of Khan Jahan, Governor of Bengal.	*A.N.*, iii, 381.
1578-9		Debates on religion.	,, 365.
11.3.79	12 Muh., 987	**24th regnal year began.**	
14.3.79		Muzaffar Khan appointed to Bengal.	,, 386.
— 6.79	—Rajab, 987	A. recited *Khutba* in mosque.	*A.N.*, iii, 396; Badaoni; *Tabakat.*
3.9.79	,, ,,	The 'infallibility decree'.	Badaoni, ii, 279.
— 10.79	,, ,,	A.'s last pilgrimage to Ajmer.	*A.N.*, iii, 405.
— 9.79		Reception of A.'s envoys at Goa.	Jesuits; Maclagan.
— 10.79		Father Thomas Stevens landed at Goa.	*Ind. Ant.*, vii, 117.
17.11.79		First Jesuit Mission started from Goa.	Goldie, p. 58.
— 1.80		Revolt of Afghan chiefs in Bengal.	*A.N.*, iii, 418, 428.
1580		Crown of Portugal united with that of Spain.	
— 2.80		Abortive expedition against Portuguese settlements.	*A.N.*, iii, 410.
28.2.80		Arrival of First Jesuit Mission at Fathpur-Sikri.	Maclagan, &c.
1579-80		Decennial 'settlement' of Khwaja Shah Mansur.	*A.N.*, iii, 410.
11.3.80	24 Muh., 988	**25th regnal year began.**	
1580		Formation of the 12 Subas.	*Ain*, ii, 115; *A.N.*, iii, 413.
early 1580		Banishment of Abdu-n Nabi and Makhdumu-l Mulk.	*A.N.*, iii, 405.
— 4.80		Muzaffar Khan captured by rebels and killed.	Badaoni, ii, 290.
— 12.80		Raids into Panjab by officers of Mirza Muhammad Hakim.	*A.N.*, iii, 493.
?— 1.81		Advance by M. Muhammad Hakim in person.	*Comm.*, p.577.
— 1.81		Bengal rebels defeated near Ajodhya.	*A.N.*, iii, 486.
8.2.81		A. marched northwards.	*A.N.*, iii, 495; *Comm.*, p.580
27.2.81	23. Muh., 989	Execution of Khwaja Shah Mansur.	*A.N.*, iii, 503; *Comm.*, p. 590; Beale.
11.3.81	5 Safar, 989	**26th regnal year began.**	
ab. 12.7.81		A. crossed the Indus.	*A.N.*, iii, 523.
1.8.81		Prince Murad's fight.	,, 536.
9/10.8.81	10 Rajab, 989	A. entered Kabul.	,, 540.
— 11.81		Revision of Sadr and Kazi departments.	,, 546.
1.12.81	5 Zu-l k., 989	A. returned to Fathpur-Sikri.	,, 548*n*.
— 1.82		Death of Haji Begam.	,, 551.
beg. of 1582		Proclamation of Din Ilahi.	Bartoli; Badaoni.
11.3.82	15 Safar, 990	**27th regnal year began.**	
15.4.82		Attack on Daman by Kutbu-d din.	*A.N.*, iii, 410*n*.. *Comm.*, p.626;

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Date		Event	References and Remarks
A.D. (O.S.)	A.H.		
summer, 1582		Close of formal debates on religion; abortive embassy for Europe.	*Comm.*, pp. 634, 636.
5.8.82		Monserrate arrived at Surat.	*Comm.*, p.636.
1582		Bursting of dam of lake at Fathpur Sikri.	*A.N.*, Chalmen ii, 289.
11.3.83	28 Safar, 991	**28th regnal year began.**	
5.83		Aquaviva arrived at Goa.	*Comm.*, p.637.
15.7.83		Aquaviva killed at Cuncolim.	*Comm.*, p.640; Goldie, p.127.
—9.83		Muzaffar Shah resumed style of King of Gujarat.	
—11.83		Fort at Allahabad (Illahabad) founded.	*A.N.*, iii, 616*n*.
1583		A suttee prevented.	„ 595.
—1.84	Muh., 992[1]	Battle of Sarkhej near Ahmadabad.	
—2.84		A. arrived at Fathpur-Sikri; marriage of Prince Salim.	*A.N.*, iii, 636, 678; Badaoni.
11.3.84	8 Rabi' I, 992	**29th regnal year began.**	
1584		Establishment of Ilahi era.	*A.N.*, ii, 19.
„		Operations generally successful against Bengal rebels.	
„		Death of Daswanth the artist.	*A.N.*, iii, 659.
22.12.84		Birth of A.'s daughter, Aram Bano Begam.	„ 661.
1584-5		Inundation in the Megna delta (Bakla).	*Ain*, ii, 123.
10/11.3.85	19 Rabi' I, 993	**30th regnal year began.**	*A.N.*, iii, 685.
early in 1585		Amir Fathu-llah and Raja Todar Mall checked revenue accounts; remissions of cash revenue owing to low prices.	„ 687, 699.
30.7.85	12 Sha'ban, 993	Death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim of Kabul.	„ 703.
22.8.85		A. marched northwards.	„ 705.
28.9.85		Newbery and Fitch left Fathpur-Sikri.	Fitch.
7.12.85		A. at Rawalpindi.	*A.N.*, iii, 709.
end of 1585		Arrangements for conquest of Kashmir.	„ 715.
?14.2.86		Defeat of Zain Khan and Raja Birbal by the Yusufzi.	E. & D., vi. 83; *A.N.*, iii, 732*n*.
11.3.86	28 Rabi' I, 994	**31st regnal year began.**	
27.5.86		A. arrived at Lahore.	*A.N.*, iii, 748.
1586	994	Annexation of Kashmir.	Badaoni, ii, 364.
„	„	Remission of revenue owing to low prices.	*A.N.*, iii, 749.
23.8.86		Letter to Abdullah Uzbeg of Turan.	„ 753.
11.3.87	11 Rabi' II, 995	**32nd regnal year began.**	
—8.87	—Ram., 995[2]	Birth of Prince Khusru.	*Ain*, i, 310.
11.3.88	22 Rabi' II, 996	**33rd regnal year began.**	
11.3.89	4 Jum., I, 997	**34th regnal year began.**	
—5 & 6.89		A. visited Kashmir and Kabul.	E. &. D., v, 457.

1. The year wrongly given as 991 in E. & D., v, 434.
2. Khafi Khan places the event in 997, two years later (Blochmann, in *Ain*, vol. i, p. 310). The *Tabakat* dates it in the 33rd regnal year (E. & D., v, 456).

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Date		Event	References and Remarks
A. D. (O.S.)	A.H.		
7.11.89		A. left Kabul.	E. & D., v, 457.
— 11.89		Death of Rajas Todar Mall and Bhagwan Das.	*Ain*, i, 333.
11.3.90	14 Jum. I, 998	**35th regnal year began.**	
1590		The Khan Khanan appointed Subadar of Multan.	E. & D., i, 247.
1590-1		Conquest of Sind.	Raverty, *Notes*.
11.3.91	24 Jum. I, 999	**36th regnal year began.**	
— 8.91		Missions to the kingdoms of the Deccan.	E. & D., v. 460.
1591-2		Second Jesuit Mission.	Maclagan, &c.
11.3.92	5 Jum. II, 1000	**37th regnal year began.** The millennial year of the Hijra (A.H. 1000 = Oct. 9, 1591, to Sept. 27, 1592, o.s.). Millennial coins issued.	
— 8.92		A. hunting on banks of Chinab; second visit to Kashmir.	E. & .D., v, 464.
1592		Conquest of Orissa.	„ 465.
11.3.93	17 Jum. II, 1001	**38th regnal year began.**	
— 8.93	17 Zu-l k., 1001	Death of Shaikh Mubarak. Nizamu-d din's *History* ends.	*Ain*, i, 490.
? 11 or 12.93	early in 1002	Return of envoys from the Deccan.	E. & D., v, 467.
12.94 or 2.95		Fort of Siwi taken.	Raverty, *Notes*, p. 583.
11.3.94	28 Jum. II, 1002	**39th regnal year began.**	
11.3.95	9 Rajab, 1003	**40th regnal year began.**	
— 4.95	—Rajab, 1003	Surrender of Kandahar.	Raverty, *Notes*, p. 600 *n*.
5.5.95 (prob. N.S.)		Arrival of Third Jesuit Mission at Lahore.	Maclagan, p. 68.
— 8.95		Badaoni's *History* ends.	
„		Letters of J. Xavier and Pinheiro.	Maclagan.
1595-8	1004-7	Intense famine and pestilence.	E. & D., vi, 193.
11.3.96	21 Rajab, 1004	**41st regnal year began.**	
early in 1596		Cession of Berar by Chand Bibi; battle near Supa on the Godavari.	Firishta, ii, 273.
11.3.97	2 Sha'ban, 1005	**42nd regnal year began.**	
Easter Day, 27.3.97 (6. 4 N.S.)		Fire in palace at Lahore.	Maclagan, p. 71; Du Jarric, ii, 558.
		A.'s third visit to Kashmir.	Maclagan p.72.
7.9.97		Consecration of new church at Lahore.	„ 71.
		Pestilence at Lahore.	Maclagan, p. 71.
1598	2 Rajab, 1006[1]	Death of Abdullah Khan Uzbeg of Turan.	Vambery, *Hist. of Bokhara*.
11.3.98	13 Sha'ban, 1006	**43rd regnal year began.**	
late in 1598		A. marched southwards from Lahore.	
11.3.99	23 Sha'ban, 1007	**44th regnal year began.**	
1.5.99	15 Shawwal, 1007	Death of Prince Murad.	Beale.
— 7.99		A. left Agra.	

1. Beale gives the date as 5 Rajab, 1005, and cites chronogram.

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Date		Event	References and Remarks
A.D. (O.S.)	A.H.		
—2.1600		Investment of Asirgarh began.	For Asirgarh dates see App. A.
17th cent.			
11.3.1600	4 Ram., 1008	**45th regnal year began.**	
31.3.1600	25 Ram., 1008	A. occupied Burhanpur.	
—5.1600		Negotiations with Bahadur Shah.	
— 6.1600		Unsuccessful sortie of Asirgarh garrison.	
—7.1600		Rebellion of Prince Salim.	See App. B.
1600		Rebellion of Usman Khan in Bengal; battle of Sherpur Atai.	*Ain*, i, 340 ; *A.N.* in E. & D., vi, 98; Stewart, p. 188.
19.8.1600	18 Safar, 1609	Fall of Ahmadnagar.	E. & D., vi, 100, 144.
end of 8.1600		Bahadur Shah kidnapped.	
25.12.1600		Ayres de Saldanha became viceroy of Goa.	Fonseca.
31.12.1600		Queen Elizabeth's charter to E.I.Co	
17.1.1601	22 Rajab, 1009	Capitulation of Asirgarh.	
	8 Sha'ban, 1009	Honours conferred on Abu-l Fazl, &c.	
11.3.01	15 Ram., 1009	**46th regnal year began.**	
28.3.01		Embassy sent to Goa.	Du Jarric, iii, 53-6.
21.4.01		Formation of 3 new Subas; Prince Daniyal appointed viceroy.	*Ain*, i, 115; E. & D., vi, 146.
4 & 5.01		Return of A. to Agra, via Fathpur-Sikri.	Inscription on Buland Darwaza.
late in 5.01		Embassy arrived at Goa.	Du Jarric, iii, 55.
1601		Prince Salim assumes royal title.	For the prince's dates see App. B.
		Akbarnama ends.	
11.3.02	26 Ram., 1010	Negotiations with Prince Salim.	
20.3.02		**47th regnal year began.**	
12.8.02	4 Rabi' I, 1011	Dutch E.I. Co. incorporated.	
(13 Beale)	(Beale)	Murder of Abu-l Fazl.	E. & D., vi, 154.
11.3.03	6 Shawwal, 1011	**48th regnal year began.**	
early in 1603		John Mildenhall arrived at Lahore and Agra.	Purchas; Orme
24.3.03		Death of Queen Elizabeth; accession of James I of England.	
		Reconciliation between A. and Prince Salim effected by Salima Begam.	
1.6.03	1 Muh., 1012	A.H. 1012 began.	
11.11.03		Prince Salim crossed Jumna and returned to Allahabad.	
11.3.04	17 Shawwal, 1012	**49th regnal year began.**	
? 3.04		Marriage of Prince Daniyal with princess of Bijapur.	See App. C.
early in 1640			

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Date		Event	References and Remarks
A.D. (O.S.)	A.H.		
—.4.04		Death of Prince Daniyal.	See App. C.
20.5.04	1 Muh., 1013	A.H. 1013 began.	
29.8.04		Death of the Queen-mother.	,,
9.11.04		Prince Salim's arrest at Agra.	,,
11.3.05	28 Shawwal, 1013	**50th regnal year began.**	
summer, 05		Mildenhall's audience of Akbar.	Purchas.
9.5.05	1. Muh., 1014	A.H. 1014 began.	
21.9.05	20 Jum. I, 1014[1]	A.'s illness began.	E. & D., vi, 115.
17.10.05	14 Jum. II, 1014[1]	Death of A.	

APPENDIX D

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A

HISTORIES, MEMOIRS, AND CORRESPONDENCE, WRITTEN IN PERSIAN OR TURKISH, AND TRANSLATED IN WHOLE OR IN PART

1. AIN

The *Ain-i Akbari*, by Abu-l Fazl Allami. Translated from the original Persian; vol. i, Calcutta, 1873, by H. Blochmann; vol. ii, Calcutta, 1891, and vol. iii, Calcutta, 1894, by H.S. Jarrett. Printed for the A.S.B.

Invaluable as an account of Akbar's administrative system. In vol. i the biographies of officials, compiled by Blochmann chiefly from the *Ma'asiru-l Umara*, with additions from other sources, are most useful. Mr. Beveridge has translated part of the *Ma'asiru-l Umara* for the A.S.B., which printed some fasciculi and then suspended the publication. Vol. iii of the *Ain* includes 'The Happy Sayings of His Majesty'.

The work of Blochmann and Jarrett supersedes the imperfect, although creditable, version by Gladwin, executed in the time of Warren Hastings, which was dedicated to the Governor-General in 1783, and printed in London in 1800.

2. A.N.

The *Akbarnama*, or 'History of Akbar', by Abu-l Fazl. Translated from the Persian by Henry Beveridge I.C.S. (retired). Published by the A.S.B. in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, and issued in fasciculi from 1897 to date. Vols. i and ii are complete; vol. iii, nearly completed, is in the press, and I have been allowed to use most of the proofs. Irvine and Anstey published in 1907 a 'Supplementary Index of Place-Names

1. *Takmil* (E. & D., vi, 115) gives 12 Jum. II, and Gladwin gives 13. But 14 works out correctly for the week-day, Wednesday—Thursday night, after midnight. The A.D. date, October 17/27, is certain from Du Jarric. See *Ind. Ant.*, 1915, p. 243.

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in pp. 89-414 of vol. ii of Jarrett's version' (*Bibliotheca Indica*, N.S., No. 1176).

The *Akbarnama* comes down to the early part of 1602, or the end of the 46th regnal year. The author was murdered in August 1602. It was intended to be regarded as a part of the *Ain-i Akbari*, but is practically a separate work.

Some of the most important passages are translated in E. & D., vi, 21-146.

The R.A.S. possesses a much condensed manuscript version by Lieutenant Chalmers, never printed in full, but utilized by Elphinstone von Noer, and E. & D. Vol. i, pp. 541 foolscap, ends at the same point as Beveridge's vol. i. Vol. ii contains 588 pages. Abu-l Fazl's composition ends on p. 538; the remaining fifty pages, dealing with the time from the 47th regnal year to Akbar's death, being written by a continuator named Inayatu-llah.

The historical matter in Abu-l Fazl's book is buried in a mass of tedious rhetoric, and the author, an unblushing flatterer of his hero, sometimes conceals, or even deliberately perverts, the truth.[1] Nevertheless, the *Akbarnama*, notwithstanding its grave and obvious faults, must be treated as the foundation for a history of Akbar's reign. Its chronology is more accurate and detailed than that of the rival books by Nizamu-d din and Badaoni, and it brings the story on to a later date than they do.

3. TAKMIL

The *Takmil-i Akbarnama*, by Inayatu-llah, as noticed above, No. 2.

A brief, dry chronicle, translated by Chalmers in manuscript, and in large part transcribed by E. & D. and von Noer.

4. BADAONI

The *Tarikh-i Badaoni*, or *Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh*, that is to say, 'Badaoni's History', or 'Abstract of Histories', is a general history of the Muslim world by Abdu-l Kadir or Kadiri, son of Muluk Shah, and commonly known as Badaoni, because he was a native of Badaon in Rohilkhand.[2]

Translated in part in E. & D., v, 482-549; and also in Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i. The A.S.B. has published a complete version. Vol. i, translated by Lt.-Col. Ranking, did not appear until 1898. Vol. ii, translated by W.H. Lowe and revised by E.B. Cowell, which was published in 1884, contains the history of Akbar's reign to the year A.D. 1595-6 (A.H. 1004). Publication of the translation of vol. iii by Lt.-Col. Haig, completed long ago in manuscript, has been delayed. Fasc. i (lives of saints, 1899) and fasc. iii have appeared. The index to both vols. i and ii is printed in vol. i.

Lowe's work was carelessly executed, and is consequently

1. Prominent examples of deliberate perversion are (1) the dating of Akbar's birth, with the story of his naming; (2) the account of the capitulation of Asirgarh. It is needless to give instances of economy of the truth, which are numerous.

2. The name of the town and District is optionally pronounced and written either Badaon or Badayun, the semi-vowels, as often happens, being interchangeable.

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disfigured by two long lists of corrections, which must be consulted before any passage is quoted. His version, as so corrected, may be accepted as generally accurate. Lowe frequently adopted Blochmann's renderings of extracts as published in 1873, but sometimes differs. Blochmann's interpretation in certain cases is preferable to that of his successor.

Badaoni's interesting work contains so much hostile criticism of Akbar that it was kept concealed during that emperor's life-time, and could not be published until after Jahangir's accession. The book, being written from the point of view taken by a bigoted Sunni, is of the highest value as a check on the turgid panegyric composed by the latitudinarian Abu-l Fazl. It gives information about the development of Akbar's opinions on religion, which is not to be found in the other Persian histories, but agrees generally with the testimony of the Jesuit authors. The passages dealing with that subject were collected and translated by Blochmann. The chronology is less precise than that of the *Akbarnama*. The author was a friend of Nizamu-d din, and based his composition to a large extent on the *Tabakat-i Akbari*.

5. TABAKAT

The *Tabakat-i Akbari* ('Annals', lit. 'leaves', 'of Akbar') or *Akbar Shahi*, also known as the *Tarikh-i Nizami*, or 'Nizam's History', is a history of India only, coming down to the 39th year of Akbar's reign, A.D. 1593-4 (A.H. 1002). The author, Khwaja Nizamu-d din Ahmad, who held the high office of First Bakhshi, died at Lahore in October 1594. The history of Akbar's reign is translated, practically in full, in E. & D., v, 247-476. Text and complete translation by B. De in course of publication in *Bibl. Ind.*

The book is a dry, colourless chronicle of external events. It completely ignores Akbar's religious vagaries[1], and seldom or never attempts to offer reflections on criticisms of the events and actions recorded. It omits all mention of many matters of importance, and needs to be cautiously read, as being the work of a successful courtier and trusted officer. The chronology is defective, especially from the twenty-second year, when the author made a blunder in equating the regnal with the Hijri years. The book was much used by Firishta and later compilers, and in its jejune way is a particularly good specimen of Muslim chronicle-writing. Count von Noer was inclined to over-estimate its worth.

6. FIRISHTA

The *Tarikh-i Firishta*, or 'Firishta's History', is a general history of India, with special reference to the states of the Deccan, compiled by Muhammad Kasim Hindu Shah, surnamed Firishta (Ferishta), who was born about A.D. 1570.

The extracts given in E. & D., vi, do not concern Akbar's reign. The best, although free, translation of the whole work is that by John Briggs, entitled *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*,

1. 'Nizamu-d din was a good Musalman, and no allusion is made in his pages to Akbar's wanderings from the fold' (E. & D., v, 183).

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1829. My references are to the reprint issued by Cambray & Co., Calcutta, 1908, in four volumes. The reign of Akbar occupies pp. 181-282 of vol. ii of that edition. The defects of the version by Briggs have been sometimes exaggerated. Jarrett, a good judge, observes that 'Briggs represents his original with freedom, but in the main, as far as I have seen, with truth' (*Ain*, vol. ii, p. 222 *n.*). His text (lith. Bombay, 1832) is excellent.

Firishta based his work on previously published histories, such as the *Tabakat-i Akbari*, written in Persian, on other unpublished works, on tradition, and on personal knowledge. He is generally recognized as the best of the Indian compilers. His book is the foundation of Elphinstone's *History of India*. A new and scholarly translation, adequately annotated and indexed, is much to be desired; but the work would be an arduous undertaking, and careful collation of manuscripts might be needed in order to secure a quite perfect text. The author usually confines himself to mere chronicling. He does not profess to be a philosophical historian or to probe the causes of the events registered. His account of Akbar's reign has little independent value, although, so far as the later years are concerned, he wrote as a contemporary who had taken a small personal share in the emperor's transactions in the Deccan.

7. ASAD BEG

The *Wikaya*, or *Halat-i Asad Beg*, 'Events' or 'Occurrences by Asad Beg', is an interesting and candid account of the later years of Akbar's reign, written by an official who had been long in the service of Abu-l Fazl.

A complete manuscript version was prepared for the use of Sir H.M. Elliot, but I do not know where it is now. Only extracts from it have been printed in E. & D., vi, pp. 150-74. They relate, from the author's personal knowledge, the unpleasant story of the death of the lamplighter, and give the detailed history of the introduction of tobacco into India.

The publication of a complete version is desirable, the narrative being obviously truthful.

8. NURU-L HAKK

The *Zubdatu-t Tawarikh*, or 'Cream of Histories', by Shaikh Nuru-l Hakk, is a general history coming down to the end of Akbar's reign.

A few passages concerning that reign are translated in E. & D., vi, 189-94. They include the only distinct notice given by any Muhammadan historian of the terrible famine which desolated Northern India for three or four years from A.D. 1595 to 1598.

9. ALFI

The *Tarikh-i Alfi*, or 'History of a Thousand Years', was compiled by Maulana Ahmad and other authors, in pursuance of orders issued by Akbar in A.D. 1582 (A.H. 990), when the millennium of lunar years by the Hijri reckoning was drawing to a close. Akbar believed that the religion of Islam would not survive the completion of the

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millennial period, and many Muhammadans looked for the appearance of an inspired Mahdi or Guide, who should reform religion.

The more important passages concerning the reign of Akbar are translated in E. & D., v, 167-76. They include descriptions of the sieges of Chitor and Ranthambhor. No complete version exists and manuscripts of the work are rare.

10. SIRHINDI

An *Akbarnama* by Shaikh Illahdad Faizi Sirhindi, i.e., 'of Sirhind', is said to be copied for the most part from the work of the same name by Abu-l Fazl (*ante*, No. 2), and the *Tabakat-i Akbari* (*ante*, No. 5). The extracts translated in E. & D., vi, 116-46, include a detailed version of the falsified official story of the fall of Asirgarh.

11. ANFAU

A tract called *Anfa'ul-Akhbar*, or 'The most useful Chronicle', by Muhammad Amin (E. & D., vi, 244-50) supplies a condensed summary of the events towards the close of Akbar's reign, not quite correct.

12. AHMAD YADGAR

The *Tarikh-i Salatin-i Afaghana*, or 'History of the Afghan Sultans', written about A.D. 1595 or a little later, by Ahmad Yadgar, ends with the death of Hemu. The book is a good authority for the battle of Panipat in A.D. 1556 and the connected events.

13. BAYAZID

The *Mukhtasar*, or 'Summary', also called the *Tarikh-i Humayun*, or 'History of Humayun', was written about A.D. 1590 for the use of Abu-l Fazl by Bayazid Sultan, a Biyat or Byat Mughal, who held the office of Mir Saman or Bakawal Begi under Humayun, a post of much responsibility in days when attempts to poison kings were common. The author served under Munim Khan early in Akbar's reign, and gives long lists of officers and many details about affairs in Bengal and Kabul.

A nearly complete translation by Erskine, which might be printed almost as it stands, is in the British Museum (Add. MS. 26610). See Rieu, *Catal.*, Pref., p. xx.

A full abstract of the contents, sufficient for my purpose, is given by H. Beveridge in *J.A.S.B.*, part i, vol. lxvii (1898), pp. 296-316. The treatise is described by Beveridge in his translation of the *A.N.* (*ante*, No. 2), vol. i, p. 29 *n.*; and is frequently quoted by Raverty in his *Notes on Afghanistan*. See especially pp. 92, 102, 677 *n.*, and 679. Raverty justly considered 'the Byat', 'very trustworthy'. His work has been utilized also by Mrs. Beveridge in her commentary on Gulbadan Begam (*post*, No. 19). The treatise is chiefly useful for the settlement of minute particulars such as rarely require notice in this work.

14. JAUHAR

A short tract entitled variously in Persian as *Tazkiratu-l Wakiat*, 'Record of Events'; *Humayun Shahi*, or *Tarikh-i Humayun*, 'History of Humayun', was composed by Jauhar, who in his youth had been a personal attendant on Humayun in the capacity of ewer-bearer. The

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author wrote out his reminiscences in A.D. 1587 (A.H. 995), probably in response to Abu-l Fazl's request for materials for the *Akbarnama*. He must, of course, have made use of notes recorded at the time of the events described. Mr. Beveridge informs me that the text exists in two forms, namely, the original memoirs (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 16711) and an edition modified by Shaikh Illahdad Faizi Sirhindi in Brit. Mus. Or. 1890 (see *ante*, No. 10).

Some passages have been translated in E. & D., v, 136-49, but they do not refer to Akbar. The whole work, under the title *Private Memoirs of the Moghul Emperor Humayun*, was translated by Major Charles Stewart (Or. Transl. Fund, quarto, London, 1832), whose version, although a little free, is understood to be generally faithful. An independent rendering of the passages relating to the birth of Akbar is given by Kaviraj Shyamal Das in *J.A.S.B.*, part i (1886), vol. lv, p. 81.

Jauhar's memoir is of high importance as giving an account of the birth and marriage of Akbar, which in my judgement is thoroughly trustworthy, although inconsistent with the official story. In particular, I believe that Akbar was born on the date, equivalent to November 23, as stated by Jauhar. See my discussion of the subject, 'The Date of Akbar's Birth', in *Ind. Ant.*, 1915, pp. 232-44.[1]

15. 'ALI RAIS

The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Ali Rais in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Persia, during the years 1553-1556, is a small tract, badly translated and annotated by Arminius Vambery, London, Luzac & Co., 1899.

So far as Akbar is concerned, it is of interest only as showing how the author helped in the arrangements for concealing the death of Humayun until Akbar's succession was assured. The original language is Turkish.

16. SHAIKH FAIZI

The book entitled *Wakiat*, 'Events', is a collection of letters written by Shaikh Faizi, the elder brother of Abu-l Fazl, and is said to be of slight historical importance. One letter, concerning negotiations with the Deccan states, is translated in E. & D., vi, 147-9. Sir H.M. Elliot had a manuscript translation of the whole prepared, which is not accessible.

17. JAHANGIR, R.B.

The genuine memoirs of Jahangir have been translated and adequately annotated, under the title *The Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, or Memoirs of Jahangir*, translated by Alexander Rogers, I.C.S. (retired), and edited by Henry Beveridge, I.C.S. (retired); published by R.A.S., London, vol. i, 1909; vol. ii, 1914. The translation is based on the text printed by Sayyid Ahmad at Ghazipur in 1863, and at Aligarh in 1864, after correction resulting from the collation of many manuscripts. Portions of the work are also translated in E. & D., vi. See Rieu, *Catal. of Persian MSS. in Brit. Mus.*, i, 253. The first volume deals with twelve

1. The paper as published is disfigured by misprints, corrected later in a list of errata. I did not receive a proof.

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years of the reign. The second carries on the story for seven years more, when the emperor ceased to record his history.

Both volumes give much important information concerning Akbar, and constitute a new source as yet almost unused.

The work entitled *Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangueer, written by himself, and translated by Major David Price,* printed for the Oriental Translation Committee, John Murray, &c. 1829, does not deserve to be considered an authority. The translation was made from a single defective manuscript of an edition of the Memoirs, obviously garbled and interpolated. Many of the statements are absolutely incredible, and numbers have been exaggerated throughout. The book should not be quoted for any purpose, but should be simply ignored as being misleading. Prior to the publication of the version of the genuine memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge, Price's translation was commonly quoted, and is responsible for much false current 'history'.

18. MA'ASIR-I J.

The *Ma'asir-i Jahangiri*, 'Memoirs of Jahangir', by Khwaja Kamgar Ghairat Khan, a contemporary official, was largely used by Gladwin in his *History of Hindostan*, 4to, 1788, *post*, D, No. 6. About one-sixth of the work is devoted to the proceedings of Jahangir previous to his accession (E. & D., vi, 441). The only extract relating to that time translated by E. & D. (ibid., 442-4) relates to the murder of Abu-l Fazl, and is substantially identical with the explanation offered by Jahangir himself.

19. GULBADAN

The History of Humayun (*Humayun-Nama*) *by Gulbadan Begam* (*Princess Rose-body*), translated, with introduction, notes, illustrations, and biographical appendix, and reproduced in the Persian from the only known manuscript in the British Museum, by Annette S. Beveridge, M.R.A.S. Published by the R.A.S., London, 1902.

This excellently edited work, comprising both text and translation, is a valuable authority for Akbar's early life. The biographical appendix gives the lives of many ladies connected with the courts of Akbar and his father. The unique manuscript is incomplete and ends with the blinding of Mirza Kamran.

20. DABISTAN

The *Dabistanu-l Mazahib*, or 'School of Manners', was written about sixty years after Akbar's death by an unnamed author of strong Parsi tendencies,[1] from notes collected in either 1643 or 1648. The text was printed at Calcutta in 1809 and at Bombay in 1856.

Translated by Shea and Troyer, 3 vols., 8vo, Or. Transl. Fund, London, 1843. The Bodleian has a copy.

1. The book is anonymous. The name of the author is given as Muhsin Fani by Cunningham, *Hist. of the Sikhs*, 2nd ed., pp. 33*n*., 57*n*. He was acquainted with the Sikh Guru, Hargobind. The erroneous ascription to Muhsin Fani (for whom see Beale, s.v.), first made by Sir William Jones, has been disproved (Modi, *A Glimpse into the Work of the B.B.R.A. Society*, Bombay, 1905, p. 127).

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The book contains stories about Akbar's religious vagaries. The few matters of interest are collected in the extracts translated by Blochmann in *Ain*, vol. i, pp. 210 foll.

B

Jesuit Accounts, 1582-1605

The Jesuit publications are so numerous that a full bibliographical account of them would occupy a large space. Ample details will be found in the works of Sommervogel and other modern Jesuit writers. A good summary is given by Maclagan, and the Rev. H. Hosten has added much new information. A great amount of manuscript material awaits publication. All the early Jesuit books are either scarce or rare, and some of them are almost inaccessible. They are written in the Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, French, and Latin languages. The only one completely translated into English is Monserrate's brief tract, *Relacam do Equebar*, No. 2. below.

1. COMMENTARIUS

Father Hosten's researches have proved that all narratives of the First Mission rest primarily on the testimony of Monserrate, whose writings were known to Wilford, but had been lost sight of. The *Commentarius*, his principal work, was rediscovered in St. Paul's Cathedral Library, Calcutta, in 1906. The autograph manuscript, which contains nearly 300 pages of Latin written in a minute hand, with many corrections, has been deciphered and well edited by Father Hosten. The title is :

'*Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius*, or "The First Jesuit Mission to Akbar", by Father Anthony Monserrate, S.J., Latin Text; published in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, quarto, vol. iii, No. 9, pp. 518-704; Calcutta, 1914.'

The editor hopes that his work will form the beginning of a series to be entitled 'Jesuit Letters and allied Papers on Mogor, Tibet, Bengal, and Burma'. The Rev. Father Felix, O.M.C., has published a valuable collection of Mogul *farmans*, &c., in favour of the Jesuit missionaries in *J.* of *Panjab Historical Society*, vol. v, part i, extra No., 1916. The term 'Mogor' in the old books means the Mogul empire, as distinguished from 'India', which was usually understood by the missionaries to signify Portuguese India.

The *Commentarius* is the most valuable of the new authorities made accessible since the beginning of the twentieth century. The author was an accomplished scholar and conscientious observer. His book is full of novel matter, recorded from day to day in good Latin during two years and a half. The editor's marginal headings supply the lack of an English translation to a certain extent. The detailed account of the war with Muhammad Hakim of Kabul in 1581 is especially important. See H. Beveridge, Whiteway, and Hosten, 'Notes', in *J. & Proc. A.S.B.*, vol. xi, N.S. (1915), pp.187-204.

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2. RELACAM

The *Relacam do Equebar*, a short tract abstracted by the author from the *Commentarius*, has been edited and translated by Father Hosten in *J. & Proc. A.S.B.*, 1912, pp.185-221, under the title 'Father A. Monserrate's Account of Akbar (26th Nov. 1582)'. It gives a vivid personal description of Akbar, which forms the basis of the writings on the subject by Peruschi and other authors.

3. VARIOUS AUTHORS

The following papers by Father Hosten and other learned priests, with their lay helpers, deal with Monserrate and the First Mission, as well as with subsequent events. All include much matter not previously published.

1. 'The Marsden MSS. in the Brit. Mus.' by W.F. Philipps and H. Beveridge, edited by Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. (*J. & Proc. A.S.B.*, 1910, pp.437-61).

2. "List of Jesuit Missionaries in "Mogor" (1580-1603)', by Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. (ibid., pp.527-42).

3. 'List of Portuguese Jesuit Missionaries in Bengal and Burma (1576-1642)', by Revs. L. Besse, S.J., and H. Hosten, S.J. (ibid., 1911, pp.15-35).

4. 'Father A. Monserrate's Description of Delhi (1581); Firoz Shah's Tunnels', by same (ibid., pp. 99-108).

5. 'On the Persian Farmans granted to the Jesuits by the Moghul Emperors; and Tibetan and Newar Farmans granted to the Capuchin missionaries in Tibet and Nepal', by Rev. Fr. Felix, O.M.C. (ibid., 1912, pp.325-32). The author has in his possession a 'vast amount of unpublished materials', and proposes to print many documents.

4. PERUSCHI

The earliest printed authority for the missions, with the exception of the *Annuae Literae* for 1582-3 in the British Museum, is the very rare little tract in Italian by John Baptist (Giovanni Battista) Peruschi, entitled *Informatione del Regno e Stato del gran Re di Mogor*. My copy (71 pages) was printed at Rome by Luigi Zannetti in 1597. Another issue bearing the same date appeared at Brescia; and subsequently French, German, and Latin translations were published. The book deals with all the three missions. Peruschi's work is also reprinted in the collection formed by John Hay of Dalgetty, entitled *De Rebus Japonicis, Indicis, et Peruanis epistolae recentiores.....in unum librum coacervatae*, published at Antwerp in 1605. Hay's collection also includes the letters printed by Oranus, the *Nova Relatio* by Father Pimenta, and other papers, which I have consulted. Most of the bibliographical details, which are too complicated for insertion here, will be found in Maclagan. Copies of Hay are in the Bodleian and Indian Institute Libraries at Oxford.

5. BARTOLI

One of the most useful Jesuit publications, and one slightly more accessible than most of the others, is the compilation by Father Daniel Bartoli, S.J., originally printed in 1663. I possess and have used the edition (5th), comprising part of the book, which was pub-

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lished by Salvioni at Rome in 1714, under the title *Missione al gran Mogor del Padre Ridolfo Aquaviva*. The volume is beautifully printed, and gives a long list of early authorities on the life of Aquaviva. It does not deal with the later missions. It is based on the writings of Monserrate, Peruschi, and others, and is well written.

6. DU JARRIC

All writers on the subject of the Jesuit Missions must rely chiefly on the great work by Father Pierre du Jarric of Toulouse, with a long title, *Histoire des choses plus memorables.....en l'establissement et progrez de la foi Chrestienne et Catholique, et principalement de ce que les Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus y ont faict et endure pour la mesme fin*', &c. The original French edition, published at Arras in 1611, brings the narrative down to 1600. The third part, extending to 1610, was published in 1614.

A Latin version, entitled *Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum*, &c., was made by M. Matthia Martinez, and published at Cologne, vols. i and ii in 1615, and vol. iii, extending to 1612, in 1616. The work in French, especially part iii, is almost inaccessible. The Bodleian has only parts i and ii in a single volume.

The complete Latin version in three volumes is slightly less rare, both the Bodleian and the India Office Libraries possessing good copies. I have used chiefly the India Office copy, which I was permitted to borrow. My references are to it. Vol. i does not concern the history of Akbar.

In vol. ii, chaps. viii to xvi (pp. 492-576) describe the Mogul empire, all the three missions, and Akbar's inquiries concerning China. The statement that Akbar was an epileptic is on p. 498. Chap. xii gives an account of the abortive Second Mission (1590-1), which is fully dealt with in English by Maclagan and in this work. The portion of the third volume which chiefly concerns the history of Akbar consists of book i, chaps. iv-xv, pp. 38-137. Chap. iv gives the true account of the fall of Asirgarh, hitherto unnoticed by modern historians, with one partial exception. Chap. xv, entitled 'Mors regis Echebaris, qui vulgo Magnus Mogor', present the most authentic existing narrative of the emperor's last days, and fixes the date of his death as October 27, new style, or October 17, old style.

Count von Noer, who made considerable use of vols. i and ii of Du Jarric, had never seen vol. iii, which is now freely utilized for the first time in this work.

Whenever a reasonably accurate and complete history of Jahangir's reign comes to be written, the historian must rely largely on chaps. xvi-xxiii, pp.137-201, of the *Thesaurus*, vol. iii, which are practically unknown. Chap. xxviii, pp. 354-68, gives a curious and interesting account of Christianity in the later empire of Vijayanagar (Chandragiri). Chaps. xxiv and xxv, pp.201-26, are devoted to the adventures of Brother Benedict of Goes in Tibet and China. He was the colleague of Jerome Xavier on the Third Mission for several years.

Du Jarric is a thoroughly conscientious and accurate writer,

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who reproduces faithfully the substance of the original Jesuit letters, of which considerable portions remain unpublished.[1]

He made use of a work by Father Luis de Guzman, S.J., published in 1601, and written in Spanish entitled *Historia de las Missiones*, &c. I have looked through the Bodleian copy of Guzman without finding anything that is not in other books. Father Guzman's treatise, according to Maclagan, is 'our first general history of the Missions'. The story stops at the year 1599.

Du Jarric, however, relied more on the comprehensive treatise by Father Fernam Guerreiro, S.J., published at Lisbon in five parts, and covering the period 1600-7. It is entitled *Relacam annal das cousas que fezeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus*, &c. The book, in all its forms, is of extreme rarity.

The library of All Souls College, Oxford, has the Spanish translation of the first part, dealing with 1600 and 1601, made by Father Antonio Colaco, S.J., Procurador General, published by Luys Sanchez at Valladolid in 1604 and containing 682 pages of text. Chap. ii deals with the religious organization of the Northern Province, including 'Mogor'. Pp. 14-35 deal with the Third Mission much less fully than Du Jarric does. On p.16 the author alleges that Akbar was induced by his extreme pride and arrogance to accept worship as God (*es tan soberuio y arrogate, que consiete ser adorado come dios*). The fall of Asirgarh (p. 24) is briefly ascribed to corruption and lavish expenditure of money (*mucho dinero e sobornos*). The letter to Aires de Saldagna is on p. 33.

The same library possesses part ii, relating to the years 1602 and 1603, published at Lisbon by Iorge Rodrigues in 1605: 143 leaves = 286 pages. Chaps. v-viii of book iii concern the Third Mission, and appear to have been translated completely by Du Jarric. I have not seen part iii, 1604-7, but Father Hosten cites the book as having been published at Lisbon, MDCIX, by Pedro Crasbeeck.

Father Hosten hopes to produce a translation of the whole work, so far as it concerns the Mogul empire, at some time, if the state of his health should permit.

These observations may suffice to convince the reader of the extraordinarily high value of Du Jarric's little-known work, which I have found to be most illuminating.

7. DE SOUSA

'In 1710 a Jesuit Father, Franciso de Sousa (or Souza), published in Portuguese at Lisbon an account of the Missions which were carried on in the Province of Goa between 1564 and 1585. His book is called *Oriente conquistado a Jesu christo pelos padres da Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Goa*, and pages 146-172 of the second volume deal with the first Mission to Akbar. In the preface to his second volume he gives as his authorities (*a*) a MS. history by Father Sebastiano

1. The valuation of Du Jarric's merits rests, not only on my personal opinion, but on the expert judgement of Father Hosten, who has studied much of the immense mass of unpublished material. De Laet (p. 62/66) gives a summary of Benedict's route via Kashgar and Yarkand to the Great Wall, probably from Du Jarric.

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Goncalves, Professor at Goa in 1593; (*b*) Bartoli's work, No. 5 above; (*c*) the "History of the Company"; and (*d*) other documents, "da nossa Secretaria da Goa", (Maclagan, p. 46). The original edition is extremely rare, and a copy does not seem to exist in Oxford.

A reprint is obtainable from B.X. Furtado & Sons, Bombay, in two vols., price 13*s*. including postage. Vol. ii gives sundry details not to be found elsewhere, e.g. concerning the route of Aquaviva's party from Surat to Fathpur-Sikri. The more important passages relating to Akbar's reign have been translated and cited by Goldie and Hosten, which I have been content to use. The India Office Library possesses only the first volume of the reprint, 541 pp., royal 8vo, issued from the *Examiner* office, in 1881. That volume, which is mainly concerned with St. Francis Xavier, and comes down only to 1563, does not touch on the events of Akbar's reign.

8. MACLAGAN

The treatise by [Sir] E. D. Maclagan entitled 'The Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar' (*J.A.S.B.*, part i, vol. lxv (1896), pp.38-113), already cited, deserves more detailed notice. It is a thorough and satisfactory piece of work, dealing adequately with the material available at the time of publication. The author supplies a good summary bibliography of the rare Jesuit publications; full narratives of all the three missions, illustrated by copious translated extracts from the documents; observations on the results of the missions; and a note on the Persian works by Jerome Xavier. Maclagan's work is the indispensable guide to the subject, and will give most students all that they require. Some of the documents published by him are not accessible elsewhere in print. Monserrate's, Goldie's and Father Hosten's works were not available when he wrote.

9. GOLDIE

Father Francis Goldie, S.J., has published a valuable little book entitled *The First Christian Mission to the Great Mogul* (Gill & Son, Dublin, 1897, price 1*s*. 6*d*). which gives quotations from De Sousa (No. 7, *ante*) and much information not to be had elsewhere. The author, of course, writes from the Roman Catholic and Jesuit point of view. His publication of the Portuguese text and English translation of Aquaviva's letter dated September 27, 1582 (Marsden MSS. Add., B.M., No. 9854), is of special value. The independent version of the same letter published by Maclagan (pp. 56-8) is slightly less complete and accurate than that given by Goldie.

C

Early European Travellers and Authors other than Jesuits

1. FITCH

The only lay European traveller known to have visited Akbar's dominions, and to have recorded his impressions at any considerable length is Ralph Fitch, who left England in 1583 and returned in 1591. In the company of John Newbery and William Leedes he

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arrived at Agra and Fathpur-Sikri in September 1585. Newbery started soon afterwards for Persia and was never heard of again. Leedes remained in Akbar's service as a jeweller, but unfortunately has left no record of his experiences. Fitch proceeded to Bengal, Burma, and other lands, which he described in meagre notes. His narrative was printed in Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, 1599-1600, vol. ii, part i (=ed. MacLehose, 1904, vol. v, pp. 465-505, in Hakluyt Soc., Extra Series). Queen Elizabeth's letter to Akbar is on p. 450 of MacLehose's edition.

Fitch's story has been reprinted and edited by J.H. Riley, under the title *Ralph Fitch, England's Pioneer to India, Burma, &c.* (Unwin, London, 1899), which edition is quoted in this work. The second part (pp. 92-100) gives a cursory and disappointingly slight description of Northern India under Akbar in 1585. The traveller seems to have seen Akbar, but says nothing about an interview with him.

2. PURCHAS

The first edition of the well-known compilation by the Rev. Samuel Purchas appeared in 1613, under the title *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World*, &c., as a small folio, now rare, of which I possess a copy. Book v, chap. vi, pp. 405-7, gives a summary account of Akbar's empire compiled from the writings of Ralph Fitch, the Jesuits Oranus and Du Jarric (*ante*, B, Nos. 4 and 6), besides other authors.

Chapters vii, viii, and ix describe Cambay (Gujarat), the Indian nations of the western coast, and the customs of the Brahmans, as recorded by Fitch, van Linschoten, and various travellers.

The compiler's later work, *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625), contains notices of John Mildenhall and certain other travellers who visited India shortly before or soon after Akbar's death, but did not publish books. The best edition is that by MacLehose, 1905, under the title *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes*. Two letters of John Mildenhall are given in vol. ii, pp.297-304. The first, without date, describes his journey from Aleppo to Kandahar. The second, dated October 3, 1606, from Kaswin (Casbin) in Persia, recounts the exertions he made to obtain trade privileges from Akbar. Mildenhall reached Agra in 1603 and was there for about three years. See Maclagan, p.93 *n.* quoting Orme, and *ante*, chap. x.

The text of the account of India by Purchas in the *Pilgrimes* was reprinted along with van Linschoten's *Travels in Western India*, by Talboys Wheeler in *Early Travels in India*, first series, 8vo, Calcutta, 1864.

3. TERRY

The Rev. Edward Terry, who in his youth was chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador of James I to Jahangir, lived with his patron during the greater part of his embassy for more than two years, from 1615 to 1618, and committed his impressions to writing soon after his return. In 1622 he submitted his papers for the perusal of the

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Prince of Wales.[1] The first edition, entitled *A Voyage to East India*, now rare, was not published until 1655. The second edition, of which I possess a copy, was issued in 1777, and is scarce. It contains a scandalous story about Prince Salim, and the tale of the death by poison of 'that wicked king', Akbar (p. 408). Section xxx (pp. 418-28) deals with the Jesuits and the Third Mission, and is of value as proving that the missionaries were used for political purposes to some extent. Terry states expressly that Father Corsi 'lived at that court as an agent for the Portuguese'.

He gives Corsi a good character. Terry's work is valuable for the notes on the social condition and morals of the people. The chaplain was a good observer, and sympathetic.

4. ROE

My references are to the best edition, namely, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-1619, as narrated in his Journal and Correspondence* edited from contemporary records by William Foster (2 vols., Hakluyt Society, 1899, paged continuously). Roe's statements about Akbar are not numerous. He possessed much information about the history of the country and 'the many practises in the time of Ecbarsha', and observed that he 'could deliver as many rare and cunning passadges of state, subtile evasions, policyes, answers, and adages as I believe for one age would not be easely equald'. But he feared that the subject would not interest his readers, and so, unfortunately, refrained from printing what he knew (p. 281). He expresses a favourable opinion of Akbar's character as being that of 'a Prince by nature just and good' (p. 312), and gives clear proof that Jerome Xavier had become a political and commercial agent for the Portuguese. See especially p. 341. Jerome Xavier is usually described as being the nephew of St. Francis Xavier. But really he was the saint's grand-nephew being the grandson of a sister of St. Francis (Foster's note, p. 313). Appendix A (B.M. Add. MS. 6115, f. 256) gives a summary description of the chief cities in the Mogul Empire, the names being taken from the 'king's register', which is of interest, according to Mr. Foster, as being 'the first attempt to supply to European readers an account of the political divisions of the Mogul empire'; but, when Mr. Foster wrote, the earlier work of Monserrate had not been recovered. The longest notice is that of Chytor (Chitor). The list of cities is given by Terry also.

5. DE LAET

John de Laet (Joannes Laetius), an industrious and voluminous Dutch author, did much good service in his day, by compiling from the best authorities well-digested accounts of various foreign lands.[2]

His scarce little book entitled *De Imperio Magni Mogolis, sive*

1. Terry went out to India on his own account in a fleet of six ships, which sailed February 3, 1615. When John Hall, the original chaplain of the embassy, died at the Mogul court, Sir Thomas Roe sent to Surat for Terry, who stayed with him to the end and returned to England with him. Terry became rector of Greenford in Middlesex (title and p. 54).

2. Lethbridge spells 'De Laet', but the author writes 'de Laet.'

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India Vera, commentarius e variis auctoribus congestus, published by Elzevir at Leyden in 1631, long ranked as the best general account of India, and was utilized by many authors, who did not always disclose the source of their information. The book is still a valuable authority for the history of Akbar's reign. There are two distinct issues, both bearing the same date, 1631. I possess good copies of both, which are also represented in the India Office Library. The original issue has 299 pages text; the second issue, owing to better printing, has only 285 pages text and at the end of p.278 includes a paragraph, not in the original edition, imputing incest to Shahjahan immediately after the death of Mumtaz Mahall. As she died in July 1631, the reprint must have been issued either in 1632 or in 1633. It probably appeared late in 1632. References to the work should specify the issue quoted, because the paging differs. See my article on the book in *Ind. Ant.*, November 1914.

De Laet's work deals with events to 1628. It consists of two parts namely, 'Descriptio Indiae' (pp. 1-162 of second issue); and the 'Fragmentum Historiae Indicae' (pp. 163-285, ibid., including preface). The 'Descriptio' is a good compilation from the works of Sir Thomas Roe, Purchas, Peter Texeira, and other authors, including some statements of which the source is obscure. The geographical details were discussed by E. (later Sir Roper) Lethbridge in an article entitled 'Topography of the Mogul Empire' (*Calcutta Review*, October 1870, and January 1871).

The 'Fragmentum' was contributed by Peter van den Broecke, chief of the Dutch factory at Surat in 1620 and subsequent years. His Dutch text was translated into Latin. It is based on a genuine chronicle of the empire, presumably written in Persian (*quod e genuino illius Regni Chronico expresssum credimus*).

The portion of the 'Fragmentum' dealing with the reigns of Humayun and Akbar was translated by Lethbridge under the title 'A Fragment of Indian History' (*Calc. Rev.*, July 1873, pp. 170-200). The promised continuation of the version never appeared. The rendering is not free from errors. Two serious mistranslations spoil the important paragraph dealing with the death of Akbar and the succession of Prince Salim. Both parts of the book are valuable. The account of Akbar's treasure in chapter vii of the 'Descriptio' is official, and independent of the equally official inventory given by Manrique from a different source. The two lists agree substantially. See my article, 'The Treasure of Akbar' (*J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 231-43). Another copy of the treasure inventory (as pointed out by Father Hosten) is given in the Dutch black-letter tract (73 pages), entitled *Generale Beschrybinge van Indien*, Amsterdam, 1648, by J. van Twist, sometime chief (*overhooft*) of the Dutch 'factories' at Ahmadabad, Cambay and Bharoch (Broach). The work is in the India Office Library.

The 'Fragmentum', although not correct on all points contains certain statements of considerable importance, and deserves to be used critically as one of the early authorities for the history of Akbar.

6. HERBERT

Sir Thomas Herbert, as a young man, travelled in the East from

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1626 to 1629. He was at Surat in 1627, and never went far into India from that port. The first edition of his book appeared in 1634, the second in 1638, and the third in 1664. The fourth and best edition, which I possess and have used, was published in 1677 with his final corrections and additions, under the title *Some Years Travels into divers parts of Africa and Asia the Great*, &c.

Pages 58-99 of the fourth edition are devoted to a narrative of historical events in India during fifty years, without specification of authorities. The history of Akbar's reign (pp. 62-72) has no independent value, being based on the books by de Laet (*ante*, No. 5), and other authors. Several modern writers, especially Talboys Wheeler, have immensely exaggerated the value of Herbert's volume, being under the impression that he had personal knowledge of the interior of India. As a matter of fact, he never moved farther than a few miles from Surat, and his personal observation was confined to that port and its neighbourhood.

7. MANRIQUE

The *Itinerario de las Missiones qui hizo el padre Fray Sebastian Manrique*, Roma, 1649 and 1653, is one of the most authoritative and valuable of the works by early travellers. Both issues are extremely rare. I have never known a copy to be offered for sale. Both are in the British Museum; while at Oxford, the Bodleian has the original edition, and All Souls College Library has the reprint, which differs in the title-page only. Unfortunately the Spanish text has never been translated completely, and the contents are known to historical students only from extracts.[1] The author's principal contribution to the history of Akbar is inventory of the treasure left at his death, copied about 1640 from an official record in the archives at Rajmahal, then the capital of Bengal. The list agrees substantially with that taken independently by de Laet from another similar document in some other office. See above No. 5.

8. MANDELSLO

The Voyages and Travels of John Albert de Mandelslo.....into the East Indies; 2nd edition, corrected and translated by John Davies, London 1669, of which I possess a copy, is a work with an undeserved reputation. It is bound up with the much more important book by Olearius, entitled *The Voyages and Travels of the Ambassadors*. The bibliography of Mandelslo, and the value of his so-called travels have been exhaustively discussed in my paper on the subject in *J.R.A.S.*, April 1915, pp.244-54. Mandelslo paid a brief visit to Agra in 1638, in the reign of Shahjahan. The meagre notes which proceed from his pen are almost worthless. His inventory of Akbar's treasure (p.37), which seems to be copied by one of his editors from either de Laet (ante, No. 5) or Manrique (*ante*, No. 7), is of no independent value. The book, as edited by Olearius and de Wicquefort, was intended for the general reader, and is a good compilation, but nothing more.

1. Sir E.D. Maclagan has published a translation of the chapters relating to the Panjab in *J. Panjab Hist. Soc.*, vol. i, pp. 83-106, 151-66.

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9. BERNIER

The volume of *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, A.D. 1656-1668, by Francois Bernier, is a justly celebrated work and a first-class authority for the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. The latest edition in English is that by Archibald Constable and V.A. Smith (Oxford University Press, 1914).

The only material reference to Akbar's reign is to be found in the story of Jaimall and Patta of Chitor (p.256), told in connexion with the Delhi elephants.

10. MANUCCI

Niccolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor, or Mogul India* (1653-1708), translated with introduction and notes, by William Irvine. Four thick volumes, 1907, 1908, published by John Murray, London, in the Indian Text Series of the Government of India, under the supervision of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Manucci's gossiping observations principally concern the reign of Aurangezeb, and, when resting on his personal knowledge, are valuable. In volume, i, pp.120-51, the author professes to give the history of the reign of Akbar, but the story is made up almost wholly of legendary and fabulous anecdotes. Its principal interest lies in the proof it offers that a legend had grown up round the name of Akbar in the course of a century.[1] The tale of the emperor's death by poison, which is found in so many early authors, appears on p. 150.

Manucci's most important contribution to the real history of Akbar is the statement that the Jats rifled the tomb of the emperor and burnt his bones (ii, 319-21). That statement, I believe, is true. See Irvine's index, s.v. Akbar.

Irvine's work supersedes generally the earlier publication by Catrou, which appeared in various editions, French, Italian, and English, from 1705 to 1826.[2] But Catrou still may be cited for certain small matters not in Manucci. The Frenchman made use of other authorities to some extent. I have consulted the quarto French edition of 1715 in the India Office Library. The Bodleian has only the English version of 1709.

D

Later European Authors

1. TOD

The *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, by Colonel James Tod (two vols., large quarto , 1829-32), now almost unprocurable, may be consulted in the principal libraries. Reprints issued by Higginbo-

1. The legend began to grow much earlier. Tom Coryate, writing on October 31, 1616, only eleven years after the emperor's death, tells a story that Akbar cut off the head of one of his queens, and then 'caused the head, by vertue of his Exorcismes and conjunctions, to be set on again, no signe appearing of any stroke with his Sword' (*Crudities*, &c., ed. 1776, vol. iii, not paged).

2. List of editions in Irvine, op. cit., p. xxvi. All the editions are rare, or at least scarce.

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tham of Madras in two volumes, large octavo (1873 and 1880), and another at Calcutta in 1894, have become scarce.[1]

Tod's work is most conveniently read in the 'Popular Edition' (two thick 8vo volumes, George Routledge & Sons, London, 1914) at the low price of 10*s*. My references are to that edition. The special value of Tod's book for the historian consists in its preservation of Rajput tradition, oral and written, which is not available elsewhere. In that respect it ranks as an original authority. The most important passages concerning the history of Akbar are those dealing with the siege of Chitor, the war with Rana Partab Singh, and the story of Akbar's death by poison, as related in the Annals of Bundi (Boondee). Tod requires to be read with caution. His style is loose and careless, and at times his statements are contradictory. Some of his assertions of fact are demonstrably erroneous. But his book is great enough to survive all criticism. His account of Akbar's policy, written from the Rajput point of view, serves as a corrective to the narratives of the Muhammadan historians.

2. ELPHINSTONE

Elphinstone's *History of India* (1841) is too well-known to need much comment. The fifth edition by E.B. Cowell (1866) has been little altered in later reprints. The narrative of Akbar's reign, abstracted from the Muhammadan historians, is mostly accurate so far as it goes, but it does not go very far. The story of Akbar's last days and death, being based on the spurious edition of Jahangir's *Memoirs* translated by Price, is fictitious for the most part. Elphinstone ignored the Jesuit accounts, which were known to his editor only from the poor compilation entitled Murray's *Discoveries in Asia*. Those accounts, which had appeared in many editions, reprints, and translations during the seventeenth century, were practically forgotten in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries until Burnell and von Noer rediscovered Du Jarric, and the Count in 1880 drew attention to a portion of the Jesuit's work.[2]

3. STEWART

The *History of Bengal*, by Major Charles Stewart (4to, 1813), based on the works of Muhammadan historians, printed and manuscript, is useful as giving a connected view of events in Bengal during the reign of Akbar. *Bengal in the Sixteenth Century*, by J.N. Das Gupta (Univ. of Calcutta, 1914), is disappointing.

4. VON NOER

The book by Count von Noer, published in German under the title *Kaiser Akbar* (1880, 1885), was translated into English, with additions, corrections, and notes, by Annette Beveridge (Calcutta, Thacker, 1890) under the title *The Emperor Akbar*.

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1. The reprint of 1873 is marked 'second edition', and that of 1880 'third reprint'; I have not seen the Calcutta reprint, which is said by Payne to be 'less accurate'. A Hindustani (Urdu) version was published in two large quarto volumes at the Nawal Kishor Press, Lucknow, 1877. A condensed eidition of the 'Annals of Mewar', by C.H. Payne, was issued by Routledge & Sons (N.D., about 1913).

2. An exception should be made in favour of Orme, who used both Hay's collection and Du Jarric's *Thesaurus* in *Historical Fragments*, 1805.

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It is the only considerable modern work in any language devoted solely to Akbar's reign, and in spite of its many defects is of value. Its chief merit lies in the use made of the Jesuit authorities, especially Du Jarric, whom Elphinstone and almost all other English historians had neglected. The author was a panegyrist of his hero as undiscriminating as Abu-l Fazl himself.

5. RAVERTY

The *Notes on Afghanistan* (folio, 1888), by Major Raverty, are known to serious students of Indian history as a mine of out-of-the way information from which it is not easy to dig out what is wanted. The references to the history of Akbar's time are numerous, and the account of the annexation of Sind, Kandhar, and Balochistan is particularly helpful. The book is rarely met with in a complete form (pp. 734). My copy, presented by the author, is enriched by certain manuscript corrections in his hand. A large part of the work as written was not printed, and the index is an imperfect office compilation, very different from the elaborate analyis designed by the author.[1]

6. GLADWIN

The History of Hindustan during the reigns of Jahangir, Shahjehan, and Aurangzebe, by Francis Gladwin, vol. i, all published, Calcutta, 1788, small quarto, pp. xxiii and 132.

The first volume deals with the reign of Jahangir. The introductory chapter gives a good connected account of Prince Salim's rebellion, taken from the *Ma'asir-i Jahangiri* (*ante*, A, No. 18).

7. IRVINE, ARMY

The Army of the Indian Moghuls, its Organization and Administration (Luzac, 1903), by William Irvine, is an extremely careful although dry presentation of the subject, based on close study of a large number of Persian works, printed and manuscript. It professes to treat more particularly of the army of the later Moguls, the reader being referred to a German work by Dr. Paul Horn, entitled *Das Heer-und Kriegswesen des Gross-Moghuls*, 160 pp. (Brill, Leiden, 1894), for a discussion of Akbar's organization. But Irvine's book gives all the essential information needed about the army of Akbar, and is indispensable for a right understanding of the *mansabdar* system. Horn's book, a copy of which is in the India Office Library, supplies little additional matter serviceable to the biographer of Akbar.

8. MODI

The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Mehrjee Rana, by Jiwanji Jamshedji Modi, Bombay, 1903, is a book deserving separate mention as being a fully documented discussion of the relations of Akbar with the Parsees. The author refutes conclusively certain erroneous opinions advocated by Karkaria in his paper, 'Akbar and the Parsees' (*J. Bo. Br. R.A.S.*, 1896).[2]

1. Most of Raverty's MSS., including a voluminous 'History of Hirat (Herat),' have been acquired by the India Office Library.

2. Other papers by Karkaria are :—'The Religion of Akbar' (*As. Qu. Rev.*, January 1898); 'Akbar, his Religious Policy ' (*Calc. Rev.*, January 1906); 'The Death of Akbar, a Tercentenary Study' (ibid., October 1906); and 'Akbar's Tomb at Secundra ' (ibid., January 1908). They are not of much value.

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9. BEALE

T. W. Beale, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, ed. H.G. Keene (Allen & Co., 1894). This work, indispensable in a way, contains so many blunders that it must be used with the utmost caution. The short article on Hamida Bano Begam, for example, confounds her with Haji Begam, and so is mostly erroneous.

E

Monuments, Inscriptions, and Coins

1. *Monuments and Inscriptions*

1. A.S.R.

Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1871-87, 8vo, written or edited by Sir Alexander Cunningham, with *General Index* by V.A. Smith, 8vo, Calcutta, 1887. For references to Akbar see general index. Volume iv, a 'Report on Agra with notices of some of the neighbouring places', by A.C.L. Carlleyle, is almost worthless.

2. A.S., ANNUAL

The *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, New Imperial Series, large quarto, from 1902-3 to date, edited and partly written by Sir J.H. Marshall, C.I.E., Director-General of Archaeology, contain much accurate information about the buildings and art of Akbar's time. Unfortunately there is no index to any of the volumes.

The more important articles concerning Akbar are the following :—

Report for 1902-3, published 1904—'Jahangiri Mahall and Salimgarh', by the Director-General, pp.61-8.

Report for 1903-4, published 1906—'The Agra Fort and its Buildings', by Nur Baksh, pp. 164-93.

Report for 1905-6, published 1909—'Restoration of two Elephant Statues at the Fort of Delhi', by J.H. Marshall, pp.35-42. The subject of the article is connected with the story of the siege of Chitor.

Report for 1907-8, published 1911—'The Akbari Mahall in Agra Fort', by R. F. Tucker, pp. 8-22; and '*Takht-i Akbari* at Kalanur', by the same, pp. 31, 32. That article describes and illustrates the scene of Akbar's accession ceremony. Many other articles should be consulted in order to exhaust the information recorded about Akbar's buildings.

3. SMITH, FATHPUR-SIKRI

E. W. Smith, *The Moghul Architecture of Fathpur-Sikri, described and illustrated;* in four parts or volumes large quarto (Government Press, Allahabad, 1894-8), which are all reckoned as forming vol. xviii of the New Imperial Series of Archaeological Reports.

This work is a magnificently illustrated monography prepared with extreme care and technical skill. It describes minutely the

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principal blocks of the buildings, but a supplementary volume might be added with advantage to deal with the less important structures.

4. SMITH, AKBAR'S TOMB

E. W. Smith, *Akbar's Tomb, Sikandarah, near Agra, described and illustrated;* quarto (Allahabad Government Press, 1909, being vol. xxxv of the Archaeological Survey Reports, New Imperial Series.

A valuable and well-illustrated posthumous monograph, edited by W.H. Nicholls, J.H. Marshall, and J. Horowitz. It includes texts and translations of the inscriptions. The execution is similar to that of the work on Fathpur-Sikri.

5. SMITH, COLOUR DECORATION

E. W. Smith, *Moghul Colour Decoration of Agra, described and illustrated;* quarto (Allahabad Government Press, 1901), being vol. xxx of the New Imperial Series of the Archaeological Survey. The author did not live to write the promised second part. The volume forms a companion to Nos. 3 and 4 above, both published later. Plates i and lviii—lxiii illustrate the tomb of Akbar. The book is admirably executed, like all the accomplished author's work.

6. LATIF

Syad Muhammad Latif, *Agra, Historical and Descriptive, with an account of Akbar and his Court and of the modern City of Agra;* 8vo (Calcutta, 1896).

The historical portion has been compiled from the Persian chronicles with some help from the Jesuit accounts as presented in Maclagan's essay. The statements of historical fact are not invariably accurate, but in some cases the author's local knowledge has enabled him to correct other writers and to insert a few particulars not available elsewhere. The illustrations are crude, and the book, as a whole, falls far below the standard required by good scholarship.

7. FERGUSSON

James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture,* revised and edited with additions by James Burgess, 1910 (John Murray). Fergusson's observations, although necessarily now open to some adverse criticism, possess permanent value. They have been reproduced without substantial change in the new edition, which has not been fully brought up to date.

8. H.F.A.

Vincent A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1911).

The plan of the book does not permit of detailed treatment of the art of a single reign, but various chapters contain much information about the architecture and other forms of art in the time of Akbar, with a few selected illustrations.

9. HOROWITZ

J. Horowitz, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1909-10); issued uniform with the

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Indian Antiquary. The volume was designed to include, with certain specified exceptions, 'all the Muhammadan inscriptions of India written prior to A.H. 1247 (A.D. 1857) and published between 1788 (the year in which the first volume of the *Asiatick Researches* made its appearance) and 1910'. The author, who has aimed at 'bibliographical completeness', gives full references and a chronological index. The inscriptions of Akbar's reign, as catalogued, range between A.H. 963 and 1014. The omission of the Asirgarh inscriptions is due to the fact that they do not appear to have been published.

10. SUNDRY REFERENCES

A few scattered references to buildings erected either by Akbar or during his reign, and to inscriptions, may be found in various publications. E.g. the *I.G.* (1908) mentions the fine mosque at Merta (Mirtha) in Rajputana, and an inscription said to be dated A.D. 1583 on a mosque of earlier date at Bhilsa, which is not in Horowitz. The Sati Burj at Mathura was erected in 1570, and the temples at Brindaban are a little later (Growse, *Mathura*, third ed., 1883, p.148, and chap. ix). The eclectic architectural style of the reign is discussed, ibid., p. 172. Some corrections of E.W. Smith will be found in *Progr. Rep. A.S., N. Circle*, 1905-6, p. 34. The Nandan Mahall in the Yahiaganj ward of Lucknow, being the tomb of Shaikh Abdu-r rahim, a *mansabdar* of 700 (*Ain*, vol. i, p. 470, No. 197), is described in *Pioneer Mail*, February 23, 1912. The tombs of the Shaikh's father and wives adjoin. These buildings are not mentioned in any of the archaeological books. For tomb of Muhammad Ghaus at Gwalior see *A.S.R.*, ii, 369; *I.G.;* and Griffin, *Famous Monuments of Central India.*

The long and interesting Sanskrit inscription on the Adishvar temple on the Satrunjaya hill, commemorating Akbar's dealings with the Jains, was recorded in A.D. 1590 (*Ep. Ind.*, ii, No. xii, p. 50, text—No. 308 of Kielhorn's *List* in *Ep. Ind.*, v, 44). The text and translation are partially reproduced in *Jaina-shasana*, Benares, Vira S. 2437= A.D. 1910, p. 124. See my article in the Bhandarkar Commemoration volume, 1917.

2. *Coins*

1. THOMAS

Edward Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi illustrated by coins, inscriptions, and other antiquarian remains* (London, Trubner, 1871).

The Chronicles, notwithstanding their erroneous title, include much accurate information about the coinage and history of Akbar's reign; see index, s.v. Akbar.

The tract entitled *The Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire in India, from A.D.* 1593 *to A.D.* 1707*; a Supplement to the Chronicles*: same publisher and date; makes an attempt to estimate the revenues of Akbar and his successors, as calculated from various sources. The results are far from certain.

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2. B.M. CATAL

Stanley Lane-Poole. *The Coins of the Mogul Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum* (London, printed by order of the Trustees, 1892).

This work gives an admirable technical account of Akbar's coinage, as known at the date of publication. The general historical introduction, which is well-written, was issued separately in a small edition by Constable & Co.

Four of the coins in this catalogue were republished in *H.F.A.* Plate xcviii, Figs. 2-5.

When the catalogue was prepared the British Museum possessed very few of Akbar's copper coins. The subject of his copper coinage has been worked out in the later publications now to be noticed. The British Museum collection has been largely increased of late years in all the main kinds of Akbar's issues.

3. I.M. CATAL

H. Nelson Wright, *A Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, including the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal;* vol. iii, *Moghul Emperors of India.* Published for the Trustees of the Indian Museum (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1908).

This handsome and well-illustrated volume gives a specially full account of the mints, including those of Akbar. It supersedes an earlier crude compilation by C.J. Rodgers—*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum;* part ii, *The Mogul Emperors of India, &c.* (Calcutta, 1894).

4. P. M. CATAL

R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum Lahore;* vol. ii, *Coins of the Mughal Emperors,* pp. cxv+442, with 21 plates and a folding map. Published for the Panjab Government at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1914.

This work, quite equal in execution to Nos. 2 and 3 above supersedes Rodgers's rough list entitled *Catalogue of Coins in the Lahore Museum,*[1] published by orders of the Panjab Government (Calcutta, printed at the Baptist Mission Press, 1891; thin quarto, without illustrations).

5. The more important separate papers on Akbar's coinage include the following :

C. D. Rodgers, 'Copper Coins of Akbar' (*J.A.S.B.*, part i (1880), p. 213, and ibid., 1885, p. 55); 'Rare Copper Coins of Akbar' (*Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 219); 'Mogul Copper Coins' (*J.A.S.B.*, part i, vol. lxiv (1895), pp. 172, 191).

Vost, 'On Some Rare Muhammadan Coins' (ibid., p. 40); 'The Dogam Mint' (ibid., p.69).

1. This is the title as corrected by the author in my copy. The printed title is *Catalogue of the Coins in the Government Museum, Lahore.*

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L. White King, 'Novelties in Moghal Coins' (*Num. Chron.*, 1896, pp. 155-82.).

M.L. Dames, 'Some Coins of the Mughal Emperors' (*Num. Chron.*, 1902, pp. 275-309). The author adds 29 mints of Akbar to the 24 in the *B.M. Catalogue* (p. 277).

G. P. Taylor, 'On the Date of the Salimi Coins' (*J.A.S.B.*, 1904, *Num. Supplement*, pp. 5-10); 'Akbar's Copper Coins of Ahmadabad' (ibid., pp. 103-9).

Whitehead, 'The Mint Towns of the Moghal Emperors of India' (*J. & Proc. A.S.B.*, 1912, pp. 425-53).

A connected account of the coinage of Akbar as a whole remains to be written, and the task of writing it is one well worth doing.

F

Portraits, Drawings and Paintings

THREE CLASSES OF HISTORICAL DRAWINGS AND PAINTINGS

The works of pictorial art directly illustrative of the biography and history of Akbar, excluding romantic and other fancy compositions which concern merely the technical development of art, may be conveniently divided into three classes, namely : (1) Portraits of the emperor, either alone or in small groups of figures; (2) similar portraits of his friends and contemporaries; (3) complex compositions representing court scenes, battles, sieges, hunting expeditions, or sundry historical incidents; and frequently including the figure of Akbar himself at various ages. Those three classes taken together give a marvellously complete visual presentation of Akbar as he lived, moved, and had his being; of his friends, councillors, and contemporaries generally, exactly as they appeared in life; and of numberless historical occurrences. In fact, the works still available, notwithstanding destruction on an enormous scale, are sufficient for the preparation of a 'Pictorial History of the Reign'. Limitations of space and cost preclude the insertion of a large number of illustrations in this work. Adequate pictorial representation of the persons and events of the reign would require a large volume to itself. It is impossible here to go into minute detail, but some readers may be grateful for indications of drawings and paintings suitable to help them in realizing the India of the second half of the sixteenth century more vividly than the few selected examples in this volume can enable them to do.

1. *Portraits of Akbar, separately or in small groups of figures*

PORTRAITS OF AKBAR

I do not profess to give an exhaustive catalogue of extant portraits of Akbar. The following notes are confined to brief mention of the more remarkable of those which have come to my notice after a considerable amount of research.

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The public collections in London at the British Museum and India Office possess many, some of which are excellent.

In the British Museum the MS. Add. 18801 (*Catal. Persian MSS.* p. 778), which was consecrated by one Ashraf Khan as a pious donation (*wakf*) in 1661-2, is one of the choicest treasures of the Library. No. 10 (anonymous) is an interesting portrait of Akbar standing with his eldest son, Prince Salim, then a child, beside him.

Folio 4 of MS. Add. 22470, a picture representing Akbar on his throne hearing a woman's petition, is a gallery of named portraits, each of the principal courtiers being labelled in minute characters. The volume was plundered from Hafiz Rahmat's camp during Warren Hastings' Rohilla war, and so passed into the library of the Kings of Oudh. It came to the British Museum in the mutiny year, 1858. The excellent anonymous portrait of Akbar, aged about sixty, and standing leaning on his sword (Add. 21928, folio 4*a*), has been reproduced in *H.F.A.*, Plate cxxii, and also in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, ed. MacLehose, vol. v, facing p.16.

The Johnson Collection in the India Office Library, formed by the banker of Warren Hastings, comprises 67 portfolios or volumes, varying widely in shape, size, and value.

Volume xviii offers two portraits of Akbar. That on folio 1 represents him as a young man, seated, with a falcon perched on his finger. On folio 4 he is shown standing, as a boy (*Khurdsal*), about fifteen years of age. (See frontispiece of this work.)

Volume lvii, a collection of 53 portrait sketches presented to the Library in 1816 by Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton, includes likenesses of Abu-l Fazl, Raja Birbal, and Raja Man Singh, &c. No. 1 is a tiny pencil sketch of Akbar in early manhood.

The MSS. in the Bodleian at Oxford have several good portraits. Ouseley, Add. 173, No. 10, exhibits the emperor as an elderly man, with strongly marked face-lines, seated on a hexagonal throne. No. 11 in the same MS. is a small vignette of Akbar at an earlier age, and plainly dressed.

MS. Pers. *b* 1 (probably the missing Ouseley, Add. 168) has a good portrait of Akbar as a man about thirty years of age, standing, leaning on his sword. The portrait of the emperor with a hawk on his wrist (*Oxford Stud. History*) is from a Bodleian MS., the reference to which I have lost.

In *Indian Drawings*, ii, 25, Dr. Coomaraswamy has published a remarkable outline drawing of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shahjahan together. The group seems to have been made up in Shahjahan's time by tracing the features from contemporary portraits.

The Victoria Memorial collection at Calcutta has three portraits of Akbar separately, Nos. 196, 198, 1204. No. 1065 shows him with Jodh Bai and another lady. No. 195 is a picture of late date, called the Nauratna Darbar, or 'Nine-Jewel Court', showing him in the company of his 'nine jewels' or choice friends. The portrait of Akbar,

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unfortunately, is not genuine. In No. 1067 the emperor is seen hunting with Mahabat Khan.

Reproductions of other portraits of Akbar will be found in various books, e.g. Irvine's Manucci, vol. i; Beveridge's Gulbadan Begam; *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar*, 1911 (Arch. Survey, N.D., but 1915), &c.

2. *Portraits of Akbar's friends and contemporaries*

PORTRAITS OF CONTEMPORARIES

I have not noted any separate portraits of the emperor's friends in the British Museum MSS.

The sketches in vol. lvii of the Johnson Collection, already mentioned, include some worthy of reproduction. The best is No. 44, a slightly tinted sketch of Tansen, the musician. A good full-length portrait on a small scale of the same personage is included in a picture of Jahangir's time belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society, and hung on the staircase.

The Delhi Museum has a portrait (H. 17; size 12″ × 7¼″) of Abu-l Fazl seated (*Catal.*, 1908, p. 11). No Akbar pictures have been acquired by the Museum since.

The caricature figure of the Mulla, nicknamed 'Du-piyaza' (one of the Nauratna), recurs more than once in the London albums.'[1] Dr. Coomaraswamy has published a good outline drawing of the subject in *Indian Drawings*, vol. i (1910), Plate 1. For another reproduction see *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar*, 1911 (Arch. S. India, N.D., but 1915), Plate liii *c*. The Mulla, a native of Arabia, came to India in the train of one of Humayun's generals, and obtained Akbar's favour as a wit and eccentric. His name does not seem to be recorded (ibid., p. 122). Many portraits of Akbar and his friends are included in that volume.

Detached portraits of Akbar's friends seem to be scarce, but several examples exist of crowded pictures in which the individual courtiers are labelled. The picture of the 'Nauratna Darbar' in the Victoria Memorial Collection has been already mentioned.

3. *Complex compositions*

COMPLEX COMPOSITIONS

The most conspicuous series of complex compositions is that formed by the 117 pictures from the *Akbarnama*, now well exhibited at South Kensington in the Indian Section of the V. & A. Museum, which form a pictorial history of the greater part of the reign. They include many portraits of Akbar, at least from the age of eighteen. A list of the subjects prepared by Mr. H. Beveridge is in the office, and all the exhibits are adequately labelled.

1. *Du-piyaza* ('two-onions') was the name of a dish made with 2 *sers* of onions to 10 of meat, with spices added (*Ain*, vol. i, p. 60), which the Mulla loved.

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Plates 4-12 of Colonel Hendley's article, 'War in Indian Art' (*J. I. A. I.* for April 1915), reproduce pictures from this series representing the sieges of Chitor and Ranthambhor, and the surrender of Gagraon in Kota (1561). The last-named composition (Plate 12) has a good likeness of Akbar on horseback, wearing moustaches, but no beard.

Another interesting series of pictures, partly dealing with the same subjects, is in the unique MS. of the *Tarikh Khandan-i Timuria* in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna, communicated to me by Khan Sahib Abdu-l Muktadir and Mr. C.A. Oldham, I.C.S.

The albums in the British Museum and elsewhere contain various pictures showing Akbar holding court. In the Victoria Memorial Collection, Nos. 853, 855 and 987 are *darbar* or court scenes. No. 850 depicts a water fete on the Jumna, and No. 851 represents the emperor listening to the arguments of Hindu and Muhammadan divines.

REFERENCES

It is unnecessary to go farther into detail. What has been said may serve to convince the reader that the pictorial record of Akbar's reign supplies an illuminating commentary on the text of the books, and that it should not be neglected by the biographer or historian. References to the literature of the subject will be found in *H.F.A.* up to 1911. The principal publication since that date is the costly work by F.R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey* (Quaritch, 1912), which ranks high as a discussion of the art of Persia and Turkey, but deals inadequately with the Indian branch of the subject.

Art critics usually find the works of the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan more attractive than the productions of Akbar's age.

G

Literature

LITERATURE

Literature, regarded as a form of art, and written in both the Hindi and the Persian languages, shared in the stimulus administered to human activity of all kinds by the vigorous and successful government of Akbar.

The principal authority on the Hindi literature of Akbar's age is Sir George Grierson, K.C.I.E., who has published :

1. 'The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan' (*J.A.S.B.*, part i, for 1888, Special Number, Calcutta, 1889).

2. 'Notes on Tulsi Das', being five papers in *Ind. Ant.*, 1893, vol. xxii, correcting and amplifying No. 1 in many points.

3. Tulasi Dasa, Poet and Religious Reformer' (*J.R.A.S.*, 1903, pp. 447-66).

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Sir George gives further information in a letter dated January 30, 1916, in which he mentions two valuable works on the subject in Hindi, namely :

'An excellent History of Hindi Literature in Hindi, called the *Mishra bandhu Vinoda* in 3 vols., by Syam Bihari Misra and two other Misras'; and *Hindi Navaratna*, an account in about 400 pages of the nine chief Hindi poets by the same authors. The standard printed edition of the *Ram-charit manas* is that published by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha (Benares, 1903).

The articles by Sir C. J. Lyall, K.C.S.I., on 'Bihari Lal', 'Tulsi Das', and 'Hindostani Literature' in *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed., were written in consultation with Sir George Grierson, and are excellent summaries, subject to correction in two or three small points.[1]

Much information about the Persian literature will be found in Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, and in E. & D., vols. v and vi.

Dr. F.W. Thomas has pointed out to me that the Mackenzie Collection, India Office, includes a Sanskrit history of part of Akbar's reign, written in prose and verse by Mahasa Thakur, apparently about 1650 (Eggeling, *Catal. Sanskrit MSS.* part vii, 1904, 1573, No. 4106). The library number is 2275: the MS. contains 228 folios, measuring 12½ by 5 inches.

The *Padshahnamah* mentions Mahes Das Rathor, son of Dalpat Singh, who was son of Rai Rai Singh of Bikaner, (*Ain*, vol. i, 339). That Mahes Das may well be the author of the MS.

1. Grierson prefers the spelling Hindostani to Hindustani.

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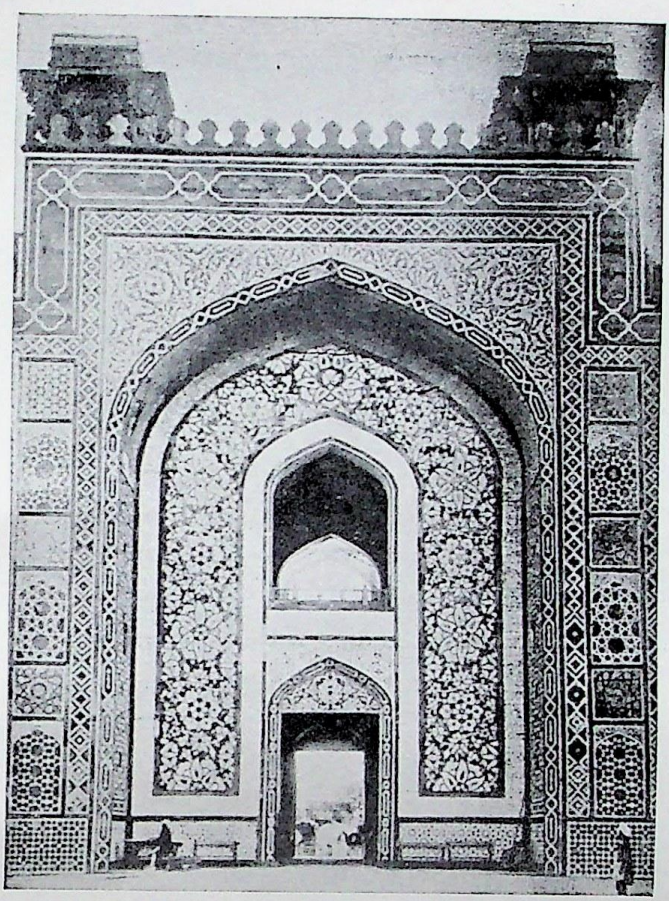

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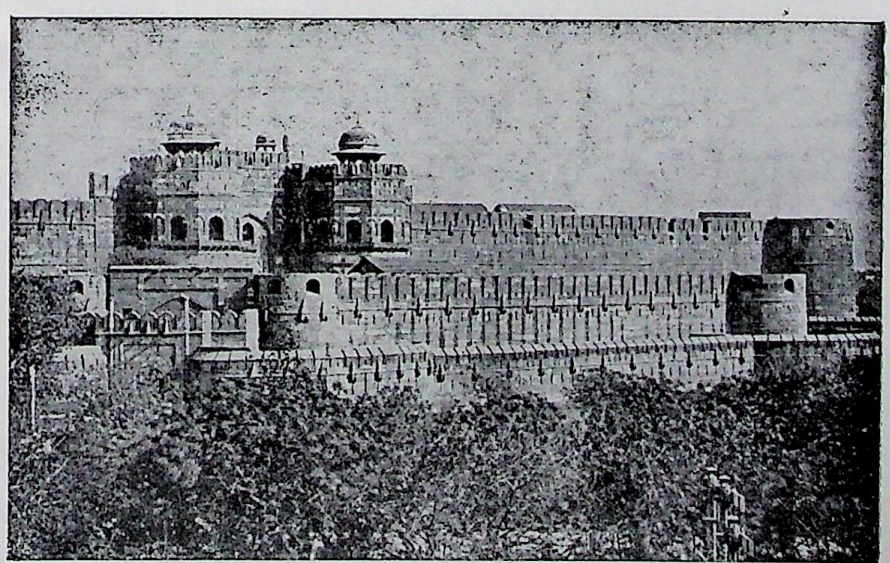

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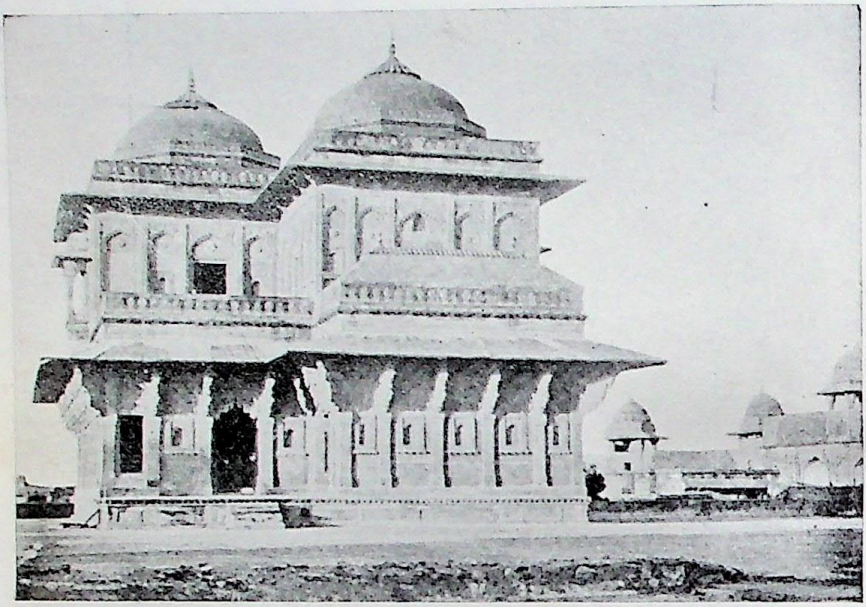
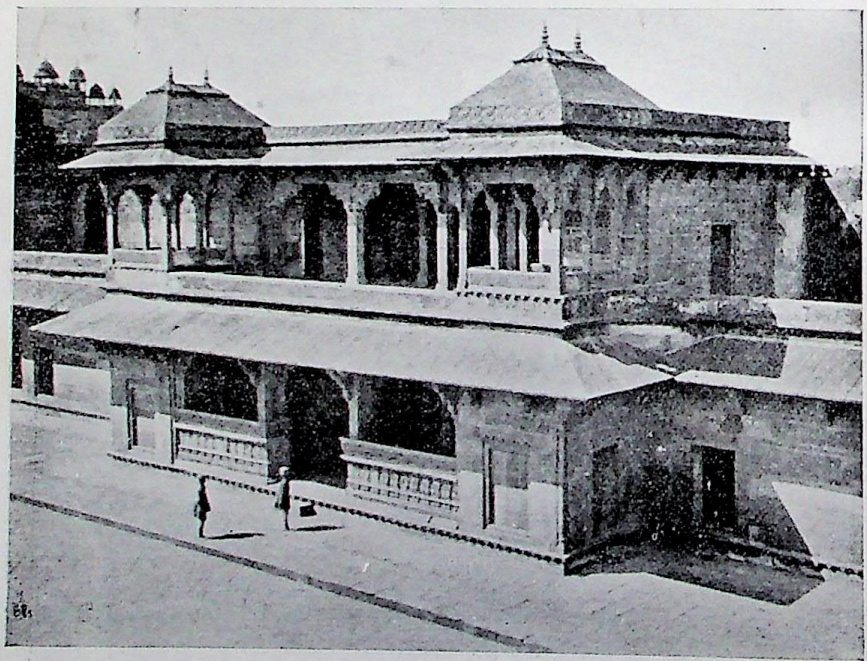


9. Fathpur Sikri, Raja Birbal's house



10. Fathpur Sikri, Jodh Bai's palace, west side of courtyard

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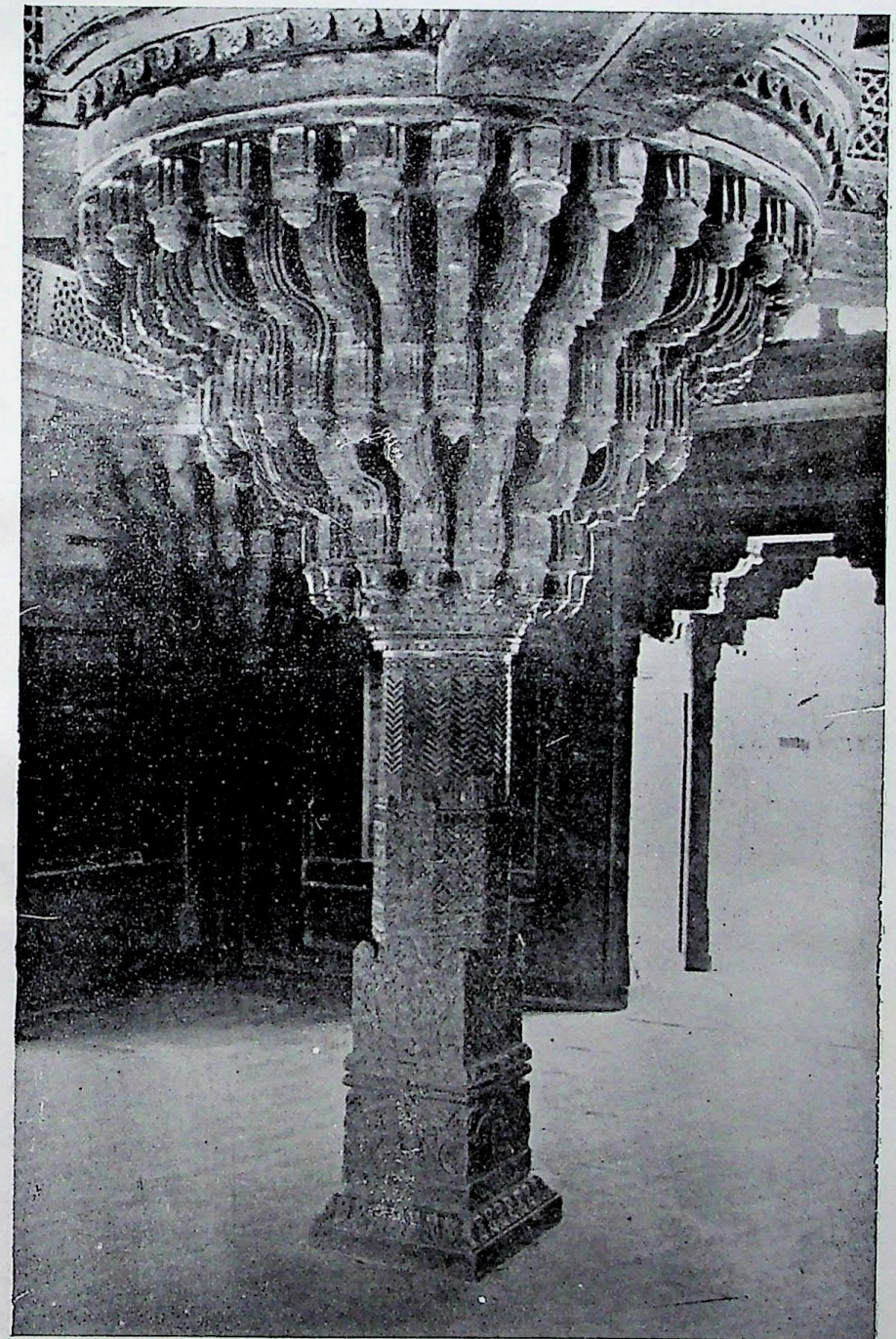

11. Fathpur Sikri, the Diwan-i-Khass, interior with pillar

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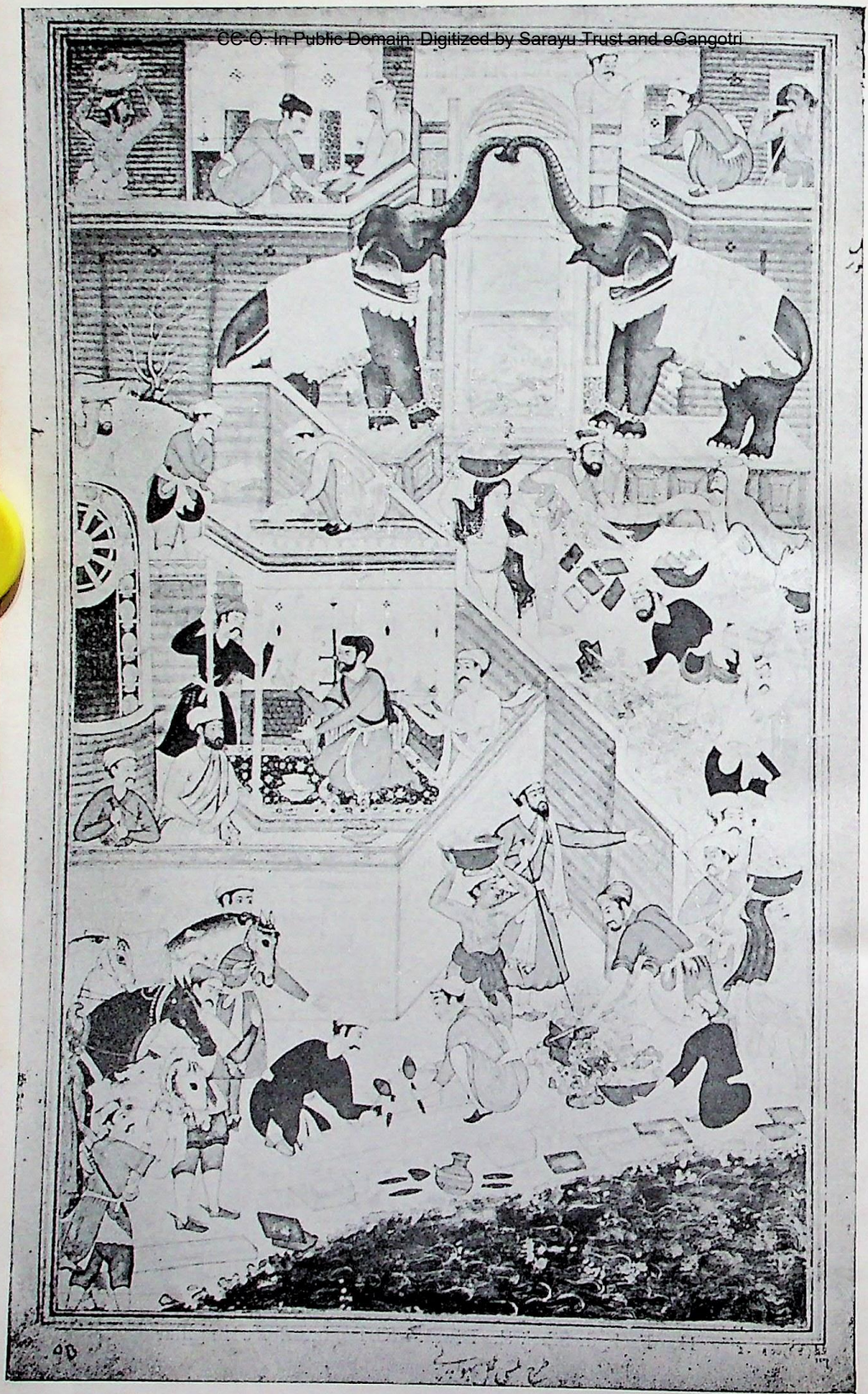

12. Mughal miniature painting, probably depicting the construction of the Elephant Gateway of Agra Fort (painted *cir.* 1580)

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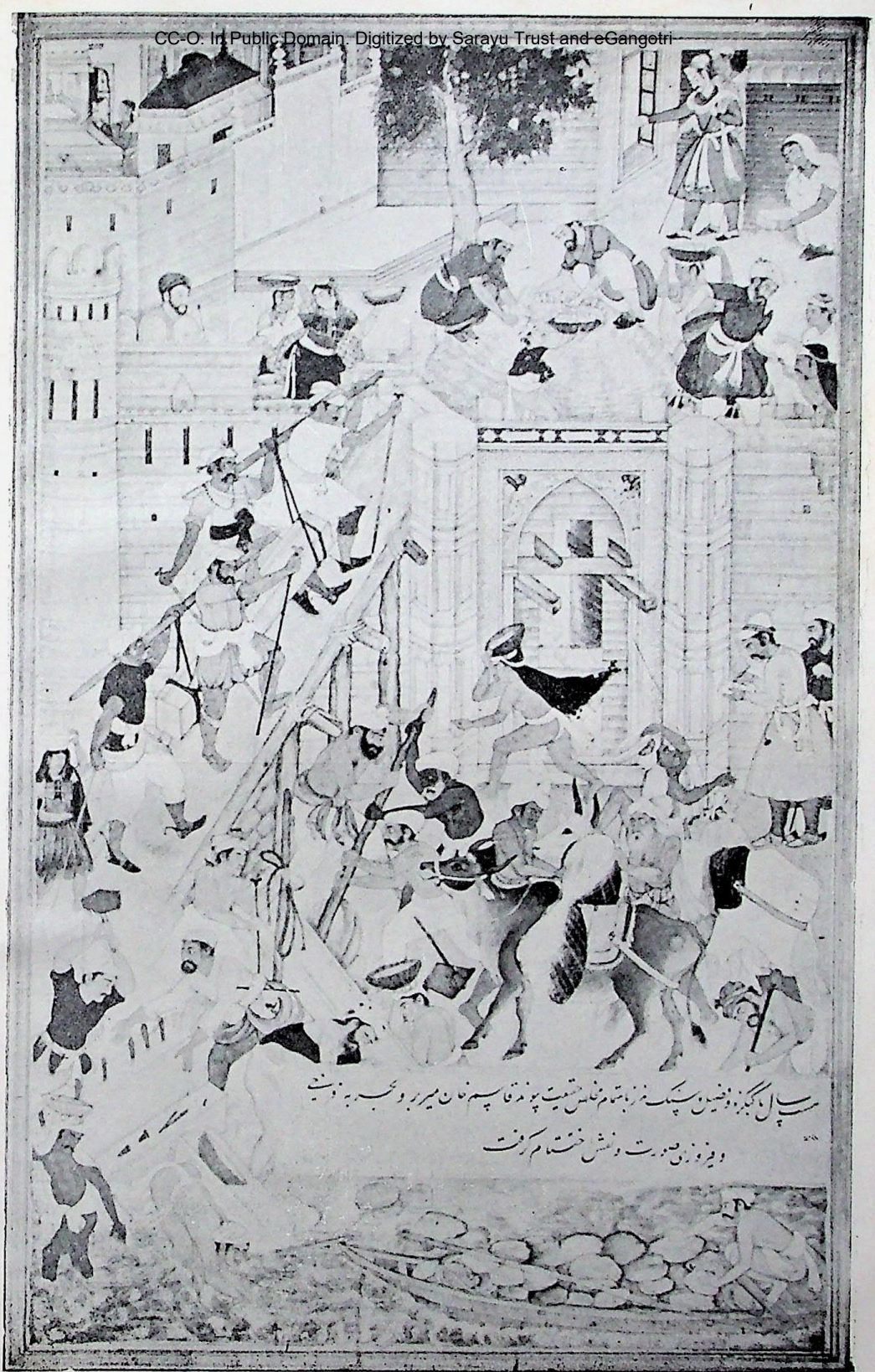

13. Mughal miniature painting, depicting building under construction (painted *cir.* 1580)

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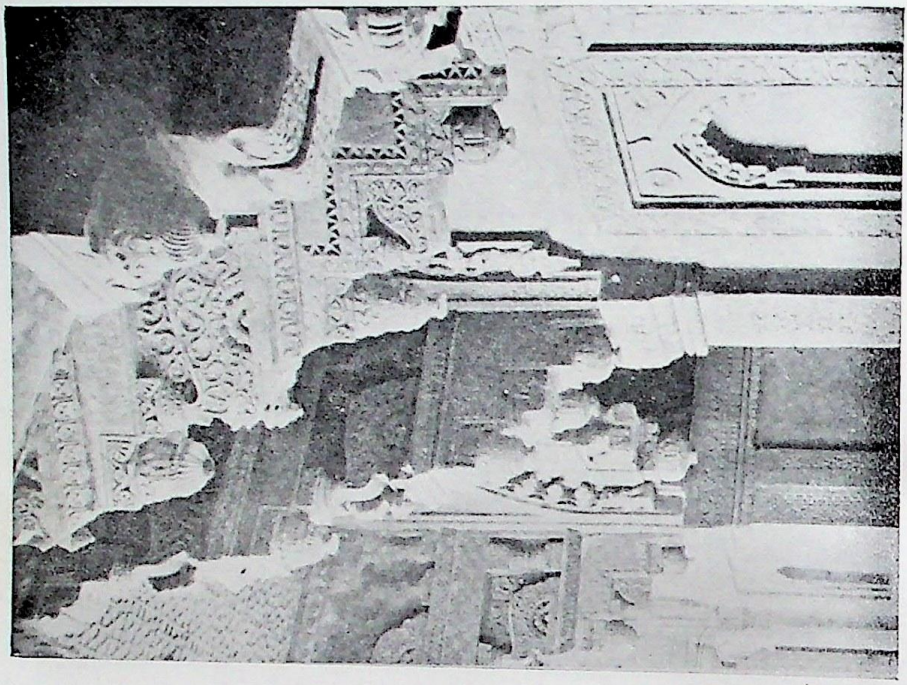

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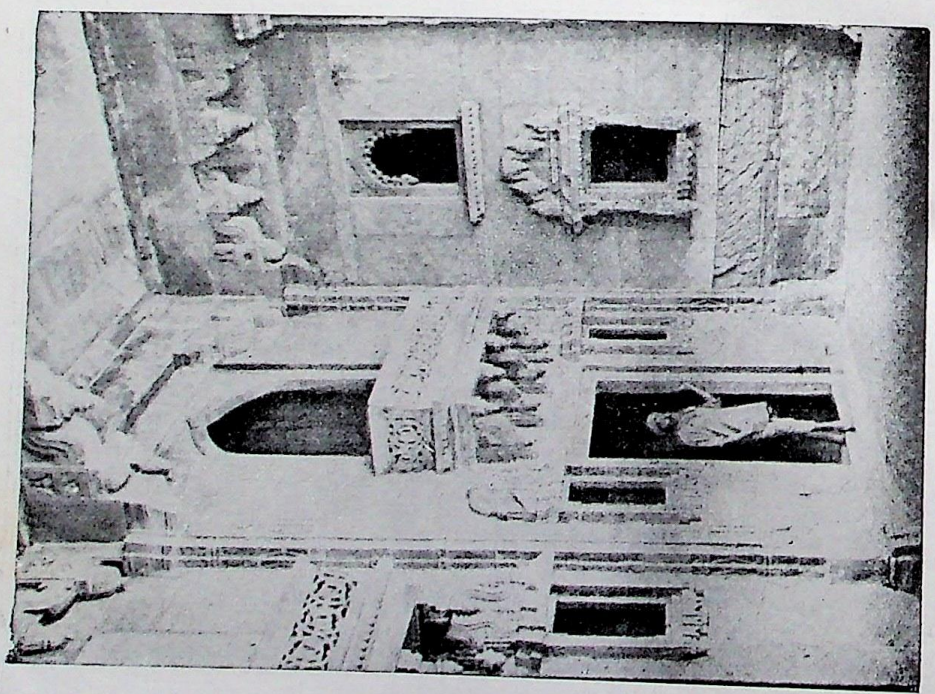

14. Fathpur Sikri, Jodh Bai's palace, interior of northern hall

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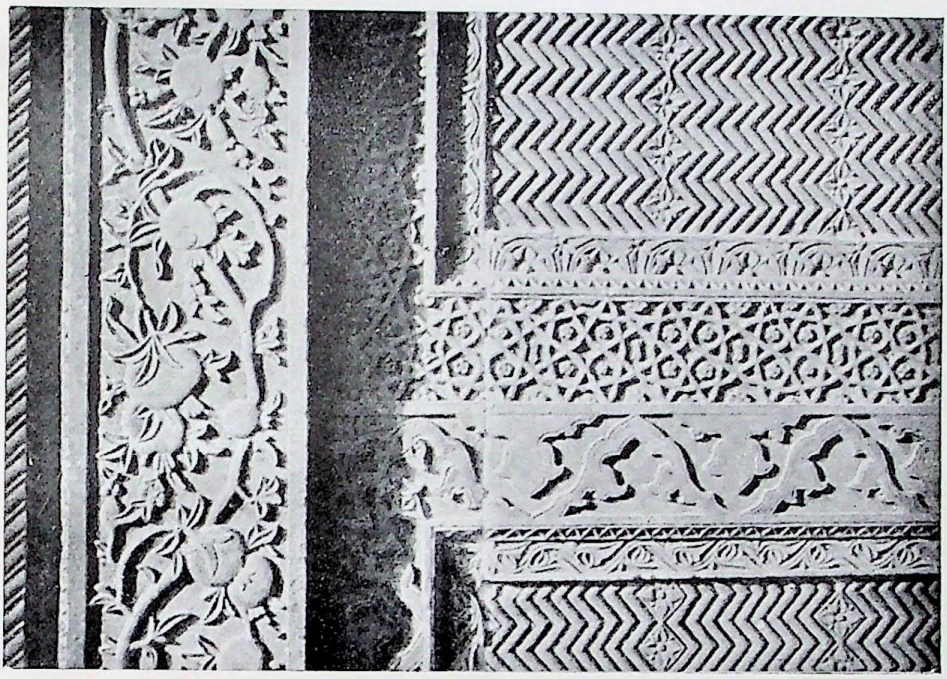
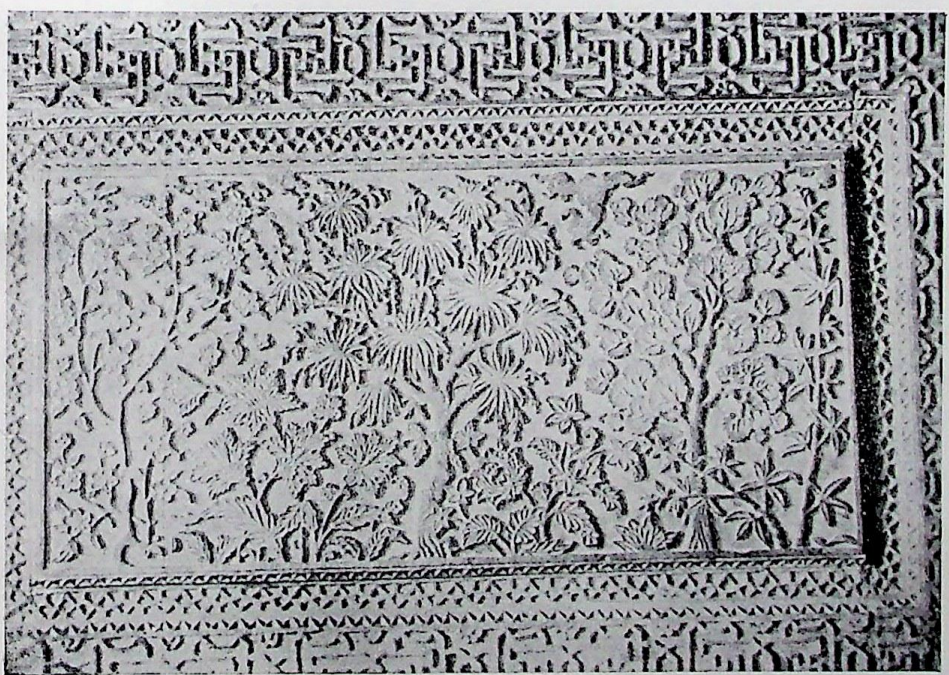


17. Fathpur Sikri, Sultana's house, carved sandstone detail of exterior



16. Fathpur Sikri, Sultana's house, carved sandstone panel in interior

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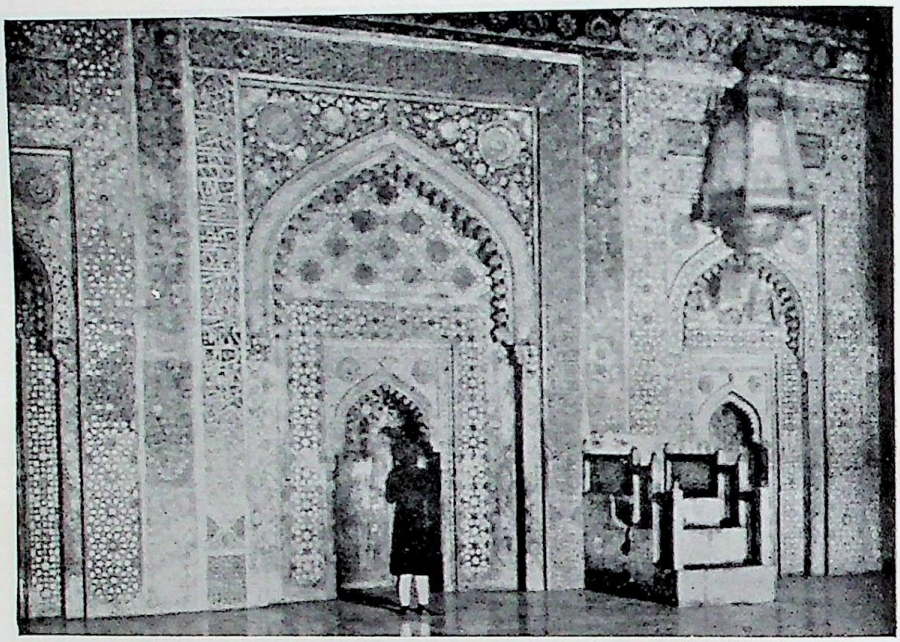
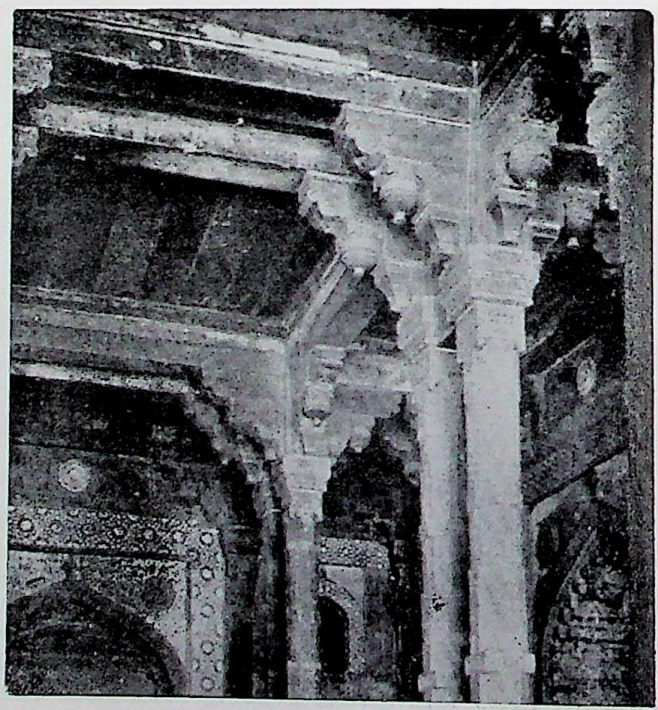


18. Fathpur Sikri, Jami' Masjid, central *mihrab*



19. Fathpur Sikri, Jami' Masjid, interior showing brackets

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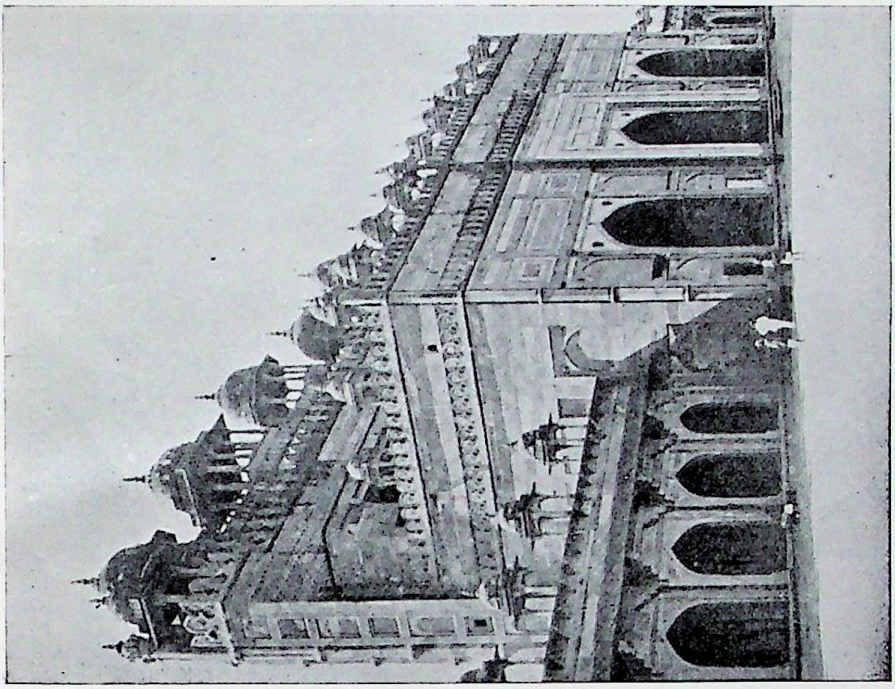
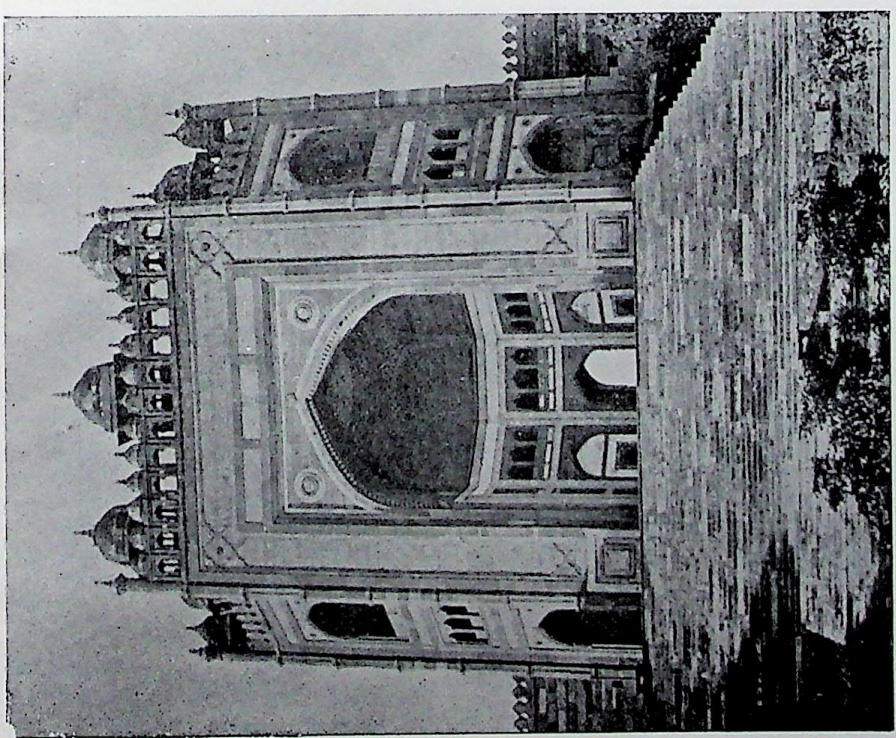


21. Fathpur Sikri, Buland Darwaza, interior view



20. Fathpur Sikri, Buland Darwaza, exterior (1575-6)

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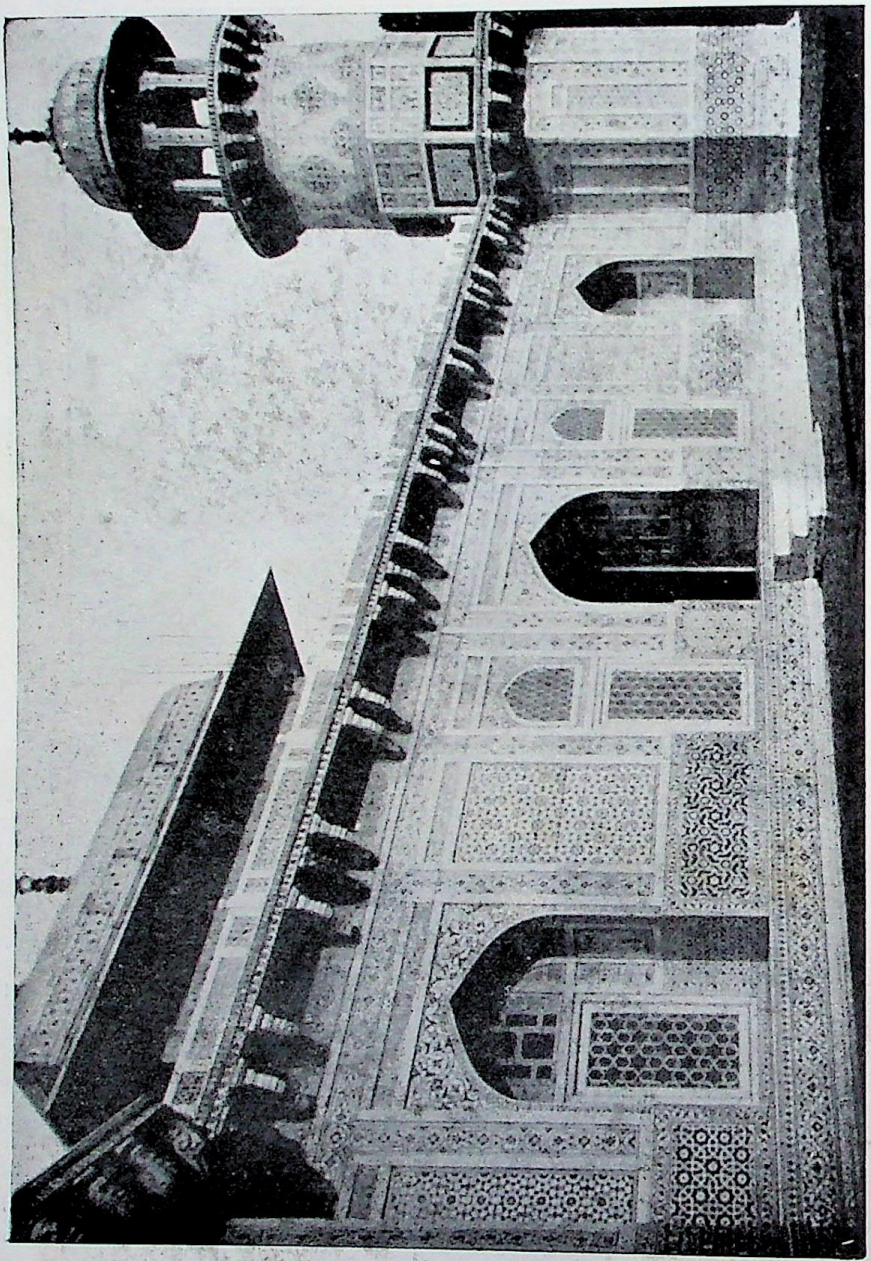

22. Agra, Tomb of I'timad-ud-Daula, detail of inlay

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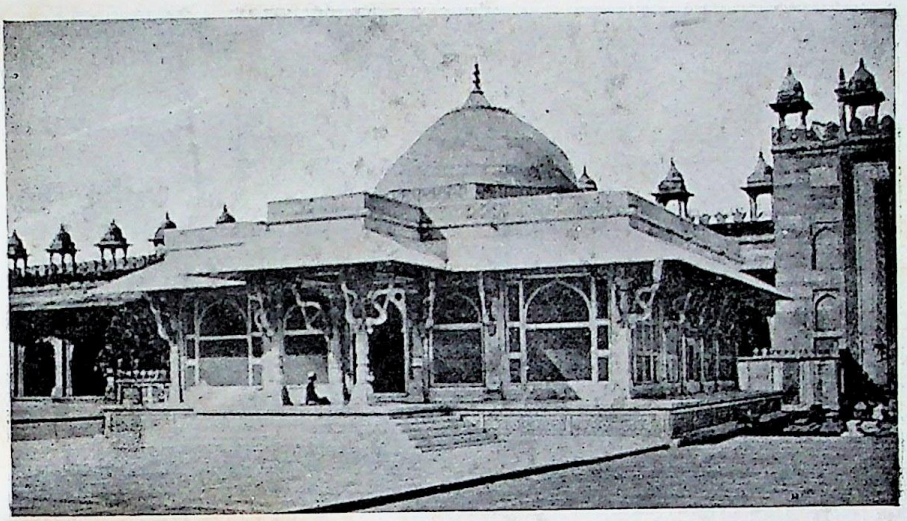

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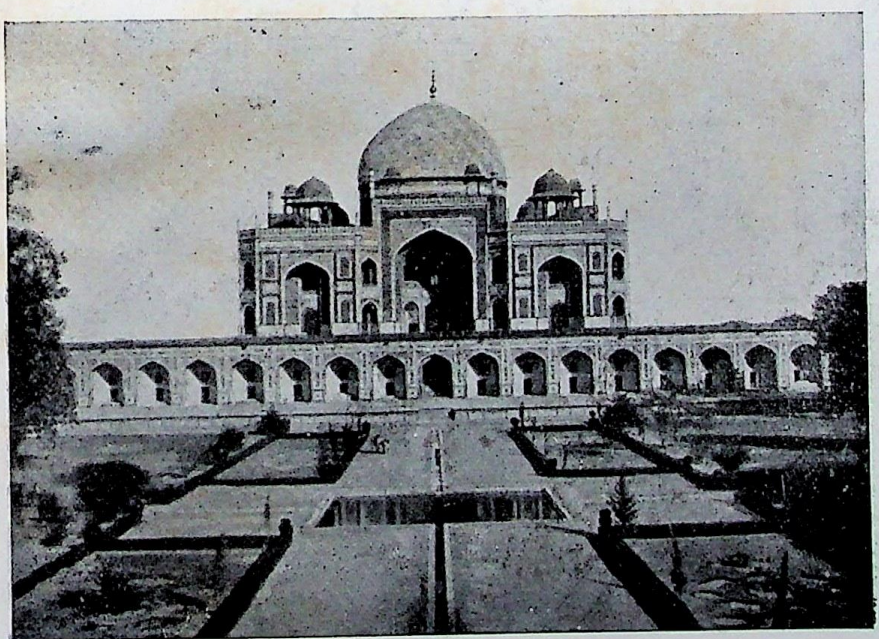

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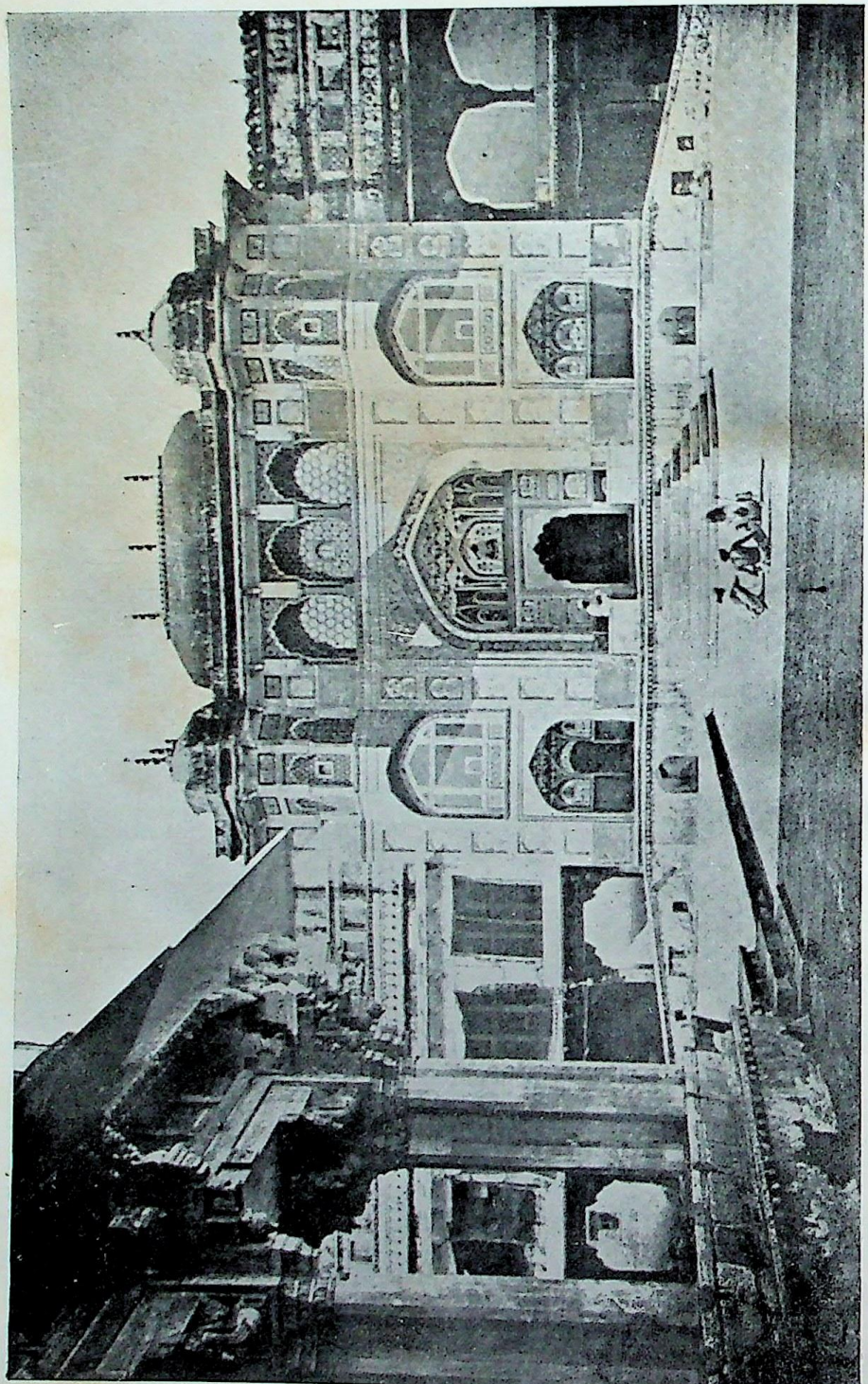

25. Jaipur, Amber, Courtyard of Durbar Hall

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